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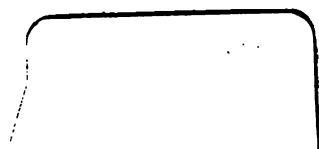
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THE
JOURNAL
OF
SACRED LITERATURE
AND
BIBLICAL RECORD.

EDITED BY
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VOL. XIII.



WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,
14 HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON;
20 SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

1861.

LONDON :
MITCHELL AND SON, PRINTERS,
WARDOUR STREET, W.

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THE
JOURNAL
OF
SACRED LITERATURE
AND
BIBLICAL RECORD.

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No. XXV.—APRIL, 1861.  
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THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

ONE only incident has been handed down by the sacred historians, throwing direct light on the early development of the Saviour, Luke ii. 40—52. Once, but only once, is the veil lifted which hides from our view the psychological advancement of Jesus to that full and perfect manifestation, which is mirrored in the miracles of Galilee, and recorded in the deep sayings of St. John's gospel. The early Church, imbued as it was with feelings of love and reverence for Christ, and longing to come if possible into closer contact with his human personality, felt urgently the want of a fuller insight into the early life of the wonderful child of Mary of Nazareth; the result of this want was, as Irenæus informs us, a multitude of apocryphal accounts of the childhood and youth of our Lord. Some of these still remain; but they are wholly unworthy of credit, and abound in silly and puerile matter. In the attempt to throw light on the early psychological development of Christ, no allusion will be made to them; the guiding clue must be sought for entirely in the narrative of St. Luke, compared with other Scriptures which help to explain and elucidate it. Nor will the thoughtful student of the life of Christ, however much he may desire to possess a fuller record of the Lord's youth and boyhood, fail to receive from this account (which we may well believe St. Luke received directly from the Virgin Mary) many a hint which, while it tends to intensify the mys-

tery, will yet bring nearer to his own heart the blessed reality of that consummation of divine love and wisdom—the veiling of the Godhead in humanity.

Little is gained by attempting to solve the reason why this one incident has alone been preserved to us from all the many sayings and doings of Christ during the first thirty years of his life. It may have been it would have brought out too prominently the human side of our Lord's character, and made it difficult for us to believe that he, whose childish actions and youthful sayings were like the actions and sayings of other children, was indeed the Son of God.* The saying of Mary, recorded by St. Luke, leads us to suppose that the natural and simple behaviour of the Holy Child almost caused her to lose sight of the wonderful character and name of her First-born. The unbelief of his brethren recorded by St. John suggests, at least, that the glory of the Godhead, shining through the veil of flesh, in simple obedience, and holy love, and discharge of practical duties, was not sufficient to counterbalance the daily beholding of him as the human child. The outward tabernacle of the flesh was manifest to their outward senses; the indwelling of the Godhead could only be apprehended by a spiritual perception, in which they were wanting. The same effect may be traced more generally on the inhabitants of Nazareth. They found it a hard matter to believe that the son of Joseph the carpenter, the brother of James and Joses, of Juda and Simon, was the promised Messiah. They could not conceive that the person whom they had watched growing up amongst them—eating, speaking, labouring amongst them like any other child of Nazareth—could be the Son of God; and therefore, although they had heard the report of his miracles and even saw him perform some among them, they were offended at him and rejected him. Even our Lord himself seems to point a warning against undue familiarity and a too near acquaintance with himself in his human manifestation, when he says that a prophet is least honoured in his own country, among his own kin, and in his own house. However these things be, let us at all events be thankful, that one incident of our Lord's early years has been preserved to us; and since we have but the one, let us be all the more diligent in trying by the help of God's grace to search that out, weighing and pondering the full significance of each word, that we may by it grow in the knowledge of Him, whom to know is life eternal.

The account given by St. Luke is as follows:—It was the custom of Joseph to go up annually to the capital to celebrate the

* Ellicott, *Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ*, p. 97.

feast of the Passover. On these occasions he was accompanied by the pious Mary, not, as we may suppose, because she considered herself bound by the maxims of the school of Hillel, but in order that she might have an opportunity of worshipping God in the holy temple, where he had in a peculiar manner his abode. When our Lord had attained his twelfth year, and become, as a 'son of the law,' liable to legal obligations, it was determined that he should accompany them to the sacred feast. This was accordingly done. The feast was ended, and they had set out on their homeward journey. The careful mother now misses her son, but accustomed to his thoughtfulness and obedience, she not unnaturally supposes him to be with some friends or acquaintances who formed part of the band of Galilæan pilgrims. Great, however, is the surprise and grief of Mary, when, at the end of the day's journey, the child is nowhere to be found. Not discovering any traces of him in the caravan with which they travel, they retrace their steps to Jerusalem; there they find him in one of the chambers attached to the temple in the midst of the priests and rabbis questioning them in a childlike manner. Mary, in her joy at seeing him again and vexation at the trouble and anxiety of the search, forgets for the moment the wonder of his birth. Regarding him as *her* son, she exclaims in indignant sorrow: "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing." In artless simplicity, marking the first dawn of consciousness in his soul, Christ gives utterance to his first recorded word: "How is it that ye sought me? wist ye not that I must be in his temple about my Father's matters?" (*ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου δεῖ εἶναι με.*) The evangelist adds as a kind of note, that he went down with them to Nazareth, was subject to them, and increased in stature (or age) and wisdom, and in favour with God and man.

This, then, is the one authentically recorded incident in the early life of Christ; and it is on this that any enquiry of the different steps by which the consciousness of the Saviour was subjectively developed, must rest for its foundation. At the same time it is perfectly legitimate and highly interesting to trace out as far as we are able, either from history or Scripture, the external objective influences which tended to mould the growing mind of our blessed Lord by progressive advancement to the fulness of Divine maturity.

First of all, and above all, it must be remembered that the Saviour was perfect man. He took upon him the *nature* of the seed of Abraham. Every want which exists in the mind of any child of earth, existed in the mind of Christ. He had the same physical necessities, he underwent the same mental processes, he

was tried by the same intellectual difficulties, he experienced the same spiritual wants, as every other man has known in childhood. Like other children, he was open to sympathy, susceptible to kindness, influenced by love and repelled by harshness. Like other children, he had to undergo pain and bear with childish trials, and put up with annoyances from his playmates. Like other children, he had childish joys and amusements suited to his years. There was the influence of the mother, and the influence of the father, and the influence of brothers and sisters, and the influence of companions; there was the influence of home, and the influence without the walls of home. The influence of holiness and peace and love, the influence, though external only, of hatred, contention and sin. The influence of a lowly station in life, the influence of poverty, sometimes perhaps the influence of actual want. Nay, more than this; there was the influence of climate and scenery;—the influence of dark olive groves and luxuriant vineyards, and blue mountains in the distance, and the dark waters of the lake of Galilee. If we are rightly to estimate the early development of Christ, none of these things must be omitted. Just as they influence man now, did they influence man then; and, as being man, did they influence the “Son of man.” The Divinity of Christ did not detract one iota from the perfectness of his manhood. He was no less truly man, than he was most truly God. The early stages of the Redeemer’s life, notwithstanding his Divine nature, were developed as strictly in accordance with physical and psychical principles as in any other descendant of Adam. As his body grew in human fashion, so was his mind and understanding matured after the manner of men. Otherwise he would not have been truly man. Otherwise the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews could not have written that he was tried in all points like as we are.

But that outward circumstances did influence our blessed Lord does not rest on *à priori* reasonings, however conclusive. We have the sure and certain warranty of Scripture in asserting it. The notice given by St. Luke of his questionings in the temple is strictly in accordance with what might be expected from an intelligent and precocious child of twelve years old, as we hope to shew hereafter; but as this one incident might not be sufficient to illustrate the nature of the influence exercised by external events on the mind of Christ, let us turn to the records of his later life. It is self-evident that, if in his later years when the divine consciousness was fully matured, he remained subject to the impulses of humanity, these same impulses must, during youth, have exerted a still greater power in forming the disposition and fixing the habits. His grief and indignant anger on

occasion of the healing of the man with a withered hand in the Galilæan synagogue; the tears which he shed and his pathetic lament over the approaching fall of Jerusalem, as he drew near the capital in triumphal procession six days before his death; the deep particular affection for the beloved disciple; the feeling of human weakness that longed for the support and sympathy of the three chosen disciples in the last agony of Gethsemane:—these instances prove beyond dispute, that the Lord in his human nature was subject to the weaknesses (sinless) and passions and wants and influences of the humanity which he had assumed. But by far the most striking instance of the power of external circumstances to affect our Lord's mind, is his conduct at the grave of Lazarus. In his oneness with the Father he must not only have known, but must have fully realized, that the death of Lazarus and the grief of the sisters were only links in that wonderful chain of divine providence which was binding them together in the bundle of eternal joy. The knowledge, again, that he was about to restore to the mourners the dead, and so convert all their sorrow into joy, must have banished grief from his mind. Yet the tears and agony of those around him, their expressions of bitter lamentation, the mournful procession to the grave, stirred the compassionate heart of the Redeemer, and he wept. The tears were thoroughly human. They were called forth by the external circumstances of the moment. Their source is to be sought in that sympathy for the sufferings of others, which God has implanted in man's heart. It has been asserted, that St. John's narrative is not in accordance with psychological principles, that the knowledge of the approaching resurrection would have dried up all sympathetic tears; but this shews ignorance of human feelings; for our Lord to have remained unmoved amidst the sorrow of those he loved, would have been unnatural and non-human. Far more in keeping with nature is the illustration of Neander:—"A physician (though the analogy is utterly inadequate), standing by the bedside of a patient, surrounded by weeping friends, may well be affected by their grief, though he may be sure, as far as human skill can give surety, that he will heal the disease." The Lord Jesus Christ, moved by the surrounding mourners, and touched by human sympathy, wept in the depth of his compassion; thus affording us a proof that, notwithstanding his divine nature, he was influenced by external circumstances in exactly the same manner as our minds are affected by surrounding objects.

It must not be supposed that this is taking too *humanitarian*

a view of our blessed Lord. It is a truly Scriptural view. The sacred writings ever hold up before us Jesus of Nazareth in his perfect humanity. Nay, the evangelists, at all events, dwell on the human side of his nature far more largely than on the Divine. Jesus Christ is the manifestation of God in virtue of this putting on of humanity. The human mind cannot contemplate the pure simple divinity; but it learns to apprehend the nature of Deity by contemplating the eternal Son clothed in the garments of flesh, and actuated by motives and principles which, inasmuch as they are the same motives and principles which regulate his own actions and life, man can understand. Because some authors in Germany have pushed the view of our Lord's humanity to such an extreme, as to go far towards denying his divine nature altogether, that is no reason, why we, who most sincerely believe in the consubstantiality and oneness of the Son with the Father, should fly to the other extreme, and put the humanity of our Lord so far into the background as almost to ignore it. No, let us hold fast to the blessed truth of our adorable Master's perfect humanity, and let us not be afraid to look into the movements of our own mind and affections to illustrate the movements of his; being persuaded that every pure and holy emotion which sways our hearts, had, in the days of his flesh, power to move his feelings, who is not ashamed to call us brethren.

If it be true, then, that our Divine Master, as being man, was affected by the influences around him, let us endeavour to observe those influences which bore with most force on his early development.

Pharisaism, Sadduceism and Essenism, were the chief sects into which Judaism had become divided. To these may be added the philosophising school of Judaism established in Alexandria, which later gave rise to Neo-platonism. It is more than doubtful, however, whether at the time of our Lord Alexandrian philosophy had at all influenced the popular theology. Any traces of it which may be thought to appear in some of the Johannæan discourses, are much more fitly referred to the general intuitions which belong to many minds in common, than to second-hand teaching of Plato. With regard to the other three sects, it is very hard to find any connexion between them and the teaching of Christ; or to discover any, even indirect, influence they exercised on his mind. The legal spirit of Pharisaism, the meritoriousness which it ascribed to outward actions and the performance of trivial duties, its onerous statutes, its dead-letter theology, its total misapprehension of the true character of God, its hypocritical fanaticism, its barren subtleties, its dead ceremonial, were utterly opposed to the teaching of

Christ. The one common point of contact would seem to be their reverence for the sacred Scriptures, but even this is not anything peculiar to Pharisaism, but belongs rather to religion. Sadduceism was the reaction from Pharisaism. It opposed traditional additions to the law, but "proceeding rather from an intellectual than from a religious element, it allowed the spirit of negation to predominate over the positive religious interest."^c With this aristocratic eclecticism, which refused to see in man any need of profound religious feeling, He, who came to preach the Gospel to the poor and held up the life in God as the one thing needful, could have nothing in common. The simplicity, the devotion, the earnestness and the pure spiritualism of the Essenes might, at first sight, make Essenism appear a fitting foundation on which to rear up Christianity; and here, if anywhere, must we look for contemporary influence on the mind of Christ. This is all the more plausible, when we call to mind that his cousin and forerunner had undoubtedly come in contact with the Essenes, and had drunk deeply of their spirit. But first of all objective testimony is entirely wanting. It is highly improbable that Christ ever came into personal intercourse with the Essenes. Again, his (reputed) father twice married, and his mother, the betrothed virgin, and, as we cannot but think, the married and child-bearing wife, could have had no prepossession in favour of this ascetic sect, which could have reacted upon the child. And lastly, the free and joyous life which the Saviour prescribed, the marriage which he honoured, the children whom he blessed, the social gatherings in which he took part, shew a spirit entirely opposed to the unloveable asceticism of the austere Essenes. So far as he came into contact with any of these three sects, we may be sure that his pure and holy mind would at once seize all the good they contained, at the same time that his spirit would be led to throw aside all that human error or weakness had superinduced upon a basis of truth. When we remember that Pharisaism was the *popular* religion, and when we observe how much more frequently he found himself constrained to set himself in opposition to it, we shall not perhaps err in thinking, that during his youthful days at Nazareth he had seen and mourned over that specious kind of religion which, while it carefully observes all the externals of piety, remains an utter stranger to its internal and life-giving principles. Sadduceism, as being the professed creed of the more learned and opulent classes, is not likely to have had many votaries at the little Galilæan town of Nazareth; and from the little prominence

^c Neander, *Geschichte der Kirche*, 53.

given to this sect in his after teaching, we may not unreasonably suppose, that neither its errors nor its truths had made any great or lasting impression on his youthful mind. The total silence of the New Testament with regard to the Essenes, added to the secluded character of their abodes, leads us to suppose that Christ had no intercourse with them.

Apart from these three leading sects, there must have been many honest and true hearts, neither Pharisees, nor Sadducees, nor Essenes; but Israelites indeed, who, without taking part in controversies, were studying the pages of their prophets and serving the God of their fathers in simplicity and love. The aged Simeon, the widowed Anna, the guileless Nathaniel were types of such characters. The believing Mary, the just and obedient Joseph, were such. Here, in the home-circle, we shall find the influences which most of all affected the early development of our Lord. The calm quiet leading which we understand from the guidance of our youthful steps by our own mothers; the unseen unobtrusive daily influence of watchful, thoughtful love, which more than any other leaves its impress on the mind; the bible lesson read to the father, the prayer breathed with joined hands at the mother's knee, the hymn learned from her lips, the perfect confidence in her love and wisdom, and trustful looking up to her—it is these things which, indelibly fixed on the child, influence our manhood; it was these things which, indelibly fixed on the mind of the youthful Jesus, influenced permanently his character.

Of Joseph, the reputed father of our Lord, we know next to nothing. A tradition not to be relied on, states that he was already an old man at the time of his marriage with Mary, that he had been previously married, and had had children by his former wife.^d It has been supposed that the ἀδελφοί and ἀδελφαί, whose names are mentioned by St. Mark, were these children; but this cannot be proved, and is, we think, unlikely.^e He was a just (δικαίος) man, and of a kind and gentle disposition; just, refusing to take as his wife one who apparently had sinned grievously against him; kind and gentle, not being willing to make her a public example. He was a faithful follower of the law of Moses, attending the feasts at the stated times. He was a man of faith and obedience, acting without gainsaying or hesitation, according to his divinely inspired dream. It would appear by his never being mentioned, and notices of the mother and brethren occurring frequently without allusion to him, that

^d *Apocryphal gospel of James*, cap. ix.

^e See Alford's very good note on Matthew, xiii. 55.

he died before the commencement of our Lord's public ministry. Influence over his reputed Son such a man must have exercised, but no trace of it is to be discovered in the teaching of Christ. It is not improbable that, knowing as he did the deep mystery attaching to the birth of his supposed first-born, he kept himself as much aloof as possible. Scripture seems to point to this by the prominence which it ever assigns to the mother, especially in the early incident recorded by St. Luke. Mary of Nazareth is better known to us. It is no mere fancy to suppose, that in her lowly home her thoughts had often reverted to that time for which every pious Israelite looked forward, when the Virgin-born should appear, and as theocratic King, sit himself upon the throne of David. The greatness of her faith is shewn by her unhesitating acceptance of the mysterious declaration of the angel. How deeply she was imbued with the spirit and language of the ancient prophecies, is evident from the extempore poem in which she answered the salutation of Elisabeth. Highly favoured as she was in being the Deipara, from this very cause perhaps, a thoughtfulness almost akin to sorrow, is to be noticed in her character—the first beginning of the piercing of her heart, alluded to by Simeon. We cannot suppose her to have been so far in advance of her age, as to have understood the prophecies in a sense different to that of her people; but a presentiment may have hovered over her of things to come, and by "the rapid foreglance of thought she must have seen in the clouded future scorn, dereliction, the pointed finger of a mocking and uncharitable world, calumny, shame, death." From the hour of the annunciation, the "blessed virgin appears before us in that character which the notices of the Gospel so consistently adumbrate, meek and pensive, meditative and resigned, blessed with joys no tongue can tell, and yet even in the first hours of her blessedness, beginning to feel one edge of that sword that was to pierce through her loving and submissive heart." And withal she was a most loving mother. Never does she suffer the great mystery of his birth to overshadow her woman's tenderness and devotion and pride for her first-born. In the narrative which we have in St. Luke from her own lips,^f she is careful to tell us that the pains of her travail did not prevent her from noticing the shepherds who came to do homage to her son, and that she kept all the occurrences of that wonderful night, and pondered them in her heart. And again, after narrating how she found her son in the temple of his Father amidst the doctors,

^f Ellicott: *Hulsean Lectures*, p. 49.

^g Lange: *Leben Jesu*, ii. 93.

she forgets not to add that "his mother" kept the saying, which she understood not, in her heart; and not that saying only, but many sayings—"all these sayings"—which fell from the lips of the Holy Child. The same admiring pride may be traced in her saying at the marriage in Cana; the same loving care and tenderness, though misdirected, tries to draw him away from the work in which he was engaged.

Such were the loving hands to which the early training and development of the Holy Child were committed. Hands, fallible and sometimes erring, but pure, holy and affectionate. Training which cannot have been without enormous influence on the sensitive and sympathetic human mind of Christ.

It has been stated that Mary, conscious that the holy child who was born of her was the Son of God, "left it to God to educate the child who had been announced to her as the Messiah." This view is utterly untenable.^a God had shewn by the command to fly into Egypt that natural and not super-natural means were to be taken for his preservation, and consequently for his education and the formation of his character. Even if his mother had conceived such an idea, which is incredible, it would never have been possible to carry it out in practice. The nature of education is such that it cannot be left untouched. Every word spoken in their hearing, every action done in their sight, a smile, a frown, a tone, a gesture, all these things educate children. Even had his mother taken no direct means to train up her son, his mind must still have received innumerable impressions from her indirect influence. But that the Virgin Mary who notwithstanding the mystery of his birth, never ceased to regard him as *her* child, should not have used all means in her power to mould his plastic mind, and to teach him the things concerning his Father, is to our minds quite inconceivable. It is much more in accordance with all the laws of nature, to believe that it was (humanly speaking) owing to the unwearied teaching of his mother that our Lord shewed so profound a knowledge of, and deep reverence for, the sacred Scriptures. It is no unwarrantable fancy to conceive the holy child seated at the feet of Mary, unrolling the sacred scroll, and with ever opening intelligence reading the wonders of creation wrought through his agency, and the mystery of the fall which he was to retrieve by his sufferings. It is no unwarrantable fancy to believe, that under her guidance, he first became acquainted with the beautiful lyrics of him, of whom he was at once the Son and Lord. It is no unwarrantable fancy to think of him listening with

^a Young, *The Christ of History*, p. 18.

eager interest to the recorded scenes of glory which awaited his people, when under the theocratic king they should realize all the promises of ancient prophecy. It is no unwarrantable fancy to view him, always close to the same loving side, reading the sublime thoughts of Israel's greatest prophet, pondering with wonder on the despised and rejected man of sorrows, till gradually penetrating by his own divine intuition far deeper than any human voice could teach, the truth must have dawned upon his mind, that he himself was the Lamb doomed to bear the iniquity of his people. How many hours must the holy child and fond mother have passed together in the dim twilight, or on the grassy slopes which lay below Nazareth, or beneath the cool shadow of some stately palm tree, talking over the wonderful dealings of God with their own people. How often he must have heard of the child given in her old age to their great ancestress; how he must have treasured up in his mind with dim foreshadowings the sacrifice of Isaac; how often must the Virgin have spoken to him of Samuel, the child granted to the prayers of Hannah, whose song of praise Mary herself in the first transport of her joy and blessedness had echoed. How together must they have triumphed in the glorious past of their people, when David the victorious swayed the sceptre in Jerusalem, or when the peaceful Solomon raised to the God of Israel that magnificent temple, which was to be to all nations the house of prayer. And how often must they have mourned together over the miserable state to which the chosen people had at that time fallen, harassed by the vexatious tyranny of the cruel Edomite, crushed beneath the resistless might of the idolatrous Roman; and how must they have sought solace by looking forward to the vision of the future, when Messiah should hold his peaceful reign at Jerusalem undisturbed over all the nations of the earth.

Nor was this all. We cannot suppose that the Virgin would have maintained an absolute silence as to the wonders attendant on his birth. Womanly reserve would at this period seal her lips about the mystery of the miraculous conception. But there were many things treasured up in her heart, which in moments of confidence she would tell her child. How a decree issued by Herod forced her shortly before his birth to move from Nazareth to Bethlehem, and how thus it happened, that he was born in the little town sacred as being the birth-place of the Great King from whom he was descended. How when weak and travel-worn she reached Bethlehem, there was no house to receive her, and she was fain to take refuge in a stable. How shepherds came to see her first-born babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, and told

strange wonderful stories of visions of angels which they had seen. How wise men, guided, as they said, by a star, came from the distant east to do him homage, bringing with them gold and frankincense and myrrh. How the aged Simeon had taken him in his arms, and blessed his mother, and spoken to her, in language that she understood not, of a sword that was to pierce her heart. How the cruel Herod had sought his life, and he was obliged to be hurried in a midnight flight to Egypt to be preserved. These things Mary must have told him, and these things must have influenced his mind. They must have stirred up thoughts within him, which he could not explain, but which must very soon have caused him a presentiment that he was no common child of Adam. With our knowledge of the perfect humanity of Christ, and with the distinct assertion of the Evangelist before us that he *grew* in wisdom; it is simply idle superstition, and not real religious reverence, to maintain that the childhood of the Lord Jesus Christ was not open to the same influences as the early years of other children. In one point indeed he was different, for he was sinless, but in all other points he was like them.

There was other, and very different influence at work beside that of his mother—the influence of his brothers and sisters. It is not a point of much importance for our present purpose to discuss whether they were his real brothers and sisters, the children (younger) of his mother. If, as some have supposed, they were children of Joseph by a former wife, they would be older than Christ; if, as others have supposed, they were the children of Mary (probably the sister of the Virgin and wife of Cleophas), they might be either older or younger; if they were uterine brothers and sisters, or if, as some have strangely supposed, they were the children of Joseph by a later Levitical marriage after his marriage with Mary, they would be younger. But whether we conceive them to be older or younger, the influence, though it might vary in degree, would be the same in kind. Of the sisters we know absolutely nothing except their names; of the brethren we have one or two notices which enable us to form some estimate of their character. This is not much to their praise. It is probably in connection with them that the Saviour first came into contact with harshness and sin. Although after the passion we find them numbered among the disciples, St. John tells us (vii. 5) at a late period of his ministry, that they did not believe on him. Whether their speech on that occasion betokens a sarcastic and envious disposition, or whether it embodies merely the sentiment of shrewdness and worldly wisdom, it was one with which the lowly and gentle Saviour could have

nothing in common. Yet such were the contemporaries of his childhood. Such were the persons living under the same roof with him, coming into daily and hourly contact with him, bound to him by the ties of blood and natural affection. Here it is that we find his first trial. How intensely the perfectly pure and loving mind of Christ must have suffered by the contact with unlovingness and sin, we who are sinful can hardly conceive. How deeply this first (external) knowledge of evil in others must have wrought upon, and influenced his sensitive mind, we cannot fathom. The holy indignation it must have moved in him, and the deep hatred of selfishness it must have stirred in his soul, can only be measured by that word spoken on the cross (John xix. 26), by which he withdrew his mother from her natural protectors to consign her to the care of the disciple whom he loved.

The inhabitants of Nazareth must doubtless have had their share in the early development of the Saviour. We have, however, no means of measuring their influence. Probably compared with home influence it was small. The mother who watched him so carefully would doubtless not encourage a too promiscuous mingling with persons whose evil lives had caused the very name of their town to become a by-word. A thoughtful child, such as we know from St. Luke (ii. 47) the Lord was, would of himself seek solitude and would withdraw himself as much as possible from the noisy games and riotous companionship of his fellows. That Christ however did mix among the circle of his kinsfolk and acquaintance, is plain from the narrative of St. Luke. Mary felt no anxiety about his absence on the return from Jerusalem, because she supposed him to be in another part of the pilgrim caravan.

Prayer and the operation of the Holy Spirit must not be omitted in enumerating the influences bearing on the early development of our Lord. Prayer, in itself subjective, is yet to be regarded as objective, in so far as it reacts upon the mind which prays; the Holy Ghost, dependent indeed upon the receptivity of the subject, is entirely an external influence. That he, who in after life so frequently sought the retirement of the lonely mountain, or withdrew to the solitary place apart to hold converse with his God, was early taught by his mother to fold his hands in prayer, we must believe. Although the sinless one had no need of forgiveness, yet we know that he needed prayer, that he prayed to his Father out of the deep sense of the want which oppressed his human nature.¹ Such prayers could not but affect

¹ Compare especially Luke xxii. 44, with Hebrews v. 7.

his mind. But it is not in such prayers as these, that the chief influence of prayer upon his mind is to be sought for. Prayer includes thanksgiving and confession of the attributes of God. As he poured forth his soul in holy thanksgiving for the being he possessed, the mystery of that being would gradually dawn upon his mind. As he confessed the greatness of God, and gave him thanks for his great glory, there would be a something witnessing to his own mind—something not clearly understood, yet felt and apprehended—bearing witness to his spirit that that glory was his own.

Concerning the influence of the Holy Spirit upon him it is more difficult to speak. We know that this influence was given to him; we know that it was given to him in an ever *increasing* measure; and we must believe, that in proportion to the measure he received, was his knowledge and comprehension of his divine personality. But we must pause; we are trenching upon the borders of that wonderful mystery, which the human mind, while it bows in love and adoration, confesses in humility its total want of power to comprehend. Ceasing to reason and to speculate, it is content to believe and worship.

It must be distinctly borne in mind that all the influences which have been alluded to were *suggestive* only. The process by which the mind of Christ reached its maturity was by education, and not by induction. It was most strictly a developing, an unfolding of powers already latent within him. We incline to think, that this is always the case in every human mind; but it would be little less than blasphemy to think that it were otherwise in Christ. However much he might be drawn out by the influences—pure or otherwise—around him, it is certain that he *received* nothing from them. They changed nothing in his divine-human personality. All light, all knowledge, all truth, all love dwelt *in* him; he possessed them *in* himself; they could not be imparted to him from without. At the same time they did not exist in the fulness of after consciousness. At this early period which we are considering they were brought out and manifested, to himself as well as to others, only as external matter drew them forth. Fire lies inherently in the flint, but it does not appear till struck out by contact with the steel. Heat lies latent in wood or coal, but it gives no warmth till chemical action frees it. So it was with the mind of Christ. All perfection dwelt there; but external appliances were needed to bring latent principles into positive actions.

Hitherto we have treated of external influences only; it now remains to add a few words about the effect, which Scripture warrants us in believing, was produced by these external influences.

Up to this point our task has been comparatively easy. We have been treading hallowed ground, but ground not altogether without the bounds of our cognizance and experience. Now we are entering into the holiest of the holy. The very mind of Him who, though the man Christ Jesus, is very and eternal God, is to be scrutinized. We need not shrink from the scrutiny, for God's revelation is our guide; but we must feel with awe, that it becomes us, like the seraphim of Isaiah, to veil our faces and cry, Holy, holy, holy.

It is in this part of our subject that St. Luke's narrative comes chiefly, and almost exclusively, to our aid. We must gain an insight into the mind of the youthful Christ, by searching into the only incident which we possess of his early years. The point of the narrative is the answer by our Lord to his mother's question, "How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house about his matters?" and the contrast between them.

1. Mary had said: "Thy Father and I;" the Lord quietly, naturally, almost unconsciously, puts aside the implied earthly relationship. To his mother's "*thy* Father," he instinctively opposed his "*my* Father." It is not likely he had ever heard the story of the miraculous conception. It seems more probable, that thoughts which had for some time been stirring themselves within him, had been kindled into clearness and vividness by the answers—we may well suppose of a Messianic character—which he had received from the Scribes. It is further well worthy of observation that the words are "*my* Father," not *the* Father, not *our* Father, either of which, unless we recognize some consciousness of his relation to God, would have been more natural under the circumstances. But here, as always, it is "*my* Father." The first dawning of that knowledge, which so much had tended to foster, that he could address God as his Father in a sense which it would have been blasphemy for any other child of Adam to have assumed; the first dawning of that knowledge, that it was unfit that any other should be included, even by implication, in that close communion which bound the Only-begotten to the Father.

2. The artless surprise which he manifested at their having sought him at all, and especially that they sought him anywhere but in the temple of God, is very striking, and throws much light upon his habit of thought: "Wist ye not that I must be engaged in my Father's matters?" On the one hand, we see in his mind, how natural it came to him, the Son, that he should be occupied in his Father's matters; on the other—a circumstance which distinctly marks the *progressive* development of

his mind—the almost childish wonder that his reputed parents should not know this. “He himself,” to borrow the words of Stier,^k “had ever from the beginning possessed a consciousness of this object of his life, only as yet concealed in his childish capacity; and this first clear disclosure (to be followed itself by many such in advancing clearness and assurance) seems to him at once as natural, as if it had never been otherwise than clear to him.” The whole is perfectly in keeping with the development of a child’s mind. Instinct, not reason, is the guiding principle. There is in him a consciousness, and on this consciousness he acts, as children do act, without the mind undergoing any reflective process. He does not stop to think, he feels that it is right for him to be in the temple; it is strange to him that everybody else does not recognize this fitness.

3. The questioning in the temple with the Rabbis is not unchildlike. It is not beyond what an intelligent child, eager for instruction, and expecting to find it among the masters in Israel pure and fresh from the fountain, might very well do. The well-known story of Josephus proves this to be true. He tells us^l that when about fourteen years of age, being commended by all for the love he had to learning, the high priests and principal men of the city came frequently to him, in order to know his opinion about the accurate understanding of points of the law. How much more reasonably might they be astonished at the understanding and answers of Him, in whom dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. It must not be thought, however, with some, that Jesus sat in the midst as a teacher. That would be contrary to order, and especially foreign to his lowliness. He taught indeed, but he taught, as Origen well puts it, by proposing questions for his own instruction.

4. He left the temple of his Father to live in subjection to his earthly parents in their lowly home at Nazareth. There eighteen years are spent in humble toil, which he thus blesses and renders God-like. There the divine-human consciousness waxes stronger; He increases in wisdom, till at length his development is perfected, and he stands forth, in the full consciousness of his oneness with God, to enter upon that ministry of suffering and death which is our salvation and glory.

In conclusion, one trait of our blessed Lord’s character may be specified, in which his mother’s influence may be specially traced—the gentleness of the Saviour. We have but one example of human perfection; but there seems no reason why the ideal of human perfection should be but one. It is easy to

^k *Reden des Herrn Jesu*, i. 25.

^l *Life*, sec. 2.

imagine many different types all different, yet all meeting in perfection; as physical beauty is manifold, so may moral beauty, even in its perfection, be conceived also as manifold. If we might venture to compare the God-man with one of our own species, we might illustrate this by a comparison between the character of our Lord and St. Paul, or even better still, between our Lord and the stern and relentless Elijah, of the older dispensation. It is possible to fancy the character of a St. Paul, or an Elijah, exalted into a perfect character retaining all the distinctive traits of its proper idiosyncrasy. It is needless to point out how such a character would differ from that presented by our Lord. Whether we are willing to see in this difference, and in the gentleness of the Saviour, traces of the Virgin's influence or not, we cannot but feel, how blessed a thing it is for us that we have in Christ one who is meek and lowly in heart; how blessed a thing it is, that the human heart of the God-man can sympathize fully with the weaknesses and sorrows, aye, and with the temptations and sins of the poorest and frailest of the children of earth.

H. N. B.

THE FIRST-BORN, A TITLE OF JESUS CHRIST.

COL. i. 15. *Πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*,—*the first-born of every creature.*

THESE words of the Apostle have given rise to considerable diversity of opinion among the interpreters of Scripture, not so much as to the meaning of the words themselves taken separately, as in regard to the precise import of the *expression* which they combine to make up.

The term *πρωτότοκος*, compounded of *πρῶτος* "first," and *τίκτω* "to beget" or "bring forth," is uniformly employed by the Greek translators of the Old Testament, and after them by the authors of the New, as the equivalent of the Hebrew *בְּרִיָּה* "first-born," or "first-begotten:" it is always so rendered in our English Version; nor do we know of any dispute as to its acceptance in any passage except the one before us. This use of the term is unknown to classic authors; they employ it with the accent drawn forward to the penult (*πρωτοτόκος*) in an active sense, as applied to a mother "bearing her first-born."

Κτίσις, from *κτίζω*, "to build, establish, create," is used in

the classics in the sense of "founding" or "settling" cities and the like. In the New Testament, with the single exception of 1 Pet. ii. 13 (where it seems to mean an "appointment," or "institution"), it is always employed in one of two senses, just like our own word *creation*: viz., either (1) for the "act of creating" itself (as Rom. i. 20); or (2) for "that which is created;" as (a) "any created thing," "a creature" (see Rom. i. 25); (b) collectively, "all creatures together," "the universe" (as Mark xiii. 19); (c) specially, "intelligent creatures," *e. g.*, man (as Mark xvi. 15); (d) with the adjective *καινός*, in a *moral* sense, for "renewed man," "a new creature." The context clearly fixes it down to the second of these senses (b or c) in the passage before us: it is generally considered as equivalent to τὰ πάντα (ver. 16).

It is not then too much to say, at the outset, that the *literal translation* of the words before us, such as would at once be assigned to them by any unbiassed mind, guided solely by hermeneutical principles, and these the most elementary and axiomatical, would be as nearly as possible that given in our English Version, viz., "first-begotten," or "first-born of all creation," or "of all creatures;" and if any one proposed to translate them differently, it would be expected that some very cogent reasons should be adduced, and these likewise founded on the admitted laws of exegesis, to defend any variation from the rendering which so naturally suggests itself. Whether the words so rendered are to be taken *literally* or *figuratively*, and what is the precise *idea* conveyed by the expression as applied by the Apostle to our blessed Lord, are questions still open, and will come before us in the sequel.

We proceed, therefore, to take a brief review of the different constructions that have been put upon the words, or the various *interpretations of the phrase*, noticing of course, at the same time, any departures from the literal rendering which may have been proposed in support of such interpretations.

I. The *first* that claims our attention is what we shall designate, for distinction's sake, the *ancient* interpretation, not as by any means confined to the first ages, but because it is the oldest attempt at an exposition of the phrase of which any traces have come down to us. We say *traces*, because the fathers do not quote Scripture in that precise manner to which we are accustomed, by referring to chapter and verse (divisions which had in their day no existence); and, moreover, they very seldom favour us with anything like a critical examination of, and opinion upon, such passages as they do quote. It is sufficiently evident, however, from their writings, in which the person of Christ is a topic

very copiously and frequently handled, that they understood the term, *πρωτότοκος*, to imply "begotten before," and taking the words *literally*, explained the expression to mean—"that our blessed Lord as to his divine nature, which they denominated *Logos* (the appellation employed by John in the prologue to his Gospel) was actually, though of course supernaturally, begotten or produced from God the Father, before any created being had existence." And this is the explanation given of the phrase by the great majority of orthodox divines and commentators from the Council of Nice till within a recent period (*ante ullam rem creatam genitus*, as they were wont to expound it). We do not find a greater display of scientific exegesis among the ancient heretics, than among the orthodox fathers: in more modern times, however, the revivers of old and propounder of new heresies have shewn considerable ingenuity in their attempts to defend their respective tenets by an appeal to Scripture. In the present instance they generally adhere to the literal translation (as exhibited in our Version), but out of that translation they contrive to elicit sentiments very much at variance with those commonly entertained. And so,—

II. The *Arians* explain the expression thus: they say that "the first-born of the whole creation," means 'the first-made creature;' and in this they are supported by the founder of the sect himself, who applied to our Lord the terms *κτισθεὶς* (created) and *κτίσμα* (creature).^c

III. According to the *Unitarians* again,—“the first-born is of the order and number of those things of which he is the first-born. Christ, therefore, being styled ‘the first-born of

^a Thus in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, with an evident allusion to the passage under consideration, it is said, *Filius quidem Dei omni creaturâ antiquior est* (iii. Sim. 9, 12). Justin Martyr seems to be giving us his paraphrase of the words when he calls our Lord *πρωτότοκον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ πρὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων* (*Dial. cum Tryph.*, 100, as cited by Burton). So Clement of Alexandria, when he says, *Ἡ τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴ ἐπεκρίνισται ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου πρώτης καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων* (*Strom.* v. f. 565, as cited by Neander). And Epiphanius, with an express reference to this verse in Colossians, speaks of the *Logos* as *μὴ συνημμένος τῇ κτίσει, ἀλλὰ πρὸ κτίσεως γεγεννημένος*: οὐ γὰρ εἶπε πρωτόκτιστος, ἀλλὰ πρωτότοκος (*Haer.* lxxviii. 17, cited by Burton). To which may be added the gloss of “the Apostle’s Creed” (so called) as exhibited in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, which though marked by Dr. Bunsen as “doubtful,” he nevertheless regards as “a scholastic formulæ” of the Ante-Nicene period, and as “expressing, on the whole, the learned consciousness of the Church about the middle of the third century:” *τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα*: after which, in some MSS., follows *οὐ κτισθέντα* (*Apost. Const.* vii. 41, in Bunsen’s *Analecta*).

^b e. g., Whiston,—“the first being which God created.”—*Primitive Christianity Revised*. Vol. iv., p. 113.

^c *Θελήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸ χρόνων καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων κτισθέντα*. *Arius, Ep. ad Alex.* *κτίσμα γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ποίημα*. *Ib. Thaleia* (see Gieseler).^d

every creature,' must be in the order and of the number of the creatures."

The reader needs not to be informed what were the views held by these two parties in reference to the person of Christ.

1. On the *ancient* interpretation we have to remark, in the first place, that however old its origin, however extensive its popularity, and however long-lived its reign, it must be pronounced altogether inadmissible, even as regards the *turn* which it gives to the words. There is but one way in which the term, *πρωτότοκος*, can signify 'born or begotten before,' and that is by inference from its only proper and literal meaning (in Hellenistic Greek) of "first-born," or "first-begotten." To denote the former then in any given instance, it must at the same time be appropriately used in the latter sense also. Thus, we can say of Reuben (as in Gen. xvi. 8) that he was *ὁ πρωτότοκος Ἰακώβ*, 'the first first-born son of Jacob;' or, *ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν υἱῶν Ἰακώβ*, 'the first-born of, or among the sons of Jacob,' as his brethren, which of course *implies* that he was 'born before' them. But we cannot use the same expression (*ὁ πρωτ. τ. υ. Ἰακ.*) of Noah, to intimate that he was born before the children of Israel; nor could we say of Nimrod, that he was *ὁ τῶν Χαναανῶν πρωτότοκος*, to intimate that that "mighty hunter" flourished before the era of the Canaanites.

Now, in the expression before us, the term can be said to be used in its proper signification only on one of two suppositions, either that our blessed Lord was no more than a creature, or that it is his human nature merely that is referred to; and as the advocates of the interpretation in question very properly deny the former, and are as far as possible from admitting the latter, their interpretation falls to the ground.

This however is not all: if *τῆς κτίσεως* be taken to mean 'all created *things*,' it confounds *creating* with *begetting*; and is much the same as if we should say of a man that he was 'the first-born of a city,' to indicate that he was born before any of the houses of the city were *built*; a mode of speaking to which we know no parallel, and a use of *πρωτότοκος* of which we may safely challenge any one to adduce an example from any author, sacred or profane, unless it may be as a mere echo of its *supposed* use in this passage.

It may perhaps be objected that the fathers of the first three centuries, many of whom wrote in Greek themselves, must surely be allowed to have been better judges of the meaning of the Apostle's language than *we* can be. This, however, as every scholar knows, is by no means the case. The learned Christians of those days were far more occupied with philosophy than with

philology (their neglect of which indeed has been already hinted at); the consequence of which was, that they were in great danger of interpreting Scripture according to their theology, instead of deriving their theology from Scripture.

2. The *Arian* interpretation, in common with the patristic, is open to the charge of confounding begetting with creating.^d Had the Apostle meant to say that our Lord was "the first-made creature," he would not have used the term *πρωτότοκος*, but *πρωτόκτιστος*, as was long ago remarked by Epiphanius in his work against heretics.^e

3. The *Socinian* interpretation has this in its favour, that it at least does no violence to the *language* of the Apostle. Whether the inference it deduces from the words is one to which they necessarily lead, is a point which we reserve for future consideration. In the meantime we may safely leave its propounders to be confuted by an act of *felo de se*; for while they affirm that the expression before us proves that Christ was only a creature, they hold that, in the connexion in which the expression occurs, the Apostle is speaking of a *moral*, and not of a *physical* creation; the inconsistency of which is sufficiently obvious, and has been admirably exposed by Dr. Whitby in his note on the passage.

We have, however, a second remark to make, which applies to each of the interpretations we have been considering:—*viz.*, that they are all at variance with those numerous passages of Scripture, in which the supreme and *absolute divinity* of our Lord is either expressly asserted, or plainly implied: the orthodox view, inasmuch as it makes our Lord to have been *literally begotten* as to his original nature; the heretical expositions, as avowedly representing him as a *created* being. That this charge applies to the last-mentioned interpretations, and is fatal to them, will, we are sure, be at once admitted by all the readers of this Journal; if any doubt the force of it as regards the former, we would recommend to their attentive perusal the sober and able reasoning of Professor Stuart on the *Sonship of Christ*, in the first excursus appended to his *Commentary on the Romans*, and the first three of those which accompany his *Commentary on the Hebrews*.

In modern times, a more accurate acquaintance with sacred philology and sounder principles of exegesis, coupled with a juster estimate of the high place which is due to these branches of study, have not been without their influence on the views taken of this passage.

^d This Arius constantly and deliberately does. Thus he speaks of the Son as γεννηθείς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων κτισθείς. *Ep. ad Alex.*

^e See note, p. 19.

I. Some, as Erasmus, have proposed to read *πρωτοτόκος* (acuted on the penult), instead of *πρωτότοκος* (with the accent on the antepenult), and to translate 'the first-begetter (or producer) of all creatures.'

II. *Clarke, Macknight, Whitby, Schleusner*, and after them, *Davidson, Cobbin*, and others are of opinion, that there is here a special reference to the privileges which in ancient times belonged to the first-born, as heir to his father's estate (2 Chron. xxi. 3), and lord of his brethren (Gen. xxvii. 37); and consider the expression as equivalent to *κληρονόμος πάντων* (Heb. i. 2), or *κύριος πάντων* (Gal. iv. 1; Acts x. 36), taking the terms *first-born, heir*, and *lord* as synonymous.

III. *Storr* renders,—“of all created things the chief;” and *Barnes* paraphrases the passage thus,—“Among all the creatures of God, or over all his creation, occupying the rank and pre-eminence of the first-born.”

Yet there are still many, as *Scott*, and apparently *Doddridge, Valpy, Bloomfield*, and *Olshausen*, who cling with more or less tenacity to the ancient interpretation, which some of them make a shew of defending on philological grounds. *Olshausen* thus winds up his comment: “There is implied then in the name, the begetting of the Son of God out of God, in the beginning, before all creatures.”^f

1. The proposal to read *πρωτοτόκος* as a paroxytone, and to render it 'first begetter,' though at first view very plausible, and apparently in harmony with the scope of the Apostle, will be found, on closer examination, to be open to very serious, if not insurmountable objections. In the first place, such a use of the term, as we have formerly observed, is wholly unknown to the sacred writers. 2ndly, when used by classic authors, it is applied not to *males*, but to *females*, and signifies not 'begetting for the first time,' or 'first-begetter,' but 'giving birth for the first time;' nor do they employ it as a noun in construction with a genitive (as would be the case in this instance, according to the rendering proposed), but simply as an adjective agreeing with its substantive, as in the following passage from Homer:—

— ὣς τις περὶ πόρτακι μήτηρ :

Πρωτοτόκος, κινυρή, οὐ πρὶν εἰδῶια τόκοιο.

Il., xvii. 5.^g

But even supposing such a sense as that proposed could be justified by classical usage, it by no means suits the connexion in

^f Es liegt dann in dem Namen das im Anfang vor allen Creatur aus Gott Geboren seyn des Sohnes Gottes.

^g Comp. Jer. iv. 31, where the participle of the cognate verb *πρωτοτοκῶ* is used in the same way by the LXX. for Heb., יָרָא.

which the word here stands. For, 3rdly, it confounds creating with begetting, as has before been urged against the ancient and Arian interpretations. 4thly, in speaking of our Lord as the begetter or producer of ALL creatures, it seems altogether incongruous to style him 'first-begetter,' as if then 'producing *for the first time*,' for this could only hold good of that which he *first* created. *Lastly*, such a rendering makes the Apostle guilty of a glaring tautology, and indeed of making a statement the proof of itself; for he immediately adds, in support of his assertion (that our Lord is πρωτ. πασ. κτισ.)—ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα, "*for by him were all things created.*"

2. The interpretation which makes the phrase equivalent to κληρονόμος or κύριος πάντων, comes much nearer to the truth, but still it cannot be considered as altogether satisfactory. In the first place, the terms πρωτότοκος, κληρονόμος, and κύριος are not *identical*, so that the one can be put *simply* for the other; since a man may be *lord* of that of which he is not *heir*, and an *heir*, although not the *first-born*. This, however, we shall suppose, is not maintained, but that the Apostle has here in his eye the privileges of the eldest son, in reference to which these three terms are *synonymous*. Admitting this, still it does not follow that the words 'first-born,' 'heir,' and 'lord,' can be used *indifferently* the one for the other. The eldest son may be styled 'his father's first-born,' or even 'the first-born of (i.e., among) his brethren,' if he has any; but not 'his father's lord,' nor 'the heir of his brethren,' and least of all, 'the first-born of his father's estate.' The fact is, that while the terms are indeed synonymous in so far as one may suggest or imply the idea expressed by another, it is still necessary that each be *appropriately used as regards its own special signification*; and this holds good in Greek as well as in English. Supposing "creation," therefore, or "all things" (πάσης κτίσεως being considered as=τῶν πάντων) to be here viewed as the *inheritance* of Christ in virtue of his being the Son of God, we can perfectly understand how he might have been styled 'Heir, or Lord of creation,' just as he is elsewhere denominated "Heir" and "Lord of all things;" but that he should, according to the same view, be designated "the *first-born* of creation," is a mode of speaking altogether unique, and without example in any language with which *we* are acquainted. It is true we are referred to the expression, בְּכֹרֵי עוֹלָם, "first-born of the world,"^a applied by Rabbinical writers to Jehovah (of which we shall afterwards take more particular notice); but this only

^a Erroneously translated in one commentary, "first-born of the Lord."

proves that we have not yet arrived at the correct solution of either phrase. For how can *that* expression be explained on the hypothesis of a reference to primogeniture? Whose son, with reverence be it asked, is God? or from whom can He be said to have received creation as an inheritance?

3. It will, we think, be found that the expositions of Storr and Barnes (a similar explanation is given by Glassius, *Phil. Sac.*, iii. 1, 17, but he does not keep to it)¹ recall us to the only ground that is really tenable. But although both these commentators refer the phrase to its *class*, neither of them has stated its *rationale*, which is obviously a point of fundamental importance, not only to our confidence in the soundness of any explanation that is offered, but also to the distinctness of our conceptions in regard to it. That the expression is *tropical*, may, we think, be fairly presumed from a consideration, on the one hand, of the partiality of the Eastern mind for figurative language, and the influence which not only country, but familiarity with the style and idiom of the Old Testament Scriptures must have exerted on the diction of the writers of the New; and, on the other, from the formidable objections to which, as we have seen, all attempts at a *literal* rendering are open. Instead, however, of simply assuming *pro re nata*, and without warrant from the *usus loquendi*, that πρωτότοκος is figuratively used for κληρονόμος or the like, the proper course seems to be to inquire, whether there is any well-known Oriental, and especially *Hebrew* metaphor, to which this use of the term can be referred.

Now there is an idiom of the Semitic or Syro-Arabian family, of very frequent occurrence in Hebrew and Arabic particularly, according to which the terms *son* and *daughter*, in construction with another noun (or a pronoun) are figuratively employed to express various relations, more or less resembling or adumbrating the filial relation, not only between persons, but things, and even betwixt persons and things.

1. Between *persons* it expresses the relation of (a) *descent*; as "sons of Israel" (Exodus i. 7, etc.) for "Israelites," "sons of Ammon" (Genesis xix. 38, etc.) for "Ammonites;" more widely, "sons of the Ethiopians" (Amos ix. 7) for "Ethiopians," "sons of the Greeks" (Joel iv. 6) for "Greeks" simply (compare the υἱες Ἀχαιῶν of Homer) حَبْلُ "son of man," for "man;" and more loosely still, "sons of the poor" (Ps. lxxii. 4) for "poor," "son of nobles" (Eccl. x. 17) for "a noble." (So in Greek ἱατρῶν υἱεῖς, "sons of physicians" for "physi-

¹ To these names we should add that of the Rev. Dr. E. Henderson, to whose lectures we are indebted for the first hint of the view here offered.

cians;" *παῖδες ῥητόρων*, "sons of orators," for "orators.") (b) *Discipleship*, the teacher being considered as *in loco parentis*: as "sons of the prophets" (1 Kings xx. 35, etc.) for "disciples of the prophets" (compare 2 Kings vi. 21). (c) *Subjection*; as in 2 Kings xvi. 7 (compare the *Æneadæ* of Virgil). (d) *Being the object of peculiar regard*; as when the nation of Israel is called by God his "son" (Hosea xi. 1, etc.)

2. Between *things* it denotes (a) *derivation*, either real, as when a *child* is called בֶּן־בֶּטֶן "a son of the womb;" arrows, בָּנֵי הַקֶּיֶץ "sons of the quiver," or "of the quivers" (compare the *gravida sagittis pharetra* of Horace); *speech*, בֶּן־שֵׁפֶט "the son of the lip;" a *word*, חַבֵּל "daughter of the voice;" tears, בָּנֵי הָעֵינַי "daughters of the eye;" or apparent, as when the *morning-star* is called בֶּן־בֹּקֶר "son of the dawn," as issuing from "the womb of the morning" (compare Homer's ἠὼς ἡμυγένεια). (b) *Dependence*; as when the smaller towns and villages dependent on Heshbon are styled בָּנֵי הֶשְׁבֹן "her daughters" (Numb. xxi. 25), and so in similar cases (compare 2 Sam. xx. 19). (c) *Resemblance*; as בָּנֵי רָשָׁף "sons of flame or lightning," for "eagles," according to Gesenius. (d) *Succession*; as בֶּן־הַיּוֹם "son of the day" for "a day."

3. Between *persons and things* it indicates (a) *native-place*, cities and countries being conceived of as *mothers*; as בָּנֵי צִיּוֹן "sons of Zion," for "Zionites;" בָּנֵי כְנָעַן "daughters of Canaan," for "Canaanites" (compare Is. li. 17, 18). (b) *Age*, whatever is effected *in time*, as production, bringing to maturity, etc., being ascribed *to time*; as בֶּן־חֲמִשָּׁה מֵאוֹת שָׁנִים "a son of five hundred years," for "five hundred years old." (c) *Character*, the individual being conceived of as *taught and trained* by the virtues or vices which characterise him; as בֶּן־חַיִל "a son of valour," for "a warrior," or "a son of virtue" (1 Kings i. 52), for "a virtuous man," בֶּן־רָעָה "a son of wickedness," for "a wicked man" (compare the personification of wisdom as a *teacher* in the Book of Proverbs). (d) And so, more vaguely, to indicate various states or conditions, where it is sometimes not very easy to trace the similitude; as when "a stranger" is called בֶּן־נֶכֶד "a son of strangeness," "one who has been anointed" בֶּן־שֶׁמֶן "a son of oil," or "a traveller" בֶּן־הַדֶּרֶךְ "a son of the way," etc.

It is easy to see how such a use of the terms *son* and *daughter* might pave the way for a like figurative use of the

term *first-born*; and that in point of fact it was so employed in Hebrew can be established by unequivocal examples. Thus "the first-born of the poor," בְּכוֹר הָעֲנִי (Is. xiv. 30), clearly means "the poorest" in the land, and "the first-born of death," בְּכוֹר מָוֶת (Job xviii. 13), as plainly denotes "the most deadly disease," of which death is represented as the parent.

A comparison of the two figures (if indeed they can be considered as distinct) will further shew that the latter is related to the former as the superlative of an adjective to its positive, the ground of this being the pre-eminence of the *eldest* son among the Jews; and, accordingly, the positive of the first of the examples just given will be found in Ps. lxxii. 4, already noticed (1, a); while the Arabic exhibits, with some slight variation, the foundations of both, "diseases" being styled in that language, "daughters of fate" or "death," بَنَاتُ الْمَوْتِ and "a poor man," *necessitatis filius*, "a son of poverty," ابْنُ الْحَاجَةِ.

It thus appears that the term בְּכוֹר, is figuratively used to express that which is first or chief in its own kind.^b

A stronger and more lively example of the figure as descriptive of connexion between persons occurs in Exod. iv. 22, where Israel is styled God's "first-born;" "Israel is my son, even my first-born" (compare Jer. xxxi. 9); phraseology which obviously proceeds upon the principle that the nations in general, as objects of the care and bounty of him who is "the God of the spirits of all flesh," may be termed 'sons of God;' and implies, as was in point of fact the case, that the Israelites were regarded by Jehovah with especial affection, and exalted above all other nations in honour and privileges (see Deut. vii. 6; xxvi. 18, 19; Amos vi. 1, where they are styled רִאשׁוֹן הָעַמִּים, "the chief of the nations").

The New Testament abounds with examples of the former of these figures. Thus Christians are denominated, "sons of God," as "born of God" (John i. 12, 13), as "beloved of God" (Heb. xii. 5, 6), as "heirs of God" (Rom. viii. 17), and as, in some measure at least, reflecting the divine image and likeness (Phil. ii. 15 with Matt. v. 9, 45); as resembling Abraham in his faith, they are called "the children of Abraham" (who in his turn is called "the father of the faithful"); as yielding to the claims of God to rule in their hearts—"children of the kingdom;" as enlightened by saving truth—"children of the light," etc.;

^b *Metaphoricè dicitur de qualibet re, in suo genere præcipua et primaria.* Ges., *Lex. Man.*

while the ungodly, on the other hand, are termed—"children of the devil," "children of this world," "children of darkness," etc.

That the *other* figure had at least not become obsolete is sufficiently evident from Heb. xii. 23, where the term "first-born" (*πρωτοτοκος*) which, as we have seen, is applied in the Old Testament to Israel as a *nation*, is transferred by the Apostle to the *spiritual Israel*, of which the former was a type (compare in this connexion the reference in 1 Peter ii. 9, to Exodus xix. 6).¹ It

¹ We are aware that this is not the view generally taken of the expression, which is explained by some, as Macknight, referring to Old Testament usage, of the "pious Israelites of all ages;" by others, as Calvin and Stuart, of "the brightest ornaments of the Church at different periods of her history, as patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs."

In regard to the former of these opinions, we would ask whether the *separation* between Jews and Gentiles which has been abolished on earth is to be perpetuated in heaven? or, if this inference be disclaimed, whether it is likely that the Apostle, (we here assume the Pauline origin of the Epistle referred to,) in a treatise designed for the use of *Jewish* Christians, the grand aim of which is to shew that the Levitical dispensation has been superseded by a better, should have intended to draw a *distinction*, in terms so marked and invidious, between those of Jewish and Gentile extraction, among the members of the Church above? If again we adopt the other explanation, it is not easy to see why the patriarchs, etc., should be represented as forming a separate *ἐκκλησία*, or why it should be affirmed of them in particular, that they "are written in heaven."

Many of the older commentators, indeed, extend the meaning of the phrase to the whole body of the elect indiscriminately. But this, in common with the two preceding interpretations, is open to the objection of confounding *two classes* separately specified in the *same verse*, viz., "the church of the first-born which are written in heaven," and "the spirits of just men made perfect;" for if the latter, as Macknight supposes, embraces "all, in every age, who have feared God and wrought righteousness," then it must include the former, whether that be restricted to Jews, or to the most distinguished saints of all countries and times; and if, on the other hand, the former of these expressions describes the Church universal, it must, *pari passu*, comprise those denoted by the latter.

It is indeed astonishing how the very obvious *antithesis* between what is predicated of the one class, that they "are written in heaven," and the description of the other as "spirits made perfect," should have been so generally overlooked by interpreters; and that they should so easily have got over the difficulty of its being affirmed of persons supposed to be in heaven *themselves*, that they were *written* in heaven. We have doubtless some very plausible reasoning in defence of such an incongruity, as "that heaven is here, as elsewhere, represented as a city, and that the words in question simply indicate the fact of *citizenship*;" which, although so far good, does not remove the difficulty. It is worthy of remark that the equivalent phrase, "written," or "having one's name written in the book of life," is never used to describe the *actual* inhabitants of the heavenly world; on the contrary, any one who will take the trouble to examine the different passages where it occurs, will find, that in every case it is applied to parties either then on *earth* (Luke x. 20; Phil. iv. 3; Rev. iii. 5; xiii. 8; xvii. 8; xxii. 19), or at least only *about to enter* heaven (Rev. xx. 15; xxi. 27); enrolment in the book of life, or as a citizen of the New Jerusalem, being in fact, as all Scripture (see in particular Rev. xiii. 8; xvii. 8) proclaims, antecedent to, and, if we may so speak, the passport of admission there. Professor Stuart, sensible of this, and apparently admitting, what we suppose nobody will dispute, that the two expressions are *substantially* the same in import, thinks he sees a ground for the distinction which he makes (viz., that the former refers to persons already in heaven) in the difference of the phraseology employed; *ἀπορρίψαντες*

is transferred however, not merely as a proper name or title, but as even still more appropriate to the latter on their own account.

being used in the passage before us, but *γράφω* in all the others referred to. This, however, is altogether illusory. Every scholar knows how often in the classical languages the *simple* verb is interchanged with its *compounds*, as in this very instance, *ἀπογράφειν* and *γράφειν τινα* (see Xen., *Cyrop.*, iv. 3, 21), being both used in the sense of "enrolling." The former is indeed the more usual; the frequency with which the latter is found in the New Testament (generally however with the addition of *τὸ ὄνομα*) being doubtless due to the circumstance, that it had already been hallowed by the usage of Old Testament poets and prophets (see Ps. lxi. 28; Is. iv. 3; where the LXX. render *ἠρᾶ* by *γράφω*). Besides, had the professor turned to Luke ii. 1—6, he would have found that *ἀπογράφω* is there used by the evangelist of the registering of persons in districts and cities to which by tribe and family they *belonged*, but where they did not (usually) *reside*.

It seems to have been generally overlooked that the Apostle is not here describing *heaven* and its inhabitants, but contrasting the *old dispensation* with the *new*; the symbol of the one being "Mount Sinai," and of the other "Mount Zion" or "Jerusalem," and so denominated "the heavenly" (not 'the new') Jerusalem" (precisely as in Gal. iv. 24—27); and it would be strange, if in an enumeration of the privileges to which those living under the latter "are come," he should have omitted fellowship with the company of *believers on earth*. Nor can we help thinking, that under the phraseology employed there lurks a designed contrast between the Christian Church and that "which was in the wilderness;" the latter—having a common ritual and sanctuary, and identical with the nation itself—being at once recognisable as a concrete and well defined whole, and so styled in their own Scriptures *πρωτότοκος*, in the singular; the former—as an aggregate of individuals possessing a particular character, which may nevertheless be counterfeited, belonging to every nation under heaven, and differing from each other in innumerable outward and minor circumstances—standing forth in all its purity and completeness to the eye of omniscience alone, and so described by the Apostle as *ἐκκλησία πρωτότοκων*, in the plural; the names of the members of the one (as remarked by Bengel), being duly entered in the public registers, but those of the other represented as written in the archives of heaven.

That it is not under this designation, but under that of "the spirits of the just" that there is an allusion to the saints of the former dispensation (of whom the Church above, in the Apostle's time, chiefly consisted) is further evident from the latter being described as "made perfect." The original term (*τετελειωμένων*) of which the rendering in our version is apt to lead to an incorrect conception, occurs in eight passages of this Epistle, besides the one before us; in none of them with reference to *moral perfection*, as we speak, but always in the sense of "making complete," or "being made complete" in respect to some contemplated end or object, what that object is, being determined by the context. Now, as the Apostle concludes the previous chapter, in which he has been discoursing concerning the influence of faith on the characters of "the righteous" under the ancient economy, by saying that they "received not the promise, God having provided some better thing for us, that they, without us, should not be *made perfect*," or "complete" (chap. xi. 39, 40), we cannot resist the conviction that it must be the same "just men" of old to whom he *here* refers, in speaking of the new economy, as *now* "made complete" (in respect to the *ground* of their justification at least) by the accomplishment of "the promise" in the offering up of Jesus Christ once for all, according to chap. x. 14, q.v.

Long after we had been led to this view of the passage, we were gratified to find that it had been the support of the learned Dr. Owen (see his *Comm. on the Hebrews*).

For it is clear that mankind in general may be denominated "Sons of God," and that on various grounds: *e. g.*, as *the creatures of his hand*, and objects of his care, in which sense we find the term applied to Adam in the table of our Lord's genealogy (Luke iii. 38), and to the race at large by the Apostle, quoting from Aratus or Cleanthes (Acts xvii. 28; comp. Mal. ii. 10), and because *treated by him as children* in his goodness to them, and the honour he has put upon them above the lower orders of creation (comp. Psalm viii.) When Christians, therefore, as here, are entitled "the first-born (among men)," their pre-eminence over the rest of mankind,—as the objects of God's *distinguished* favour, and exalted, singly and severally (through connexion with their head), to the dignity of "kings and priests unto God,"—is thereby indicated.

This however is not all. The Apostle had before him an example of the application of the same figure to the Messiah himself in Psalm lxxxix. 28 (27),—"I will make him *first-born*, the highest of the kings of the earth." That בְּרִיךְ has here the meaning which we have assigned to it, must be admitted by every Hebrew scholar; the superlative of an adjective in that language being simply the *positive limited*, either by the article prefixed as הַבְּרִיךְ (Gen. xl. 17), or, as in the passage before us, by a following genitive, $\text{בְּרִיךְ בְּנֵי אָדָם}$ (for every tyro knows that the participle בְּרִיךְ is the sign of that case, and not of the comparative degree, as our translators have rendered it):^a but since, agreeably to the laws of Hebrew poetry, בְּרִיךְ in the first clause answers to בְּרִיךְ in the second, it follows that the former is also a superlative, referring to priority, not in *time*, but in *rank*, and therefore so far corresponding with the figurative use of the term which we have been considering. If the primary, though subordinate, reference of the verse to *David* (comp. 1 Chron. xiv. 17; and see Rosenmüller and Hengstenberg *in loc.*) be admitted, we shall have an additional argument to prove that בְּרִיךְ is here to be taken *metaphorically*, that prince being, in fact, the *youngest* of his family. The genitive of the comparison indeed is not expressed, that being left, as in Exodus iv. 22, to be inferred by the reader. If we are to follow Michaelis (*Reges Hebraei vocant filios Dei: Rex maximus videtur esse primogenitus horum filiorum Dei*), we must borrow the genitive of the second clause, and supply, "of kings." This, however, would be rather a *repetition* than a *parallel*; and as the term is put by the Psalmist in the most absolute manner, we think we are warranted in taking it in the

^a If the reader have any lingering doubts on this head, let him compare the construction of בְּרִיךְ in Genesis xxv. 25, with that in 2 Samuel xix. 21 (20). See also Ges. *Heb. Gram.*, § 117, 2.

most comprehensive sense, as implying that the Messiah would be the "first-born," or 'chief' of all (whether more or less exalted) who on any ground might be designated 'sons of God;' the particular idea of *dignity* involved in the relation of sonship (comp. Hebrew iii. 6) being brought out more explicitly in the second clause.*

We might therefore at once take it for granted that the term is *here* used in the same metaphorical sense. On examination, however, we think it will be found not only that it is so used, but that it was probably borrowed by the Apostle from the Psalm referred to. For, in the *first* place, the main topic of the Apostle and that of the Psalmist are the same, *viz.*, the glory and dignity of Christ. 2ndly. If the position be admitted that *בְּרִיָּה*, as put *absolutely*, is to be understood *universally* in the Psalm, then the Apostle, in denominating our Lord "the first-born of every creature," can only be regarded as adding the appropriate and legitimate supplement; since to say that Christ, who is God, is "the first-born," or 'the chief of all,' *i. e.*, 'of all *beings*,' and that he is "the first-born of all *creatures*," are perfectly equivalent expressions, there being none but creatures with whom he *can* be compared.

Nor, viewed in this light, is it difficult to see its appropriateness. For, from what has been said of metaphorical sonship, it is manifest that all creatures, or at least, what is sufficient for our purpose, all *intelligent* creatures may, on some ground or other, be styled 'sons of God.' Nor is this only conceivable, but quite in accordance with Scriptural usage. Thus, *holy angels* are called "sons of God" (Job i. 6; ii. 1; etc.), especially perhaps on account of the excellence and dignity of their nature (comp. Heb. i. 4 with ii. 6) in which they resemble God; and those among *men* who fear God, and bear his image, are distinguished by the same title from those who fear him not (Gen. vi. 1; Luke xx. 36; Rom. viii. 14, etc., see p. 26). Nor is its use confined to those possessed of a particular *character*. It is applied to *kings* or magistrates (Psalm lxxii. 6; comp. Psalm ii. 6, 7, where there seems to be a tacit allusion to this) simply in virtue of their office, as having authority under God over other men (Rom. xiii. 1, 2);^a also, as we have already seen, to

* So, *e. g.*, when it is said, Psalm xviii. 31:—

"For who is *God* save the Lord?
Or who is a *rock* save our God?"

where we cannot affirm that "God," in the first clause, means *nothing more* than "a rock" or 'protection;' but only that that is the aspect of Jehovah's character which the writer had specially in his eye at the time.

^a Compare the *διογενής βασιλῆς* of Homer, where the idea is the same; "as ordained and upheld by Zeus, not as if *actually his offspring*" (*Passow*).

mankind at large (as in Acts xvii. 28) not only as the creatures of Jehovah's hand, and supported by his care, but godlike in their rational and moral endowments. And on whatever ground of pre-eminence or worth *any* creature may be styled a 'son of God,' it is clear that on the same or similar grounds our Lord is superior to that creature, and may therefore be termed 'the first-born of them all.' The words *πάσης κτίσεως* may indeed be intended to comprise *every* order of creatures; for even irrational and inanimate things (such as the heavenly bodies) might without extravagance be viewed as the sons of God, having been not only made by him, but regarded by him with complacency, since he pronounced them "good" (Gen. i. 31), also as bearing the impress of his power, wisdom, and goodness, and so manifesting his glory to the higher orders of beings (Psalm xix., cxlviii.)^p We do not however insist upon this in the absence of any clear Scriptural example,^q because the superiority of Jesus Christ over the lower orders of creation obviously follows as an inference *à fortiori* from the assertion of his supremacy over all *intelligent* creatures; while we can scarcely imagine the sacred writer *formally* instituting such a comparison as the former. Storr, however, thus renders,—*rerum omnium creatarum princeps* (opusc. ii.)

Further, we venture to think that an examination of the other passages in which this term (*πρωτότοκος*) is applied to our Lord, those which manifestly refer to earthly relationship^r excepted, will shew that in all of them it is used in the *same* figurative sense, and will furnish additional evidence that the phraseology, whether as used by Paul or John, has been derived from the source which has been indicated (*viz.* Psalm lxxxix.)

(b.) That which naturally claims our first attention is the eighteenth verse of this same chapter (Col. i.), where our Lord is denominated *πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*, literally, "the first-born from the dead."

The generally received opinion in regard to this expression seems to be, that it signifies "the first that rose from the dead;" which, not being historically true, is reconciled with fact by the addition, 'to die no more,' and supported by an appeal to 1 Cor. xv. 20. On this we remark, 1st, that it has very much the appearance of a forced explanation, and is altogether *hypothetical*, unless it can be shewn, which we question, that 'to be born from

^p So we speak of a work, *e.g.*, a poem, as the *child* of its author.

^q Job xxxviii. 28, is sometimes thus explained, as if the Almighty there represented himself as *Father of the rain*, but we think erroneously; preferring with Schultens to take the interrogation as a virtual negative.

^r *Viz.*, Matt. i. 25; Luke ii. 7.

the dead,' is ever used, either in Greek or Hebrew, for 'being raised to life;' and even then we should still require authority for the limitation implied in the supplement proposed. 2ndly, It does not harmonize well with the context: for the topic of the Apostle is the excellence and dignity of Christ; and, after having celebrated him as the image of God, the chief of all creation, the maker and upholder of the universe, and head of the Church, it would surely be a remarkable instance of anticlimax, and altogether a lowering of the subject, to speak of his being "the first to rise from the dead."

The passage adduced from 1 Cor. is by no means parallel. The term "first-fruits" (*ἀπαρχή*) is not equivalent to, nor interchangeable with "first-born." Moreover, the Apostle is not there discoursing of *the dignity of Christ*, but of the final and glorious resurrection of his people (comp. verse 44), of which he describes that of their head and representative as the precursor and *pledge*. This, however, it could not be unless it *preceded* theirs; whence, with an allusion perhaps also to the *moral fitness* of such precedence (the resurrection of the members being in fact *dependent* upon that of the head, see John xiv. 19; 1 Thess. iv. 14), he adds, v. 23, "Every man in his own order; Christ the first-fruits," etc.

But if we take *πρωτότοκος* here in the same sense as in verse 15, a meaning is educed alike suitable to the connexion, and agreeable to the analogy of Scripture,—“chief of all, after he rose from the dead.” Every attentive reader of the New Testament must have observed how frequently our Lord's exaltation is alluded to both in the preaching and writings of the apostles, in connexion with, and as consequent upon his rising again from the dead (as Acts ii. 32, 33, 36; iii. 13, 15; iv. 10, 11; v. 30, 31; x. 40, 42; xiii. 30, 32, 33; xvii. 31; Eph. i. 20; 1 Peter i. 21; Rev. i. 18); for his elevation to the throne was the *reward* of that work (Phil. ii. 8; Heb. ii. 9; with Rev. iii. 21) of which his resurrection was the triumphant consummation (Rom. iv. 25; 1 Cor. xv. 14). There are two passages in particular where this connexion and sequence are referred to, in language so closely analogous to the expression before us as scarcely to leave further room for doubt.

The first of these is Acts xxvi. 23, *εἰ παθητὸς ὁ Χριστὸς, εἰ πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν φῶς μέλλει καταγγέλλειν τῷ λαῷ, κ.τ.λ.* How the rendering of the second clause of this verse in our English Bible could be extracted from the original, or

* Storr renders, *postquam princeps a mortuis excitatus fuit*; but mixes up different ideas, explaining *princeps* as=*primus et præstantissimus atq. exemplar* (loc. cit.)

where our translators found it written in "Moses" or any one of "the prophets," that "Christ should be the first that should rise from the dead," has often been to us matter of surprise. There are frequent references, however, in the prophetic portions of the Old Testament, not only to the sufferings of the Messiah, but also to the "glory which should follow;" of which we have a remarkable instance in Psalm ii., where it is affirmed that the "counsels" of the "kings and rulers of the earth against the Lord's anointed" (ver. 2), by which the New Testament teaches us to understand the *cabals* which resulted in his death (Acts iv. 25—27), would be impotent to frustrate the "decree," "Thou art my Son," etc., which, according to the same inspired authority (Acts xiii. 33), was "fulfilled" when God "raised him up again" from the dead: for that decree, whatever may be thought of some peculiarities in its phraseology, is unquestionably a public acknowledgment on the part of Jehovah of the Messiah as his "Son," and therefore coincident with the accession of the latter to all the honours, privileges, and power to which in that unique capacity he was entitled. Accordingly, what Paul declares that he taught in accordance with "Moses and the prophets" is, "That Christ should suffer, and that, as chief after his resurrection from the dead," he should shew light (or announce glad tidings) to the people and to the Gentiles" (compare Eph. ii. 17). Here *εἰ* is for *δι*, because the facts were *controverted* by the Jews; *πρῶτος* is "chief," as in 1 Tim. i. 15, and anarthrous as a *superlative*, as in Matth. xx. 27; xxii. 38, etc.; *ἐκ* "from the time of" = "after," as in the phrase *ἐκ τούτου* (*passim*), *ἐκ γενεῆς* (Hdt. iii. 33), *ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας* (Hdt. i. 86), *ἐξ ἡμέρας* (2 Peter ii. 8), etc.; and for the connexion between Christ's being made "chief" and his "shewing light," or commanding the Gospel to be preached to Gentiles as well as Jews (foretold, Isa. xlix. 6), it is sufficient to refer to Matt. xxviii. 18, 19, "All power is given unto me . . . go ye *therefore* and teach all nations," etc. It also completes the correspondence between this passage and Col. i. 18, that the Apostle goes on to speak of the "reconciliation" of the Gentiles in the immediately subsequent verses of that chapter (20, 21, 26, 27).

The other passage is Rom. i. 4, τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει . . . ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, "who was appointed," or, according to others, "declared the Son of God with power, after his resurrection from the dead."² Although the relevancy of

¹ *Postquam primus resurrexerit* (Storr. loc. cit.)

² See Green's *Grammar of the New Testament*, p. 53 (ii. 6), note.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 177 (iv. 3).

⁴ See also Passow on the preposition.

⁵ So Luther rightly,—*Seit der zeit er auferstanden ist von den Todten.*

the citation is not entirely dependent on the precise *shade* of meaning assigned to ὁπισθέρτος, we cannot help expressing our surprise that so great a host of expositors, both in ancient and modern times, should have adhered to the view expressed in our translation ("declared to be the Son of God—*by* his resurrection"), notwithstanding their own candid avowal that "no passage in which the verb (ὀφίζω) means directly *declare, ostendere*, is to be found either in profane or scriptural writers" (Olsh. *in loc.*), and the unusualness, to say the least, of the sentiment thus educed, as already noticed by Professor Stuart. How is this preference to be accounted for? Olshausen maintains that "from the connexion, it is manifestly not the decree of God, but the proof before men of Christ's divine Sonship that is here in question." But where is the evidence of this? He offers none; and to an unsophisticated reader, the Apostle would appear to be simply *describing* Him whose servant he had just announced himself (verse 1) to be. Besides, the raising of our Lord from the dead was not displayed "before" the world, and could never *of itself* have forced upon men a conviction of his divinity, not being a *direct* proof of that truth. It is not thus that Peter "proves" that Jesus was the Son of God, but by referring to the *voice* which came from heaven, by which he was expressly "declared" to be so (2 Peter i. 16, 17; compare similar proofs in Luke i. 32, 35; Matt. iii. 17). Nor is it to such evidence, but to the Old Testament Scriptures, that Paul himself appeals in his Epistle to the Hebrews (chap. i.) And yet it is mainly on the strength of this unsupported and even improbable assumption, that the learned German assumes for ὀφίζω the otherwise unexampled signification of "prove." ("It must mean," he says, "in the present passage, in accordance with the connexion, to *prove* or *present*.")

The chief reason, however, for this preference seems to be the *difficulty* of the sense furnished by taking the verb here in its usual and accredited acceptation ("to appoint"), as seeming to imply that Jesus was not the Son of God *before* his resurrection, and that he was so only by divine *appointment*. On this we would simply remark, without entering into theological discussion at present, that before admitting the force of the objection, it would be worth while to inquire if the *sense* referred to be inconsistent with the analogy of Scripture, and whether such *inferences* are fairly deducible from it. For, if so, what are we to make of the statement of Peter, who, after testifying to the fact of the resurrection, assures his hearers, "that God *hath made* (ἐποίησε) that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and *Christ*" (Acts ii. 36)? Is the difficulty greater than

that of the language of Psalm ii., which according to inspired interpretation, as we have seen, represents our Lord as *begotten* at his resurrection? Is it of no account that the announcement in that Psalm, "Thou art my son, etc." is described by the Messiah himself as a "decree," or *appointment*? or are the objectors prepared to explain away the force of $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$, as they do that of $\delta\pi\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$; there being no instance, so far as we are aware, of the Hebrew, any more than the Greek term being used in a sense simply *declaratory*? Is it not said in the prophets, "I will be his Father, and he *shall be* my Son" (2 Sam. vii. 14)? And does not the Apostle himself, in quoting these two last passages in proof of the dignity belonging to Christ as "the Son of God," speak of Him as "made ($\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, as in Rom. i. 3) so much better than the angels, as he hath, *by inheritance obtained* a more excellent name (*viz.*, that of the 'the Son') than they" (Heb. i. 4)?

It is to be observed, moreover, that our Lord is not here said *simpliciter* to have been appointed "Son of God," but "Son of God with power," which *as mediator*, it must be admitted he was *not* before. And this corresponds so exactly with his own words to his disciples before his ascension, to which reference has already been made ("all *power* is given unto me," Matt. xxviii. 18; compare xxiv. 30; 2 Peter i. 16; Rev. v. 12, etc.), that we wonder any one should seek any other explanation, to say nothing of the violence done to the genius of the language by construing $\epsilon\nu\ \delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota$ with $\delta\pi\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$.

If to this be added the numerous passages in which the Redeemer is spoken of as *appointed* to a station of *power* and *authority*,—such as "I will *make*" ($\theta\eta\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$) or "appoint him first-born" (Psalm lxxxix. 27); "whom he hath *appointed* ($\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon$) heir of all things" (Heb. i. 2); *made* an high-priest for ever" (Heb. vi. 20); "*ordained* of God to be judge of quick and dead" (Acts x. 42); "God will judge the world by the Man whom he hath *ordained*" (Acts xvii. 31); in the two latter of which the identical word in dispute ($\delta\pi\acute{\iota}\omega$) is employed,—all difficulty to our mind seems removed; and it should be considered whether the popular rendering does not, in fact, contravene the plainest and most generally acknowledged principles of interpretation.

Considering $\pi\rho\omega\tau\acute{o}\tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, therefore, in Col. i. 18, like $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ in Psalm lxxxix., as merely an abridged form of the title which is expressed more at length in verse 15, I take the *ground* of the Apostle's representation to be this:—That the Lord Jesus Christ being by *native* right, as "equal with God" (compare verses 16, 17), "the chief," and consequently ruler "of all," in becoming a substitute for sinful man, held that right for the time in

abeyance (ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε), and by his meritorious obedience unto death in the capacity of Mediator, *earned* a new and distinct claim to the same rank and title in behalf of those for whom he stood (see in particular, *inter alia*, Phil. ii. 6—12), so as to be not only “head of his body the church” (as here), but also “head over all things to the church” (as is said Eph. i. 22).

And this leads me to remark finally on this passage, that, considering the close analogy between the two Epistles, that to the Ephesians and that to the Colossians, we should really expect something in the introduction to the latter corresponding to what we have in chap. i., verses 21, 22, of the former; and where is this to be found if not in the clause before us? *ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχὴ* (q. d., ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, Rev. iii. 14^v), *πρωτότοκος* (q. d., πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, Col. i. 15) *ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*.

(c.) Let us now turn to Heb. i. 6, which, after what has been said, need not detain us long. The term *πρωτότοκος* is here used as an appellative, evidently familiar to the mind of the writer (a fact which we would venture to commend to the attention of those who argue against the Pauline authorship of this anonymous Epistle from the difference of *style*); and whether, in determining its significance, we take it as an absolute superlative, or as an elliptical expression, to be explained, like other ellipses, by the fuller form if it can be found (in this case occurring in Col. i. 15) the result is the same. The context, however, (see ver. 4) seems to indicate a tacit application of the generic import of the phrase,—“first-born” or “chief of all,”—to a particular case, *viz.*, Christ’s superiority over *angels*; who, as we have seen, are honourably designated “sons of God,” but among whom our Lord stands pre-eminently distinguished as “The Son” (ver. 8) “the first-born,” because far exalted above them in favour, glory, honour, and rank.

(d.) Still less occasion is there for enlarging on Rom. viii. 29, because the figure is there more fully carried out. *Christians*, through faith in Christ (John i. 12), and by being “conformed to his image,” and therefore to the divine, are brought into an intimate, endearing, and exalted relation to God, which is significantly described as that of his “children” (ver. 16); they receive the spirit of “sonship,” enabling them to address him as their “Father” (ver. 15); they are represented as “heirs of God, joint-heirs with Christ” (ver. 17), who condescends to call them “his brethren” (Heb. ii. 11—13); and it can be in no

other than this metaphorical sense that, as resembling, but immeasurably above them in all those respects which procure for them the appellation of "sons," he himself is styled "the first-born among many brethren." There can be no pretext here at least, for introducing the idea of *eternal Sonship*, or priority in rising from the dead, to mar the beauty of the figure, and rob the expression of that peculiar significance which has in all ages endeared it to the Christian heart.

(e.) The last and most perplexing example of the use of this term in reference to our Lord occurs in Rev. i. 5. Were we indeed at liberty to retain the *received* reading, there would be no difficulty, since the meaning already assigned to the words *πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*, in Col. i. 18, most appropriately suits the connexion here. As however the *ἐκ* is without any good authority,* the phrase used in this instance clearly demands separate consideration.

The commentators, as with one consent, either ignore the difference, and content themselves with simply referring the reader back to the Epistle; or set about proving that the two expressions are equivalent, which may be admitted without difficulty according to the *popular* interpretation of the passage in Colossians, but the case is altered, if the view which we have given of the language there used be correct. Hengstenberg goes a step further, and thinks he can shew that the Apocalyptic formula "rests on," *i. e.*, is borrowed from that of the Epistle; naively alleging "that the simple form 'of the dead' would scarcely have been used but for that other explanatory passage" (*Comm. in loc.*) We are not aware, however, that in any other instance John has been so much as suspected of imitating Paul; while, on the other hand, his thoroughly Jewish cast of mind, and consequent predilection for Old Testament phraseology, though not so manifest in his other writings, are conspicuous throughout the Apocalypse.^a It is therefore much more likely that he drew from the same fountain so often already referred to (Psalm lxxxix. 27), than that he borrowed at second hand from one so nearly cotemporary; while, if we grant, what can scarcely be denied, and is indeed admitted by Hengstenberg himself, that the description (*καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς*) which imme-

* It appears that as far back as the year 177, the expression is quoted without the preposition in the "Epistle from the Gallic churches to the churches in Asia," as in part preserved by Eusebius; *τῷ πιστῷ καὶ ἀληθινῷ μαρτύρῳ καὶ πρωτότῳ τῶν νεκρῶν*.

^a Witness, *inter alia*, the use made of the names Balaam, Jezebel, David, Jerusalem, Babylon, Egypt, Sodom, Gog and Magog those of the twelve tribes, etc.

diately follows is taken from the second clause of the same verse, the question would seem to be decided. For the rule in physics, that *we are not to seek for more causes than are sufficient to account for a phenomenon*, should be equally respected in sciences which have to do with mind; and it is certainly superfluous and unphilosophical to seek for two sources of a quotation, the *whole* of which is found in one. But if this be granted, the term *πρωτότοκος* must be here used in at least a *like* sense to that which it bears in the Psalm (viz., 'chief'), and that of 'first risen,' notwithstanding the prestige it has acquired, discarded as at once alien and unauthorized.

We consider that John, like Paul, understanding the expression, as employed by the Psalmist, *universally*, adapts it to his purpose by limiting it to a *particular class*, ascribing to our Lord the pre-eminence among those who had succumbed to death, just as the second clause *πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν* is modified by him to denote Christ's superiority over the living; "chief among the dead, ruler of the kings of the earth." Professor Stuart (*in loc.*) notices this as one of two possible interpretations, "that of all who have died, Christ is the most distinguished, *i.e.*, the leader or chief," admitting that "the mere form of expression would favour this sense," and that "for such a use of *πρωτότοκος*, one might compare Rom. viii. 29, and also Heb. xii. 23;" but after striking the balance between them, he decides in favour of the popular view, upon which at the same time he endeavours to graft the other idea, viz., of pre-eminence, "that he takes the lead in the resurrection, and precedes all others in point of rank," etc. This view, however, was first suggested to us by that of the late Dr. Henderson, who, like Mr. Stuart, identified the phrase in question with that of Col. i. 18, where he considered the terms *κεφαλή*, *ἀρχή*, and *πρωτότοκος*, as nearly synonymous, and descriptive of "the exalted dignity of our Saviour in relation to the spiritual world;" and that "while the two former chiefly refer to the rule of Christ over the Church in this world, the combination *πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν* carries it forward to that which is unseen;" at the same time comparing both passages with Rom. xiv. 9. Of course we do not agree with him in his interpretation of the passage in Colossians; nor do we think that the words of John here, any more than those of Paul in Rom. xiv., are to be *limited* to the relation sustained by our Lord to the *redeemed*, but that in both places the reference is to the dead universally. In the case before us, this seems to be required, not only by the absence of any qualifying epithet, but also by the parallelism of the following phrase: "Prince of the kings of the earth" (compare xvii. 14; xix. 16),

which is certainly not confined to the Church; while at the same time it is in keeping with the representations of the sequel of this book, as i. 18; xix. 11 to the end. In support of the like sentiment in Rom. xiv., we may compare 1 Cor. xv. 27; Eph. i. 22, and particularly Phil. ii. 9, 10.^b

Further, it does not follow, because we admit that the passage in Romans is parallel with that in Revelation, in so far as to serve as a *key* to it, that *πρωτότοκος*=*κύριος*, with which, as we have already shewn, it is by no means interchangeable *ad libitum*. But the structure of the connection in which it stands being poetical, and it being a frequent characteristic of Hebrew poetry, the style of which a Jew writing in Greek would insensibly imitate, that the one member of a couplet is, as it were, the complement of the other (*e.g.*, Ps. ii. 1, 2; lxxxix. 10, 16, 18), we may consider the *rule* expressed by *ἀρχων* as reflected back upon *πρωτότοκος*, and, *vice versa*, the *pre-eminence* of the latter “carried over,” so to speak, to the former.

Moreover, although not necessarily synonymous with *κύριος*, the idea of dominion may be *comprehended* in the term *πρωτότοκος* itself. We have seen that *kings* are styled “sons of God,” simply in virtue of their office; it is therefore agreeable to analogy, as well as highly probable in itself, that the *dominion* with which man was originally invested over the lower orders of creation (Gen. i. 28; compare Ps. viii.), as it is certainly one of the particulars in which he *resembled* God, and even yet bears the traces of his image, should be one of the grounds on which he is conceived of as “his offspring,” or son.^c In this, however, as in all other respects, Christ is immeasurably his superior, and

^b While it is certain that in this chapter the Apostle is addressing himself to Christians, his design being to shew the impropriety of judging one another, on the ground of their common subjection to Christ as Lord and judge, we cannot regard the statement in ver. 9 as exclusive, but as *inclusive* and general; and that for the following reasons:—

1st. Because we know from the passages above cited, and many others, that, in point of fact, Christ has been constituted “Lord of all,” and it is most natural and usual to adduce the *universal* as establishing the *particular*. (So if we should say that in England rich and poor are alike amenable to the laws, because Queen Victoria is sovereign both of rich and poor, no one acquainted with the extent of her empire would suppose that we meant to *confine* the latter statement to England.)

2ndly. *Universal* dominion is not only the meet reward of our Saviour’s redeeming work, but necessary for carrying out the plan of redemption, whence he is declared to be “head over all things to the Church,” *i.e.*, “for the good of the Church” (*τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, dat. commodi*;) so that it might correctly be said that this dominion was one of the objects of that work, or that “for this end, he both died (and rose) and revived.”

Lastly, because the form of expression, which is altogether unlimited and unqualified, seems to require such interpretation.

^c See p. 29.

so, according to our Hebrew idiom, "the first-born" among men thus viewed. Nor is this limited to any one era; whatever dignity or authority any of *former* ages may have enjoyed on earth, or may now enjoy in the world of spirits, Christ occupies a position loftier still, and so is "first-born of the dead," as regards dominion, as well as of the living. But his sway being, in point of fact, *universal*, necessarily includes those with whom he is compared; to say, therefore, that he is pre-eminent among the dead in respect to dominion, is an implicit and indirect way of affirming that he is *their* Lord.^d

That this was the idea in the mind of John may indeed be presumed from the manner in which he has treated the second clause of the verse from which the phraseology is borrowed, the "highest" of the Psalmist being turned into "ruler" by the Apostle. It obviously perfects the parallelism between the clauses as they stand in the Apocalypse; 'Christ is the chief, in respect to dominion, of all who have died, being in fact their Lord; and he is the highest of all who still live, in the *same* respect, being in truth the ruler of the kings of the earth.' It is also in harmony with the whole connexion. Our Lord is celebrated as "the faithful witness" (compare John xviii. 37),^e and it is quite in keeping that his exaltation to universal empire over both dead and living—the reward of his faithful witnessing—should be subjoined; with this again corresponds the ascription to him of "glory" and "dominion" (*κράτος*) in the following verse; and since by this power he is fitted, as he has been ordained, to be judge of all, the writer naturally passes on to his second coming, and the solemn scene of the last grand assize in ver. 7: "Behold, he cometh with clouds," etc. And it is worthy of remark how the similar language of Paul in Rom. xiv. 9, leads him to the same thought; for in the very next verse, he reminds his readers that "we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ."

With the exception before mentioned, this exhausts the *loci* of the application of *πρωτότοκος* to our Lord. On a review of the whole, we remark—

1st. That it goes to corroborate the position that the term (in Col. i. 15) is used figuratively, and indeed might seem

^d See this very comparison between Christ and man in respect to dominion developed in the Epistle to the Hebrews, ii. 6—10; where the sacred writer, referring to Ps. viii., which he treats as prophetic, declares it has only as yet been fulfilled in the person of Christ; man having lost much of his original dignity and power through sin (*e.g.*, having become subject to death), so that "we see not yet all things put under him;" while the God-man, victorious over all opposition, has been "crowned with glory and honour" as *universal king*.

^e We wonder that Mr. Stuart should have missed the allusion here.

designed to guard us against supposing that, as so applied, it has any reference to *natural* relationship, that while our Saviour is expressly called "the first-born son" (*πρωτότοκον υἱόν*) of *Mary* (Matt. i. 25 ; Luke ii. 7), and repeatedly denominated "the *only*-begotten son of the Father" (as John i. 14 ; iii. 18 ; 1 John iv. 9) in none of the passages examined, and nowhere else in Scripture,^f is he styled in so many words "the first-begotten son of *God*."

2nd. It must surely be admitted to be a strong confirmation of the sense assigned to the term in the passage at the head of this article, and that the figure to which it has been referred is the right one, that the same explanation meets, if indeed we have not succeeded in shewing that it is demanded by, the exigencies of all the others.

3rd. The hypothesis of its Old Testament origin, and that, whether as employed by Paul or John, is also greatly strengthened by the fact, that in three places out of the number, the immediate and express subject of discourse, precisely as in the Psalm to which the epithet has been traced, is the exalted dignity of Jesus, the Messiah ; in another (Rom. viii.) it is on all hands allowed that precedence and honour are implied ; while the remaining passage (Rev. i. 5) is, as we have seen, nearly a verbal quotation of the verse of the Psalm in which the term is found.

We should scarcely be pardoned for passing over in silence the defence which, in later times (for we are not aware that it was put forth earlier), has been set up in behalf of the ancient interpretation, especially as it appeals to philology. It is pleaded that the genitive *πάσης κτίσεως* is dependent on the *πρῶτος*, which forms the first half of *πρωτότοκος*, and which is alleged to be here equivalent to *πρότερος*, as, uncompounded, it undoubtedly is in such passages as John i. 15, 30, etc., to say nothing of the classics. Ingenious as this explanation must be admitted to be, it sadly requires confirmation. Language is capricious, and we cannot affirm without authority that any given word had the same construction in composition that it had when uncombined. Those who urge this plea, therefore, should have supported it by apposite examples. Let them produce some other instance from the Scriptures or profane authors, of *πρωτότοκος*, or at least some other compound of *πρῶτος* employed with such a construction, and then their defence will have something substantial in it. We know of none ; and we find no hint in

^f It will be observed that the pronoun "my" in Ps. lxxxix. 27 is a supplement.

the lexicon of any such construction, not even in the use of the analogous *πρωτόγονος*, so often employed by Philo. The argument, therefore, we fear, can rank no higher than a *pro re nata* apology. Every scholar knows that mere etymology is by no means a *certain* guide to the actual signification of a word in any particular author, passage, or phrase. How much more is confirmation needed when, as in this case, the strict etymological sense is departed from?

Another weighty objection lies against this interpretation, which seems to have escaped the notice of its advocates, viz., the unnatural tautology which it introduces into the Apostle's description, our Lord's pre-existence being expressly affirmed by him in ver. 17 following, *καὶ αὐτός ἐστι πρὸ πάντων*. It would have been altogether superfluous to have informed his readers that the Son of God "is before all things," if, as alleged, he had already asserted that "he was begotten before every creature."

II. The author of the annotations annexed to Blackie's edition of Barnes, pleading against the American divine for the patristic, or ancient interpretation, affirms that "this most natural and obvious sense would have been more readily admitted, had it not been supposed hostile to certain views on the sonship of Christ." But is not the converse as likely to be true? He refers us to Bloomfield's note upon the passage. That learned commentator, after stating his objections to Whitby's exposition, concludes by saying, "on which, and other accounts, the first (the patristic) interpretation, according to which we have here a strong testimony to the eternal filiation of our Saviour, is greatly preferable." Now, we think it is impossible to read these words without the impression, that the support which the interpretation in question affords to *his* views on the sonship of Christ, if not one of the "other reasons" alluded to, had at least an influence, perhaps insensible, on Dr. Bloomfield's decision: else why stop short in the middle of his exposition to point out what is so obvious?^s Be this however as it may, we are

^s It is to be regretted that in a work of such general excellence, Dr. B. should express himself so loosely as he does on this passage: "The most natural and best founded view," he says, "is that of almost all the ancient and most eminent modern commentators, who take *πρωτόγονος* for *πρώτος* (as in John i. 15. 30), and assign as the sense 'begotten before every creature.'" Now the statement that *πρωτόγονος* is taken by these commentators for *πρώτος* is simply not true; for it could never then bear the meaning of 'begotten before.' What he *should* have said is that they take the *πρώτος* in composition here as having the same force as it has *out* of composition in the first chapter of John's Gospel, viz., as *πρότερος* "before."

Further on, as if to increase the confusion of thought thus created, he quotes, by way of illustration, from Tatian, the expression *πρωτόγονον ἔργον*, which, he

satisfied that the ancient interpretation owes much of the favour which it has so long enjoyed to the prevalence, in one shape or other, of the dogma with which it is associated by Dr. Bloomfield. And we will further say, for ourselves as well as others, that it would certainly be discreditable in this nineteenth century, when every branch of secular science and learning has been carried to such a pitch of perfection, and when we see such minute observation, cautious reasoning, and rigid adherence to the inductive method practised in every inquiry relating to matter and mind, if, in the highest of all studies, any one should *deliberately* allow his judgment to be swayed by pre-conceived opinion, and set up a creed of human framing as the standard by which to interpret the Word of God. The interpreter has nothing *directly* to do with theological opinion. His business is, in the prayerful use of such instrumentality as is employed in the case of other ancient writings, to seek to discover the mind of the Spirit in the Scriptures; not to make the Bible square with his creed, but to try his creed by the Bible; and whatever in the former is not found to be accredited by the latter, to set aside as of no higher authority than any purely philosophical speculation. There can be no harm indeed in adducing a doctrinal proposition, considered as, and already ascertained to be, an embodiment of the *dicta* of inspiration. Such statement, however, can only be used to shew that any proposed interpretation is not contrary to, or not unexampled in sacred writ, and it would surely be better to go at once to the Scriptures themselves.^A

Lest any should still think that the popular interpretation of the passage under review derives a *colour* of support from the doctrine adverted to, which continues to maintain its place in our current theology, and to which (although it differs consi-

says, is for *πρώτον ἔργον*, and where the adjective therefore must mean, not "before," but "first." Lastly, he distinctly objects to the phrase *πρωτότοκος π. κτ.* being "taken in a figurative sense to denote 'Lord of all things,' like *κληρονόμος πάντων*," as proposed by Whitby and Schleusner, "on the ground that the word is never so used except in reference to primogeniture." On turning, however, to Heb. i. 6, we find *πρωτότοκος* there rendered "first-begotten," or "first-born," on the ground that "this was a title of the Messiah," in support of which he very properly refers to Ps. lxxxix. 27, and Rom. viii. 29; adding, that, "when the force of the *metaphor* is duly weighed, it will be found to mean 'Lord of men and angels,' or, as the Apostle, at Col. i. 15, *more fully expresses it*, *πρωτ. π. κτισ.*, where see note." But it is manifest that if the latter phrase be only the more full expression of the former, it too must be figurative, on his own shewing, and can mean nothing else than what he had previously declared it could *not* mean, "Lord of all creation," or "Lord of all things."

^A "The analogy of faith does not lead to the discovery of the meaning of a passage which is ambiguous or obscure. It will prevent us from imposing such a sense as would contradict other places of whose meaning we are assured; but cannot furnish more valuable assistance." Davidson's *Sacred Hermen.*, p. 283.

derably from that of the earlier fathers) antiquity has imparted an adventitious sacredness, we shall offer a few remarks upon it before passing on.

I. First, then, with regard to the dogma of the "*eternal generation*" of the Son of God, or "that the Father produced the Son from all eternity by way of generation" (Ruck's *Theological Dictionary*), we have to say, in the first place, *that it is self-contradictory*. Begetting, of whatever species, is necessarily the *commencement* of existence to its object, whether that be absolute, or separate, or only a new phase of being. It implies that he had at least no *such* existence before, but that he then *began* to be, in the sense intended. But "*eternal*" is in this case confessedly used to signify 'without beginning,' or in the sense of eternal *a parte antè*, being explained by the phrase "from all eternity." To ascribe eternal generation, therefore, to any being, if the eternity is predicated of the *generation* itself, is to ascribe to him a beginning without beginning. But that which has itself no beginning cannot, from the nature of the case, constitute the beginning of a thing, or, to speak more correctly, the commencement of a mode, whether that be extension or duration, and whether the subject of it be matter or mind; an unbegun beginning is as pure and unmitigated a nonentity as an interminable end, a bottomless base, or a top without a summit. Eternal generation, therefore, in this sense is impossible. If, on the other hand, the epithet "*eternal*" is meant to apply to the *Son*, then to speak of him as "*eternally begotten*," is to affirm that *he had a beginning, and yet had no beginning*, which is a simple contradiction in terms.

To put the matter in another light, begetting is admitted in this controversy to be an *act*, and it is an act of the same kind as creation, in so far as the effect of both is *to impart existence*. The one is classed as immanent and intrinsic, the other as extrinsic and transitive; the latter may be said to communicate absolute, the former only separate and independent existence; they differ as to the proximate source of the communication; but in all this there is surely no reason why the one should be eternal, and the other not. Those, therefore, who profess to believe that the Son of God, as to his divine nature, was begotten from all eternity could not justly accuse us of being illogical, if we were to maintain that matter was created from all eternity, and so reconcile ancient philosophy with revelation by paving the way for the eternity of *matter*. But would they not an once exclaim, "No! impossible! how could matter be eternal, if it was created?" Yet there is not a whit more inconsistency in the one proposition than in the other.

Nor must they be allowed to plume themselves on the plea so dexterously devised to save the credit of this remnant of a mongrel theology, that the generation of the Son is *necessary*. This argument, be it observed, cuts two ways: for as "a necessary agent acts *always*, and to the utmost of its power," the begetting by the Father must be eternal both *à priori* and *à posteriori*; so that either the Son never has been, and never will be actually *begotten*, or Sons ever have been, and will continue to be generated *ad infinitum*. We leave it to the advocates of this doctrine to defend whichever of these consequences they please.

Secondly, *That it is unauthorized by Scripture*. It is nowhere taught in the sacred volume *totidem verbis*. Eternity is indeed unequivocally ascribed to our Lord, and he is repeatedly spoken of as "begotten;" but we never find the one attributive predicated of the other, and for such a phrase as "eternally begotten," the Bible may be ransacked in vain. Nor is there any passage from which it can be logically inferred, unless it be the one under discussion; in regard to which, lest we should be chargeable with reasoning in a circle, we say nothing more at present than that, according to *none* of the interpretations proposed, the patristic included, does it amount to an *assertion* of the dogma in question, since "begotten before all creatures" is not necessarily, and independently of collateral proof, equivalent to "begotten from all eternity," nor did the early fathers so understand it.⁴

We are indeed referred to Prov. viii. 22 and following verses: "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way.—I was set up from everlasting.—Before the mountains was I brought forth," etc., where, apparently by identifying the "wisdom" of Solomon with the "word" of John, the speaker is assumed to be the Son of God; and certainly, if *such* language is rightly ascribed to our Lord, it would go far to vindicate such views of his person from the charge of unscripturalness. But let us see. What says the context, the legitimate standard of appeal in such cases, in regard to the speaker? In verse 1, wisdom and *understanding* are used synonymously:—"Doth not wisdom cry, and understanding put forth her voice?" in verse 14, the speaker is expressly declared to *be* understanding:—"I am understanding;" is "understanding" also to be viewed as one of the titles of Christ? Again, verse 12, it is said, "I wisdom dwell with prudence," and in chap. ix. ver. 10, "The fear of the Lord is

⁴ See quotations, p. 19. Their views do not substantially differ from those of Philo, who speaks of ὁ λόγος ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν γένεσιν εἰληφάτων; and again, τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτατον υἱὸν ὁ τῶν ὄντων ἀνέτειλε Πατήρ. (*Migr. Abrah.*, and *de Somn.*, as cited in Grinfield's *Scholia Hellenistica*.)

the beginning of wisdom." Such statements would seem to be decisive to an unbiassed mind. But further, how are we to reconcile the fact that the speaker is represented as a *female*—not merely by the use of the feminine gender, but by the acts ascribed to her, such as "mingling her wine," "furnishing her table," "sending forth her maidens" (chap. ix.)—with the hypothesis that wisdom is the Logos? and who, in that case, is the "foolish woman" (chap. ix. 13), whose character and ways are contrasted with those of the former? In short, is it not manifest, that throughout the first division of the Book of Proverbs, Wisdom, as that term is generally understood, but in its highest and most comprehensive sense, is, by a common figure of rhetoric, *personified*, especially in chaps. viii. and ix., where she is introduced in contrast with Folly, in a manner that must forcibly remind every classical reader of the beautiful apologue of Prodicus, preserved to us by Xenophon in his *Memorabilia*, in which Virtue and Vice, under the guise of females, are represented as urging their respective claims on the youthful Hercules? On this supposition, all is intelligible and most instructive; what is here said about the creation of the world by means of wisdom being merely an amplification, in a bolder style, of what is asserted in plain language in chapter iii., verses 19, 20.

Suppose, however, for a moment, that (as has been done ere now on like occasions) we throw common sense overboard, ignore the context, and isolating the passage from its connexion, grant what is contended for, that these *are* the words of the Second Person in the Trinity; then, we say, it will be found that they prove too much. In the first place, they would prove that the Son was not only *begotten*, but the *Messiah* from all eternity; for the speaker "was set up," properly "anointed," "from everlasting" (ver. 23). Secondly, it would follow from such a supposition that our Lord was, after all, no more than a creature; for the speaker expressly declares (ver. 22), "the Lord *created* me the beginning of his way," *i. e.*, "the first or chief of the productions of his hand," "before his works, of old."

That such is the correct rendering of the original ought not, we think, to admit of dispute. No such meaning as "possess" is assigned to the verb קָנָה by Gesenius, the fundamental signification of which seems to be "to set up;" hence (1), as in Arabic, "to create;" (2) "to procure;" (3) "to buy." There are only two passages where, with any shew of argument, it can be maintained that the verb has the sense here given to it by our translators, *viz.*, Isa. i. 3; and Zech. xi. 5; in both of which, how-

ever, the idea of 'acquiring by purchase,' seems intended to be conveyed, and ought perhaps to have been expressed in the translation, of the latter passage especially, where an antithesis between the *buyer* and *seller* seems to have been in the mind of the writer. As to Gen. xiv. 19, 22; Deut. xxxii. 6; and Ps. cxxxix. 18, the context itself is sufficient to settle the question in favour of "create."

There is reason to believe that the received translation owes not a little to polemical zeal. It is but feebly supported by the earlier versions: the Septuagint gives ἐκτίσέ με; the Syriac ܕܡܝܬܝܢ; to which we may add the Vetus Itala, or ante-Hieronymian Latin (a mere echo indeed of the Greek), which generally gave *creavit me*.^k Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, it is true, exhibit a different rendering, copying probably from each other, viz., ἐκρήσατο, but in what precise sense they used the term is not quite clear; for although according to the Hellenistic dialect it *might* signify "possessed" (compare Luke xviii. 12; 1 Thess. iv. 4), yet such a usage is rare; whilst in good Greek it could only mean 'procured' or 'obtained.' Be that as it may, this view of the original word (viz., that ἔκρησεν = ἐκρήσατο or ἔσχευεν) acquired an adventitious value from the importance attached to it in the Arian controversy, when it was strenuously contended for by the orthodox as of vital moment to their argument. To this circumstance, in all probability, the introduction of *possedit* into some copies of the old Latin^m is due; and doubtless it is to the same circumstance, along with the sanction of Jerome, who adopted this reading in his new version, and defended it on critical grounds, that we are to ascribe its having so long maintained its ground in European Biblical literature; having again received the *imprimatur* of Luther, and having displaced the rendering of the LXX. in the great majority of versions executed subsequently to the Reformation. The later *oriental* versions, on the other hand, agree with the old; the Chaldee, e.g., having ܕܡܝܬܝܢ; and the Arabic خَلَقَ

But although it could be proved that certain forms of the

^k As appears from the writings of Jerome, who for the most part quotes the passage thus: see Comm. in Mic. iv.; Eph. ii., iv.

^l In classical Greek the verb has the sense of "possess" only in the perf. pluperf. and aor. part. (which is scarcely distinguishable from the perf. part.) on the same principle as *novi* from *nosco*, "I become acquainted with," signifies "I know," and *μνήσκειμαι* from *μνήσκω*, "to remind," has the force of "I remember" = "I have been reminded."

^m See Jerome on Is. xxvi., where, contrary to custom, he cites the passage thus: *Deus possedit me initium viarum suarum*; adding, *licet quaedam exemplaria male pro possessione habent creaturam*.

Hebrew verb were used in the sense of 'possess,' as often as certain tenses of its Greek synonyme, the words that follow (וְהָיָה לְהוֹדוֹתָם), where, it will be observed, there is no equivalent to the "in" of our translators (a supplement for which there is neither sufficient authority nor occasion), would be conclusive that הָיָה is here to be taken as synonymous with שָׂדָה. The term הָיָה "way" is on all hands allowed to be put tropically for 'works;' שָׂדָה may denote either 'first in time,' or 'first in rank' ('firstling' or 'principal'), two of its most frequent significations, each of which yields a good sense here; while, if we adopt the latter, we shall have an exact counterpart of the phrase in Job xl. 19, applied to Behemoth, "he is the chief of the ways of God—וְהָיָה לְהוֹדוֹתָם—(only) he that made him can make his sword to approach unto him." So the author of *the Hebrew verity* translates:—κεφάλαιον τῶν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ; and with this view agrees Prov. iv. 7, "Wisdom is the principal thing" (וְהָיָה לְהוֹדוֹתָם).

To apply this passage therefore to the Logos is tantamount to denying his divinity. Or supposing this objection to be removed, there would still remain another, viz., that such application is subversive of our Lord's *personality*, for it reduces him to a mere *attribute* of Deity. Nor will it be of any avail to refer, by way of defence, to the title of λόγος: for although our Lord is designated "the Word" of God, he is no where *described* as a word, nor represented as invested with the powers and properties of a part of speech.

If any one should be disposed to rejoin by saying, that if wisdom was "created," or at least "anointed from everlasting," there is nothing impossible or contradictory in the idea of the eternal generation of the Son, we assent. But 1st. It must be remembered that the representation here is *figurative*, not historical; and 2ndly. That the original term rendered "everlasting" is, as every scholar knows, aoristic, denoting a 'hidden' or indefinite period, whose limits or illimitableness, as the case may be, must be determined by the connexion (a fact of which even the English reader may in a measure satisfy himself by comparing the different passages of Scripture where the expressions, "for ever," "everlasting," and the like are found); and therefore the phrase might, and doubtless ought to have been rendered here (as, e.g., in Gen. vi. 4), 'of old,' or 'in ancient times.'"

* Since the above was written, we have carefully perused the elaborate article on this passage, and chap. i. 20—33, by Professor Barrows, of Andover, in the July number of this Journal for 1858, in which a view considerably different from that here given is propounded. The reader must judge for himself who is in the right. For our own part, however, we must say that, much as we admire alike the piety and erudition of the author, his reasoning has failed to carry con-

That the argument drawn from Heb. i. 2, "by whom also he made the worlds," is in like manner faulty *by excess*, will be at

viction to our mind, or to compel us to withdraw anything which we have advanced.

His general principle—that "revelation is an indivisible whole, of which the latter parts explain and interpret the former" (p. 352),—we at once concede, as not only sound, but of the utmost utility, when rightly understood and judiciously applied, for the elucidation especially of the Old Testament Scriptures. It is a principle, however, most liable to abuse, as the writer himself acknowledges, and one which might be employed to justify the wildest allegorizing. To the pious and philosophic eye, a unity is discernible in all the departments of the divine procedure—his works, his ways, and his word—pervading all like a golden thread, and indicating the activity of the *same* all-perfect mind; and just as we see a gradual development of wisdom and power in the different stages of creation, and in the successive events of Providence, compared among themselves, so there is undoubtedly a gradual unfolding of *moral* and *evangelical* truth in that revelation of his will, which "in many parts and in diverse manners" (πολυτρόπως καὶ πολυτρόπως) he has imparted to mankind; whence of course it follows, that one part of Scripture may be expected to throw light on another. This mutual connexion and illustration, however, are not so much to be *assumed* in any particular case, as *demonstrated*, and must not be pushed beyond what sober reason, or the authority of the New Testament warrants. It would require an imagination as luxuriant as that of Origen himself to see with him, in the story of Rebecca at the wells, the Christian repairing to the fountains of Scripture, and there meeting with Christ. We doubt whether the American professor, with all his ingenuity, could point out where the Gospel is to be found in the discourse of "the Preacher." Nor will it be easy to substantiate, what he has not attempted, the claims of the Book of Proverbs to an evangelical character, properly so called, so that we might be warranted in the expectation of finding "a shadow of good things to come" in its representations. We confess we can see nothing more in it than a code of moral maxims, or what might be called 'rules for the practice of piety,' to which the first nine chapters form an appropriate introduction; and in no other light is it referred to by the New Testament writers.

We entirely concur with the professor in regarding the *wisdom*, now spoken of, and now the speaker in these introductory chapters, as embracing the teachings of revelation, as well as of nature and providence; nor would we think of limiting the conception, so as positively to *exclude* the later lessons of New Testament times, but this is a very different thing from affirming that they are actually *included*. But granting all that is demanded under this head, that Solomon, or rather the Spirit speaking by Solomon, expressly comprehended under the calls and admonitions of this heavenly wisdom those of the great teacher himself, it by no means follows that the Messiah is to be regarded as the speaker in chapters i. and viii. The wisdom of this book must either be a *personification* or a *person*; for to hold that she is both, at one and the same time, would be absurd. If the former, then it must still, under the concession made, be the *wisdom* of him who "spake as never man spake," and not our Lord himself that is adumbrated by the pronoun "I." If the latter, then in addition to what has above been urged, we would ask how numerous passages in this introduction would read, if for "wisdom" we were to substitute "the Son of God?" for it is clearly the same wisdom that is spoken of throughout. To suppose the term used in *different* senses, would only make matters worse. How altogether forced and unnatural, for example, would verses 19, 20 of chap. iii. appear, as the sequel of a recommendation to the pursuit of wisdom properly so called, if we should read "(for) Jehovah by *his son* hath founded the earth," etc. But the professor rejects the idea of finding in these chapters "the personal ministry of Christ in the days of his flesh," or that "the man Christ Jesus" is the speaker; nothing less will content him than "an adumbration of the hypostatic person of the

once apparent on comparing these words with the Apostle's language in Eph. iii. 9.

Logos," or as he himself more fully explains this rather unintelligible proposition, "an anticipation of the high mystery afterwards revealed concerning the Word that was in the beginning." By the time he has reached the close of his article, he has advanced a step farther, broadly asserting, that "the divine wisdom which addresses men in the passages now under consideration," is "the eternal Word himself," "who, both before and since his incarnation, is always present with his Church," "and is always calling the children of men to himself" (p. 368); in short, that it is the Logos that is here the *speaker*. So that, while professing to strike a medium between the two extremes of opinion, his conclusion is, after all, but a slight modification of the "narrow" view of Dr. Gill, with the disadvantage of being the least defensible of the two; and is identical with that which we have above combated. We readily admit that every devout mind will hear the voice of God, and by implication, of Christ, in every sentence of that volume which was written by inspiration of the Spirit of God, who is also "the Spirit of Christ" (1 Pet. i. 11), but not more so in the passages referred to than in any other didactic portion of Scripture; with this difference, that in the present instance the use of the first person *assists the imagination of the reader in realizing* the fact that it is the divine being who *virtually* addresses him. It is this use, in fact, of the pronoun of the first person, and analogies (guides which must be used with the most jealous caution) between the Old and New Testament that have led away so many good men into what we cannot but regard as a mistaken conception, savouring more of mysticism than of sound exegesis.

A word or two on the philological criticism of Professor B. With respect to קָרַב , he thinks that "the reader may be somewhat surprised to learn, that of the eighty-two cases in which the verb occurs in the Hebrew Scriptures, it is used, by the concession of all, seventy-six times in the sense of 'getting' or 'acquiring.'" Now, first, this statement cuts two ways, for if it shews that the signification 'to create' is rare, it proves the same thing in regard to 'possess.' Nor is it really a fact of any great weight against 'create' being one, at least, of the original meanings of the verb in question. No one at all versed in philology will be "surprised to learn" that the *derivative* significations of any word, especially of a word in frequent use, are more common than the primary; a truth which it would be an insult to the learned reader to stop to prove. Even had he succeeded in shewing that in none of the remaining six cases the verb has the sense above contended for, he would not be justified in saying, as he does (p. 358) that "the conclusion to which we come, on strictly philological grounds, is that the true idea of קָרַב is 'to get,' 'possess one's self of,' etc.," if by "true" he means *fundamental*. On this principle we should have to reject a large proportion of the radical significations assigned to Hebrew verbs in the lexicon; for in many cases the primary meaning can only be arrived at, or at best surmised through the derivatives, or by means of the cognate dialects, being sometimes supported by two or three passages which this meaning fits (as in קָרַב), but as often without extant example (as קָרַב).

The evidence to prove that 'set up' is the radical notion of the verb in question is certainly slender, but it is too much to say that on this supposition "not one of the derivative meanings exhibits a trace of (this) alleged primitive idea." The transition from 'set up,' or 'erect,' to 'establish,' and from 'establish' to 'found' or 'build' is easy and natural, as may be seen in the cognate בָּנָה (compare Prov. xxiv. 3), and even in the Latin *statuo*; and from 'build' to 'make' or 'create' is no less so, as is exemplified in the same Hebrew verb, and in the Latin *constituo*; while, by the professor's own shewing (pp. 358-9) the idea of 'get' or 'acquire' is easily derived from the last-mentioned, *making* or *creating* for one's self being, as every school-boy knows, one by no means uncommon

The mode in which the upholders of this doctrine explain Psalm ii. 7, only shews to what shifts men are driven when once they have taken up a false position. To say that by "this day"

mode of acquisition, just as *buying* is another. The proof in favour of "create," however, is by no means inconsiderable. It is useless to deny this, or at least the approximate sense of "form," "fashion," to פָּרָא. We should like to know how Deut. xxxii. 6, and Ps. cxix. 73 would read (in both of which, by the by, the LXX. render by *πλάσσω*, Jerome by *creo* in the one, and *plasma* in the other), if we were to adopt the professor's translation "found" or "prepare." As to the interchange between the letters פ and ק, implied in affirming that the two verbs are cognate, we cannot understand how any stress should be laid upon it, considering how common it is in Hebrew, as well as Arabic, and the sister dialects, in which Gesenius assures us (*exempla*) *pāne innumera* may be found. Then, in

addition to פָּרָא, which has this meaning, we have to thank Professor B. for reminding us of קָרָא, which we had strangely overlooked, and which, if he will turn up the word in Freytag, he will see has also the same signification of 'create' in Conj. i. in addition to the analogous meanings (*credo, concinno, struo*, etc.), which he specifies. We have thus at least *three* kindred verbs, each of which occurs in the sense assigned by Gesenius to קָרָא.

Whether this translation or 'possess' best suits the five passages in dispute (see above), every one must judge for himself. That in Ps. cxxxix. we regard as decisive, since none of the other proposed translations yields anything like a tolerable sense; while, contrary to what Professor B. would lead his readers to believe, it fully harmonizes with the connexion, as any one may see by referring to the passage. "Thou hast possessed my reins" is about as obscure, if not unmeaning a phrase as is perhaps to be found in our vernacular.

In fine, one may be permitted to doubt whether Professor Barrows, notwithstanding his varied accomplishments, is exactly the man to pronounce upon philological questions in opposition to such a giant in literature as Gesenius, when he betrays such an ignorance of his mother tongue in discussing the import of the verb קָרָא, as to vitiate his whole reasoning, and compel us to refer him to the English Dictionary. Repudiating the evidence deduced from its derivative קָרָא, 'a prince,' in favour of the signification 'anoint,' he says, "from the established usage of the verb in the sense of *founding*, we have a natural etymology (viz., for the noun). Princes are so named as those who are *constituted* rulers, *set in office*;" thus confounding two English verbs, which though spelt alike (*found*), have no natural nor etymological connexion; the one being derived through the French *fondre*, from the Latin *fundere* (akin with χύω) "to pour as water, oil, or molten metal into a mould;" the other, through the French *fonder*, from *fundare* (akin with *πύδος, बुद्धός*) "to lay the foundation of a structure." We can see no reason why petty princes may not have been installed by *anointing* as well as kings, in the early ages of the world; they were certainly not *cast*. How his favourite authority, Gusset, makes out, that "in all the passages where קָרָא has this sense, it refers to princes constituted by a higher power" (p. 362), we do not know. It is most natural to suppose that the princes of Midian, at all events, *Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur*, and *Reba* (Josh. xiii. 21) were emirs or sheikhs, appointed, as is usual among the Arabs, by their own people, out of the families in which the dignity was hereditary; they are styled "kings" (מְלָכִים) in Numb. xxxi. 8, where there is no mention of Sihon; and they seem to be called "dukes" of that chief (דְּכֵי דְּכֵי) simply because reduced by him to a temporary subjection and rendered tributary (see Rosenm. *in loc*).

we are to understand *eternity*, or 'from all eternity,' is not only to ignore or reject the inspired authority of the New Testament, by which, as we have seen, the epoch alluded to is fixed, but it is to say that there is no meaning in words, or that the Scriptures are a series of enigmas, the solution of which, if attainable at all, must be reserved for the gifted few.

II. But again, it is more than questionable whether the second person in the Godhead, *as such*, can properly be said to have been "*begotten*" at all, whether "eternally" or otherwise.

1st. *This representation is not necessarily deducible from the language of Scripture*; and wherever the words of holy writ admit of two or more interpretations otherwise equally possible, we must adopt that which is most agreeable to reason and the analogy of Scripture.

Now when our Lord Jesus Christ is said to have been "begotten," and is called "the Son of God," it is at least quite as possible that it may be with reference to his *mediatorial* capacity, in which he united the divine and human natures, as with respect to his essential divinity by itself considered, that such language is employed. Indeed the presumption is all in favour of the former supposition. It is antecedently improbable that in a book pre-eminently practical, and so far from even professing to reveal the *arcana* of science, any attempt should be made to explain the sublimest of all mysteries by the use of terms, if such there be in human speech, descriptive of the radical distinctions between the three persons in the Godhead. Again, since the scriptural appellations of Deity (as '*Elōhīm*, 'venerable;' '*El*, 'mighty;' '*Adonāi*, 'Lord;' '*Shaddai*, 'Almighty;' '*Jehovah* or '*Yāhāvē*, 'unchangeable;' etc.) are based rather on those attributes which have an immediate relation to his creatures (see Gen. xvii. 1; Exod. iii. 14; vi. 3; Mal. iii. 6;) than on what may be called his more abstract perfections; so in a volume, the main design of which is to make known the provisions of that remedial dispensation under which our world was placed at the fall, it is, we think, to be expected that the persons of the Godhead should be designated *κατ' οἰκονομίαν*, with a reference to the parts sustained by each in the economy of redemption, rather than *κατὰ τρόπον ὑπόρξεως*, by names significant of internal hypostatical distinctions, with which we have no practical concern, and which, in all probability, we could not understand. And accordingly, it is precisely in the New Testament, where that economy is

If therefore *ἡγιασμένος* does not mean 'to anoint,' a sense, by the by, confirmed by the cognate *ἡγιάσας* 'to anoint after washing,' of which Professor B. takes no notice, the etymology of the noun is still to seek.

most fully revealed, that we find the doctrine of a triune God under the names *Father*, *Son*, and *Spirit*, most clearly, or rather for the first time explicitly, developed.

If this be so, it is obvious that we cannot reason from the meaning of these terms as used among men to the essential nature of the Deity, and the mode of the divine subsistence. And the same may be said of the cognate and correlative terms "sent," "begotten," "proceedeth," and the comparison of the agency of the Spirit to the operation of *wind*, John iii. 8; xx. 22; Acts ii. 2.

But 2ndly. *It is contrary to sound philosophy*, if we hold that our Lord was divine, a truth that must stand or fall with the authority of the Bible itself.

That God can have no superior is a doctrine alike supported by reason and revelation. The three persons of the Godhead must therefore be equal, as the Scriptures teach (see Phil. ii. 9; Acts v. 3, 4; Matt. xxviii. 19), and as the Church believes (they are "equal in power and glory," Westminster Confession of Faith; "of one substance, power, and eternity," Thirty-nine Articles of Church of England). But the name "Father," in whatever sense employed, and among whatever people, uniformly involves the idea of *superiority*, and "Son" of *inferiority*, especially when a literal paternity is intended; for a son, in the strict sense of the term, owes his very existence to his father. So manifest indeed is this, and so well was it understood among the ancients, that centuries elapsed before the equality of the three persons in the Trinity was distinctly recognized and acknowledged by the Church; and in modern times, the defenders of the doctrine of the eternal Sonship are occasionally betrayed into an admission of the same undeniable truth. Thus, *e.g.*, Dr. Bloomfield says in his Commentary on John v. 19, that "Christ was in his human nature inferior to the Father, independently of a certain pre-eminence in the Father as the fountain of Deity;" although by what logic he reconciles this averment with the *equality* betwixt the Father and the Son for which he at the same time contends, we are unable to divine: it was certainly not at Cambridge that he learned that A may be = B, and yet greater.

Nor will it do to say that the Father may be greater than the Son in *one* respect, though not in others. For what attribute, let it be asked with reverence, can the Son spare, in whole or in part, without derogation to his divinity? Is not God perfect? and would not such want be an imperfection? What is the Deity but "the sum of his perfections?" how then can *he* be

God from whose nature any of these, or a fraction of any of them is subtracted?

But what in point of fact is the *character* which this theory assigns to the Father, but denies to the Son? If the Father alone possess ἀγεννησία, 'the being unbegotten,' and from him, as the veritable πηγή θεότητος, the Son is originally and absolutely begotten, then do we withhold from the latter that attribute which, more perhaps than any other, is distinctive of Deity, and by which indeed it is usual to *define* God,^o namely, *self-existence*, of which γεννησία is the direct negation. It is of no avail to represent the generation of the Son as eternal, and *sui generis*; for, not to repeat what has been already said, this is only shifting, and if possible palliating, not removing the difficulty; and whoever maintains that a being can be *produced* from another, be the time and manner what they may, and yet be *undervived*, places himself beyond the pale of argument.

It should also be remembered that sonship implies subjection to parental authority; if therefore our Lord be Son κατὰ θεότητα, he is not *independent*.

3rdly. *This view is contrary to the plain language of Scripture*; and it is an acknowledged rule in hermeneutics, that obscure or doubtful phraseology should be interpreted by that which is plain.

We refer particularly to the prologue of John's Gospel, in which, if anywhere in the Bible, the curtain is withdrawn, and we are favoured with a glimpse of our Lord's pre-existent state. It is observable, in the first place, that the apostle there designates our Lord by a *special title*. We do not say, because we do not believe, that the term *Logos*, or "Word," is descriptive of any internal distinction in the Godhead, any more than the appellation "Son;"^p but it is peculiar to John, and after ver. 14 of chap. i., is not again employed in his Gospel. This is surely remarkable in an author who uses the designation "Son of God," or "the Son," more frequently than any other of the New Testament writers, nearly indeed as often as all the rest put together. It will not be maintained that it is accidental, or

^o Viz., that "God is a being who has the ground of his existence in himself." See Knapp's *Theology*.

^p We may see the absurdity of reasoning from such titles to the essence of Deity from the case of Lactantius, who argued from Christ's being called "the Word," that he is essentially the articulate breath of the Almighty (*procedentem de ore suo, vocalem spiritum*). He was rightly judged a heretic (as the phrase is); and yet his mode of reasoning was precisely analogous to that of those who infer from our Lord's being denominated "Son," that he is, as to his higher nature, the offspring of God.

without design; and what design more likely than that he might guard his readers against the very error under consideration, of viewing the latter title as *originally* and *essentially* appropriate to our Lord.

Then, as to the sublime representation, so much and deservedly admired, with which the Apostle commences: "In the beginning was the Word," etc.; let it be observed, that there is here neither mention nor hint of generation, of derivation, or of any kind or degree of inferiority to the Father. To bring out this more clearly, let us see how the verse would have read, had the writer held the views of our Lord's pre-existence which have since become so prevalent. It would then have stood thus:—'In the beginning the Word was *begotten* (compare Gen. i. 1); and the Word was *from* God; and the Word was the *Son of* God.' But on the contrary, he informs us, that "in the beginning" (compare 1 John ii. 13, 14) the Logos "was" or 'existed;' that he existed in the beginning (*πρὸς* as in Matt. xxvi. 55) "with God" (compare verse 18; xvii. 5), denoting distinction of person; that he "was God" (compare x. 30; 1 John v. 20, and many other passages where, without reserve or qualification, Christ is so entitled). It is not till we come to his *incarnation*—until "the word became flesh"—that we read of his being "*begotten* of the Father" (verse 14), that we hear of his "coming forth *from* the Father" (xvi. 28), and that he is spoken of as the "Son of God" (i. 18, 34, and on to the close of the Gospel). We doubt very much whether an "illiterate and uneducated man" (Acts iv. 13), innocent of the subtle philosophy of the schools, like the beloved disciple, could have expressed more unequivocally the eternal, underived, and absolutely equal divinity of the second person in the Trinity as compared with the first; or even if he could, would have thought it necessary to do so. We commend in particular the striking transition at verse 14 to all readers whose minds are not so blinded by prejudice as to be closed against argument: to us it seems decisive.

In fine, if the *eternity* of the filiation of the Son be given up, as it must be, another inevitable consequence of this scheme of interpretation is that the Son himself cannot be *eternal*.

We leave it to our readers to say, how one who is neither *self-existent*, *independent*, nor *eternal*, can be "the true God" (1 John v. 20.) Meanwhile, we would simply remind them that our Lord claims for himself eternity in the very same language as Jehovah, and therefore, if that attribute were capable of *degrees*, in such a manner as to exclude every idea that might in the least detract from its absoluteness (see Rev. i. 17; ii. 8; xxii. 13; with i. 8; Isaiah xli. 4; xlv. 6; xlviii. 12).

We are therefore shut up to the conclusion that the terms "Son" and "begotten" are applied to our Lord only as Mediator, and that either prospectively, or historically.

It is foreign to our purpose to expound in detail the import of the title "Son of God," for which we would again refer the reader to the writings of Professor M. Stuart (see also Dr. Alexander on the Connection between the Old and New Testaments; *Cong. Lect.*, vol. vii.). We would take this opportunity, however, of replying to a remark of the Annotator in the Glasgow edition of Barnes' *Commentary on the New Testament*. When he says, under the head of Rom. i. 4, (which, by the way, he misinterprets) that "the miraculous conception, the resurrection, and the (Messianic) office of Christ, do not all of them together exhaust the meaning of the appellation," he is quite right; but in insinuating that Mr. Stuart and those who think with him deny that the title is significant of our Lord's divinity, he is just as far wrong. Mr. Stuart expressly avows his conviction that the term "Son of God" is often applied to Christ as a name of nature as well as of office—denoting the high and mysterious relation which subsisted between him and God the Father—though not applied to him considered *simply* as divine," and Mr. Barnes distinctly asserts that "the *natural* idea of the term is, that he sustained a relation to God—which implied equality with him." The annotator, in fact, does not see how a name of *office*, which "would not have been given but for the office," can be at the same time indicative of *nature*. Now here I would join issue with him. There is certainly no antecedent impossibility in such a conjunction. Nor is it in point of fact unexampled. To take a familiar instance; "Prince of Wales is with us a title of *office*, though merely nominal so far as the *holder* personally is concerned, denoting the subjection of the Principality to the English crown; but it also expresses *nature* or birth, the title of "prince" being confined to members of the royal family, and further implies that he who bears it is the sovereign's eldest son. Again, if we may be permitted to borrow light from the phraseology of science, "the base of a triangle"² is a relative expression, denoting the position of a side with reference to "the vertex," which in like manner is a relative term, indicating the position of an angle with reference to the spectator, viz., the angle furthest from him, or that which is most elevated. Nor is this position itself essential, but accidental, or, as we may say, *assumed*; for by altering either the place of the spectator, or the disposition

² The illustration might have been made more *apt* by supposing the triangle equilateral, though this is not necessary to the point in hand.

of the figure, any of the three angles may be made the vertex, and so any of the three sides the base. But it at the same time denotes an *essential and necessary property* of the line so designated, viz., that it is a side of the triangle; which, if it were not, it could not be the base, any more than the figure, without it, could be a triangle; and which it is quite as much in *every* respect, if we suppose the triangle to be equilateral, as either of the other sides. Here then we have a term expressive, at one and the same time, both of office and of nature. So the title "Son of God" as applied to our Lord denotes not only his *office* as the "Messenger," Vicegerent and Representative of God to men (John x. 35, 36); but also—inasmuch as he sustains these functions in a manner altogether unique, and with a perfection infinitely transcending the capacities of a creature, having come forth from "the bosom of the Father" (John i. 18, with xvi. 28); "all power" and "all judgment" having been "committed to him" (John iii. 35 : v. 22, etc), implying the possession both of omnipotence and omniscience; and being "the exact counterpart of Jehovah's substance" (*ὑποστάσεως* Heb. i. 3; John xiv. 9, 10),—it denotes, at the same time, his divine *nature*; a speciality of meaning which is indicated by his being styled "*the Son*" (see Heb. i. 4, 5), and by his calling God *πατέρα ἰδίου* 'his own Father' (John v. 17, 18). The appellation in its highest sense may thus be considered as intimating, that our Lord was as truly, absolutely, and in all respects *God*, as a "Son of man" is truly, absolutely, and in all respects a *man*, or as the latter title applied to Christ himself denotes his real *humanity*. This fulness of meaning the appellation well enough expresses, and such seems to have been the construction put upon it by the Jews, and tacitly homologated by our Lord himself (see John v. 17, 18; x. 30—33);^{*} but beyond this we are not entitled to press an *official* designation, and further than this we cannot go, and yet hold that there is but one triune God.

It is thus easy to explain such passages as Matt. xvi. 16; John xx. 31; Acts viii. 37 (*si lectio vera*), etc, and how, to the confession of Jesus as "the Christ," there should be added the acknowledgment that he was "the Son of God."

^{*} It does not seem however that this meaning *at once* suggested itself to the Jews. Considering the many uses and applications of the phrase, and the carnal views which prevailed regarding the person (see Matt. xxii. 42) as well as kingdom of the Messiah, this was scarcely to be expected; and it is observable that, on both the occasions referred to in these passages, our Lord claimed this distinction with peculiar emphasis and speciality; not only speaking of God as *his* Father in particular, but putting himself on a *level* with God, and claiming an essential *unity* with him; nor was it until he gave utterance to the averments—"My Father worketh hitherto, *and I work*,"—and—"I and my Father *are one*," that his startled hearers threatened him with the punishment of blasphemy.

We are inclined, however, to agree with Mr. Stuart as to the use of the expression, and very much doubt whether it is ever applied, even in this figurative and official sense, to our Lord's divine nature *irrespective of his humanity*. Our Saviour is neither God alone, nor man alone, but both united in one person; as such he is the object of our faith, and as such he seems to be set before us under this favourite title, which is not an abstract but a *concrete* appellation. It is not the second person in the Trinity simply *as such*, but "the Lord Jesus Christ" who is set before us in Scripture as "the Son of the Father, (2 John 3.) When his higher nature is spoken of *per se*, as already noticed, he is styled "God;" and as no higher title can be given to any being, so none lower can adequately describe our blessed Lord's original, proper, undervided dignity and glory.

Much stress is laid, but without sufficient reason, on such passages as John iii. 16; Rom. viii. 3; Gal. iv. 4; 1 John iv. 9, 10, etc., where God is said to have "*sent* his only-begotten Son into the world," and the like. Nothing is more common than such a proleptical mode of speaking, for an example of which we need not go farther than the story of our Saviour's own birth, as given by Matthew and Luke, where it is said (Matt. i. 25; Luke ii. 7) that Mary "brought forth her first-born son," although, of course, he was not her first-born *until* he was brought forth. So Stephen says (Acts vii. 9), that Jacob begat the twelve patriarchs," by which he does not mean that they were patriarchs *before* they came into the world, but only after they had grown up, and themselves become heads of families; and other instances in abundance may be found in the genealogical tables. Besides, as Mr. Stuart well observes, the title "Son of God" might come to be used as a sort of proper name, just as we know was the case with "Jesus the Christ," shortened into "Jesus Christ;" so that Paul even speaks of the Israelites "tempting Christ" in the wilderness (1 Cor. x. 9.) Still more remarkable is the language of John, who speaks of names being "written in the Book of Life of the Lamb slain before the foundation of the world," (Rev. xiii. 8; xxi. 27) a statement which involves an anachronism in whatever way the words are connected. One can readily conceive what a handle would have been made of this passage by the partisans of the eternal Sonship, had the

* It may be useful here to recount the passages where our Lord is expressly so designated: they are Psalm xlv. 8; cii. 24, 25, with Heb. i. 8, 10; John i. 1; Acts xx. 28; Rom. ix. 5; Eph. v. 5; 2 Thess. i. 12; Titus ii. 13; 2 Pet. i. 1. In the last four, the English reader may substitute 'even' for 'and,' between the two titles. We pass by 1 Tim. iii. 16, and Jude 4, because the reading is doubtful.

apostle said "the Son of God," instead of "the Lamb slain." Rom. i. 3, 4 we have already discussed. We only add here, that if the expressions *κατὰ σάρκα* and *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης* were intended to mark an antithesis, which we do not dispute, it could not be between our Lord's human and divine natures, for the very obvious reason that it was not simply as *divine* that he was "ordained the Son of God with power," but as *Θεάνθρωπος*, "God-man," as every one must admit. The contrast is not between Christ as man, and Christ as God, but between his state of *humiliation*, denoted by *σάρκα*, and his state of *exaltation*, indicated by *πνεῦμα*; for examples of which use of the words the reader may compare 1 Tim. iii. 16, and 1 Pet. iii. 18.⁴

If any one should still insist upon the application of the title to our Lord's divine nature apart from and previous to his incarnation, as some do who yet reject the dogma of eternal Sonship, it can only be *officially*, and on the ground that, as the affairs of the world have undoubtedly been administered with reference to the mediatorship of Christ ever since the first promulgation of the Gospel in Eden, so he may be said to have *virtually* sustained that office all along, to which indeed Peter tells us he was "fore-ordained before the foundation of the world" (1 Pet. i. 20). But to explain it *literally* in such an application is altogether unwarranted, not only, as already shewn, by reason, and the representations of Scripture in general, but by the other applications of the term itself to our Lord, in *none* of which can it be understood according to the letter; not, of course, when it is used of his Messiahship; and even when it refers to his human nature (as in Luke i. 32), it is employed in an accommodated and catachrestic manner, since he was certainly not begotten *more humano*.

The import of the term "begotten," when spoken of our Lord will entirely depend on that of its correlative: if the one may be taken literally, so may the other; and if "Son" be used figuratively, so must "begotten."

1. On the expression "first-begotten," or "first-born," we trust we have already said enough to shew, that, except with reference to his earthly parentage, it is always applied to our Lord in a tropical acceptance.

2. In regard to the combination "only-begotten," it is observable that it occurs in this connexion in the writings of John only, and therefore there is less probability of its being employed

⁴ In the latter passage, our translators have very inconsistently rendered *πνεύματι*, "by the Spirit," instead of "in the Spirit," misled probably by the article (*τῷ*), which however is unauthorized. We must either translate—"by the flesh," and "by the Spirit;" or "in the flesh," and "in the Spirit;" compare iv. 6.

in a *variety* of senses; and again, that the first time he uses it (John i. 14), is when he is speaking of the incarnation; from which the legitimate inference might seem to be that the word has reference to our Saviour's becoming "a partaker of flesh and blood." As however, on the one hand, it is clearly the manifested Logos in the *entireness* of his person that is the subject of discourse in that passage, and, on the other, the appropriateness of the term "begotten" wholly rests on that of "Son," without regard to distinctions of meaning in the latter (see John i. 12, 13; 1 John v. 1, 18; 1 Cor. iv. 14, 15), we shall not be warranted in *limiting* the reference of the former, in this and the like instances, to our Saviour's humanity. But further, from the manner in which the epithet "only-begotten" is used in other connections, both in the New Testament (see Luke vii. 12; viii. 42; ix. 38; Heb. xi. 17), and in the classics (*μονογενὴς υἱός*), we are not entitled in the case of the usage before us to attach any *special* emphasis to the second constituent of the compound. The expression "only-begotten of the Father," or "only-begotten Son of God," therefore, is simply equivalent to "only Son," and intimates that our Lord and Saviour was the Son of God in a sense altogether singular, unexampled, and "wonderful"—not only as possessing an absolutely perfect *human* nature, created by a direct act of Almighty power (in which sense the term is applied to Adam, Luke iv.) but further, as combining with his humanity essential *Deity*.

3. The same principle applies to Psalm ii. 7, and on no other can the perplexity attending the use of "begotten" in that passage be satisfactorily removed. As the scope of the Psalm, and especially a comparison with verse 6, lead us to regard the title "Son" as employed in an *official* sense, the verb "begotten" must also have a reference to office. So close indeed is the parallelism between the two verses—the "decree declared" by the Messiah in the latter being obviously identical with the announcement of Jehovah in the former—that we shall be justified in viewing "begotten" as standing in the same relation to "Son" in the one, as "anointed" (מָשִׁיחַ) to "King" in the other: the two terms will thus be alike descriptive of the solemn *appointment* or inauguration of Messiah as King; and this, as already shewn, took place on the completion of his atoning work.* One

* The representation of an *anointing* having taken place on the occasion referred to, (comp. Psalm xlv. 7; Heb. i. 9; Acts ii. 36,) is perfectly consistent with the fact that our Lord is spoken of as having been *previously* anointed, (ver. 2, Psalm lxxxix. 20; Acts iv. 27; x. 38) viz., at his baptism (Luke iii. 22; iv. 1); the one being the anointing of divine selection, the other of public consecration to

might compare with such a sense of $\tau\zeta$, besides the $\delta\iota\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\eta\varsigma$, and $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\eta\varsigma$ of Homer and Hesiod, the Latin phrases *creare regem, consules, imperatorem*, etc., where "create" or "beget" (see Livy i. 3; Hor. Ep. i. 2, 44) is put metaphorically for "elect," and the many figurative uses of *pario*, of which we will cite but two examples from Virgil:—

"Illic res laetæ, regnumque et regia conjunx
Parta tibi"—*Æn.*, ii. 783, 4.

—"Alius Latio jam partus Achilles,
Natus et ipse deâ."—vi. 89, 90.

If this dogma (of the eternal Sonship) were unequivocally taught in the sacred volume, then but one course would remain for us—humbly to receive it in deference to such unchallengeable authority, not without a hope that the time might come when the mystery which hung over it would be dispelled; but to retain in our theological creeds a notion as unwarranted by Scripture as it is contrary to reason, and which owes so much more to *Plato* and *Philo*, than to Peter or Paul, is needlessly to throw a stumbling-block in the way of the honest inquirer, and gratuitously to multiply the *points d'appui* of our religion for the gratification of the captious unbeliever. It has indeed already produced its appropriate fruits, having originated, in the course of its gradual development, some of the most formidable controversies which have distracted and divided the church; nor is it too much to say, that had it not been for the crude and unwarrantable views entertained by the orthodox of the phraseology of Scripture on the subject of the Trinity, and the obstinacy with which they adhered to them, *Monarchianism*, *Arianism*, and *Tritheism* might never have been heard of.

Some of the advocates of this opinion indeed complain of the objections which have been urged against it, and disavow the consequences to which it has been shewn to lead, as attaching to the *words* in which it is expressed, but from which they maintain that "the doctrine itself is free." The words however, be it remembered, although adapted from Scripture language, are nevertheless of their own choosing; nor are we aware that there is any *intention* on the other side to pervert their meaning. But let us hear their own account of how their language is to be understood. "All that is imperfect, all that belongs to the creature," says the writer already referred to, "is to be rejected, and that only retained which comports with the majesty of the

office, as in the case of David (1 Sam. xvi. 3, 13; 2 Sam. ii. 4): so that Hengstenberg might have spared his hypercriticism on the import of the verb here used (see Comment. on Psalm ii. 6.)

* The Annotator on Barnes' *Commentary on the New Testament*, at Heb. i. 3.

Creator." So far, so good. What ideas then are to be rejected as included in the category of imperfection? "The ablest friends of the doctrine," he informs us, "contend that there is no derivation or communication of *essence* from the Father to the Son." To the same purpose Dr. Dick, who may be considered as a very fair representative of the school of theology to which he belongs: "I cannot assent," says he, "to the common opinion, that the generation of the Son consisted in the communication of the Divine essence and perfections to him."^u In what then did it consist?—in the communication of distinct *personality*? No; for on this subject Dr. D. declares a little further on: "This is another attempt to be wise above what is written. I know not what it is to beget a person as distinct from his essence." The same writer repudiates the dogma of the *subordination* of the Son; "for a subordination among equal persons, a subordination of one who is truly God, is indeed a mystery, a thing perfectly unintelligible."^z Excellent! but then the questions at once arise, what is *generation*, where there is neither communication of substance nor of personality? and what is a *Sonship*, of which neither derivation nor subordination can be predicated? He even goes so far as to ask, "if it would not have been wise" in the defenders of this tenet "to have acknowledged that the relation between the Father and the Son was altogether above our comprehension; that the words 'Son' and 'begotten' were intended *solely to express a distinction of person and a mutual relation*; and that the only conclusion we can safely draw from them, is that the second person of the Trinity has the same nature with the first, is his perfect image, and the object of his infinite love."^y Now it is refreshing to meet with so sober and sensible an enunciation of belief (if we may thus denominate what is modestly couched in the form of a question), after all the wild speculation, and "darkening of counsel by words without knowledge," that one encounters in tracing the history of this dogma through the bygone centuries. But who does not see that such a declaration is a virtual surrender of the whole question at issue? This is precisely what we have contended for in the preceding pages; nor, so far as it relates to our Lord's *divine* nature, is there anything in the statement to which the most strenuous opponents of the eternal Sonship would not subscribe. The only difference worth mentioning between us is in regard to the *aspect* under which these terms contemplate our Lord; the one party considering them as primarily and properly descriptive of Christ as the second person in the Trinity; the other as only

^u *Theol.*, vol. ii., p. 70.^z *Ibid.*, p. 68.^y *Ibid.*, p. 69.

applicable to him in his mediatorial capacity, and designating his complex person as *θεάνθρωπος*. This difference, however, is important. On the former supposition, it appears that we must discard from our conception everything *distinctive* of Sonship as compared with other relationships, before we can intelligently believe in the filiation of Christ; while on the other, all that is essential to that relation among men is included, and the title is seen to be in the highest degree significant and appropriate. On the hypothesis defended by Dr. Dick, indeed, one cannot see why the title "Son" should have been chosen more than 'brother,' 'kinsman,' or the like, if all that is intended to be conveyed is community of nature and mutual affection; and we should have an instance of what every candid mind will admit to be altogether an anomaly in the inspired volume, the selection of a term in relation to a subject known to us only through revelation, which must be stripped of its peculiar significance before it can be understood, and which is therefore calculated to convey an erroneous impression.

III. It only remains that, according to promise, we should shew how the interpretation contended for, which, it will be remembered, is *verbally* that of the Socinians, may be vindicated from the inference they attempt to draw from it, viz., that Jesus Christ was no more than a creature.

It might be thought sufficient for this purpose to refer to the numerous and irrefragable proofs of our Lord's divinity with which the New Testament, beginning with this very context, is studded, as the heavens are with stars, were it not that one could wish to drive the advocates of so pernicious a heresy from their last stronghold, and to leave them not so much as a resting-place for the soles of their feet within the boards of the Bible. When, therefore, they affirm that "because Christ is here said to be the first-born (or chief) of every creature, he must be in the order and of the number of the creatures," we have simply to reply, that if it is *usus, quem penes est norma loquendi*, the conclusion does not follow from the premises, and is therefore an *unwarrantable assumption*. The expression in dispute is an instance of a figure by no means uncommon, and doubtless familiar to many of our readers, although, so far as we are aware, it has not yet received a name, a figure of *thought* rather than of diction, whereby *an individual is conceived of as being included in a class to which he does not, strictly speaking, belong*, but with which he is connected by some common property, essential or accidental, that for the moment arrests the mind of the speaker or writer. It is very much as if, in natural science, one should refer objects

to the same *variety* which are only of the same *species*, or to the same *species* which are specifically different, but of the same *genus*, or if not genus, of the same *family*, *order*, *class*, or *sub-kingdom*; it being immaterial whether the connexion be near or remote.

In the following list of examples we begin with the more obvious. Livy,^{*} referring to the engagement between the Romans and Etruscans under Lars Tolumnius, says, *Eques maxime resistebat; equitumque longè fortissimus ipse rex—trahebat certamen*; where the king is called an *eques* because he was mounted, and led on his own cavalry. Cicero^y calls Clodius *hoc ministro, omnium non bipedum solum, sed etiam quadrupedum impruissimo*. So Macrobius^z (cited by Ruddiman): *Age, Servi, non solum adolescentium, sed senum omnium doctissime*.

Again, we find the Caledonians styled by Tacitus^a, *Ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi*, "the fleetest of the rest of the Britons." Pliny,^b speaking of the different kinds of Cadmia, says, *Ostracitis tota nigra, et ceterarum (V. L. à ceteris) sordidissima*. So Cæsar^c thus expresses himself: *Itinere exquisito per Divitiacum, quod ex aliis ei maximam fidem habebat*: where we should have expected *ex omnibus* instead of *ex aliis*. Sallust^d says, *Haud longè à flumine Mulucha, erat inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus*, as if the mountain were a part of the plain. And Macrobius^e (as cited by Ruddiman) speaks of *Ægyptum regionum aliarum calidissimam*. Homer, referring to the robe which Hecuba was about to offer to Minerva, says,

Ἄσθηρ ἀπέλαμπεν· ἔκειτο δὲ νεῖατος ἄλλων.—*Il.*, vi. 295.

So in Herodotus, Darius having granted to the wife of Intaphernes the option of the life of her husband, her brother, or one of her children, expresses his astonishment that she should prefer τὸν ἀδελφεὸν, ὅς καὶ ἀλλοτριώτατός τοι τῶν παίδων, καὶ ἦσσαν κεχαρισμένος τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐστι (iii. 119). Thucydides, speaking of the Peloponnesian war, calls it *μεγὰν τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων* (i. 1); of the expedition against Troy, *στρατιὰν μεγίστην τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς* (i. 10); of the battle of Corcyra, *ναυμαχία νεῶν πλήθει μεγίστη τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς* (i. 50): compare *στρατοπέδον τοῦτο κάλλιστον Ἑλληνικὸν τῶν μέχρι τοῦδε ξυνηλθε* (v. 60); *τῆς πατρίδος ὡς μεγίστον δὴ τῶν πρὶν κινδύνων ἀναρρίπτουσης*, "running the greatest of former risks" (vi. 13); *παρασκευή—πολυτελεστάτη δὴ καὶ εὐπρεπεστάτη τῶν ἐς ἐκείνον τὸν*

^{*} Book iv., chap. 18.

^y *Pro domo sua*, 18.

^z *Saturn*, vii. 11.

^a *Agric.*, 34.

^b *Natural History*, xxxiv. 22.

^c *B. G.*, i. 41.

^d *Ing.*, chap. xcii.

^e *Saturn*, vii. 8.

χρόνον ἐγένετο (vi. 31). Even our own Milton furnishes us with an example in the well-known couplet,

“Adam, the goodliest man of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters—Eve.”—*Par. Lost*, iv. 323.

The same figure occurs frequently with *alius*, ἄλλος. Thus Livy (iv. 41) has *eo missa plaustra jumentaque alia ab urbe* (unless *jumenta* be here used as in the Legg. xii. Tab. for *carri*). Homer,

Αὐτὰρ ὁ λᾶξ προσβάς ἐκ νεκροῦ χάλκεον ἔγχος
Ἔσπασατ’ οὐδ’ ἄρ’ ἐτ’ ἄλλα δυνήσατο τεύχεα καλὰ
Ῥμοῖν ἀφελέσθαι.—*Il.*, v. 620—622.

although the spear was his own; (as to ἄλλα for τὰ ἄλλα compare ii. 1). So, speaking of Nausicaä, the poet says she was

Οὐκ οἶν’ ἄμα τῆγε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι κίον ἄλλαι.—*Od.*, vi. 84.

apparently putting the princess on a level with her maids. Xenophon^f says, καὶ βοῦς καὶ ἵππους εἶπε τούτῳ καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα πολλὰ ἐλαύνειν (unless πρόβατα be here used in the less Attic sense of ‘quadrupeds’). So (*Anab.*, i. 5, 1) ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ πεδῖον, ἅπαν ὁμαλὸν—ἀψίνθιον δέ πλήρες· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνὴν ὕλης ἢ καλάμου, ἅπαντα ἦσαν εὐώδη, although wormwood is neither a “shrub” nor a “reed.” Again (i. 5, 5), οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος, οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον, confounding grass with trees. So Euripides,

Μάρψω σ’ αὖ τόξοις, ὦ Ζηνὸς
Κήρυξ, ὀρνίθων γαμφηλαίς
Ἴσχυν νικῶν.

“Οδὲ πρὸς θυμέλας ἄλλος ἐρέσσει
Κύκνον.—*Jon.*, 156—160 (M).

confounding the swan with the eagle. And Plato^g (cited in *Matt. Lex.*), ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων, making strangers of the citizens.

The common resolution of such phrases, by translating *alius*, ἄλλος “besides,” and alleging that the superlative is used by a figure of syntax for the comparative, gives indeed the same results, and may be accepted as a make-shift, but is far from satisfactory; in the first place, because it goes no deeper than the surface, and does not reach the *thought*, which must ever be regarded as the parent of the expression; and secondly, because there are many cases where it signally fails. Thus, in the above example from Xenophon (*Anab.*, i. 5, 5) Liddell and Scott are fain to translate ἄλλο by “at all,” although it would have puzzled Porson himself to adduce another instance of ἄλλος in such a sense. Nor will any such resource avail in the following pas-

^f *Cyr.*, vii. 3, 7.

^g *Gorg.*, p. 473. c

sages. When Charon is about to take the *ingentem Ænean* on board his *sutilis cymba*, we are told

"Inde alias animas, quæ per juga longa sedebant
Deturbat."—Virgil, *Æn.*, vi. 411.

So Homer,^a speaking of Telemachus,

Πάρ δ' αὐτὸς κλισμὸν θέτο ποικίλον, ἔκτοθεν ἄλλων
Μνηστήρων.

Ibid., xiv. 341, 2, Ulysses is made to say,

Ἐκ μὲν με χλαῖνάν τε, χιτῶνά τε, εἶματ' ἔδυσαν
Ἀμφὶ δὲ μοί ῥάκος ἄλλο κακὸν βάλον, ἥδὲ χιτῶνα,

where it is obvious that having first stripped the hero of his own apparel, they could not be said to have clothed him with the "rag" *besides*. In like manner Euripides,

Χωρὶς γὰρ ἄλλης, ἧς ἔχουσιν ἀργίας
Φθόρον πρὸς ἀστών ἀλφάνουσι δυσμενῇ.

Med. 300 (297, Dind).

where Matthiæ, in his note on the passage, seems to agree with Porson in considering ἄλλης as pleonastic; but the true explanation is given in the *Lexic. Eurip.*, χωρὶς ἄλλον κακοῦ. Again, in ver. 934 (945 Dind.) of the same drama, where Jason is speaking of the influence of his wife with her father, we have the still more remarkable expression, which may perhaps be regarded as the *instantia crucis*:

Ἐπερ γυναικῶν ἐστὶ τῶν ἄλλων μία.ⁱ

So in Col. i. 15, our Saviour (for the Apostle is not speaking of the second person of the Trinity in the abstract, but of the concrete person of Christ the Son of God, "by whom we have redemption, through his blood") is termed "the chief of all creation," and so reckoned in the order and of the number of the creatures, simply because he had identified himself with them by "taking part of the same" nature with ourselves; and it no more follows from this that he is not at the same time God,

^a *Od.* i. 132.

ⁱ Were further argument needed, we might refer to a very singular idiom, occurring chiefly in Herodotus,—the converse, as it were, of the one under consideration,—according to which an object (which may be a person or a thing) is compared with itself, and for this end is conceived to be subdivided into as many parts, or multiplied as many times, as there are circumstances in which it is placed, or aspects under which it is viewed:—*e.g.*, τῇ βαθυράτῃ (ἐστὶ ἡ λίμνη) αὐτῇ τωβτῇς, *Hdt.* ii. 149; so i. 193; 203; ii. 8; v. 28, *Xen. Mem.* i. 2, 40, etc.; where to say that the superlative is used for the comparative (as in *Hdt.* iv. 25; vii. 16; viii. 86, etc.) is only shifting, and indeed shirking the difficulty; for the latter usage stands quite as much in need of explanation as the former, although we have become somewhat more familiar with it, from its partial introduction into our own language, as when we say of a man that "he excels himself," and the like.

than it follows from Lars Tolumnius being denominated a "knight," that he was not at the same time king of the Veientes.

Nor is this a solitary instance of the occurrence of this figure in Scripture language. It is on the same principle, we apprehend, rather than by inventing new renderings for *εἰ μὴ*, that we are to explain a passage which otherwise is certainly somewhat ambiguous, *viz.*, Luke iv. 25—27, *πολλὰι χήραι ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡλίου ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ—καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν ἐπέμφθη Ἡλίας εἰ μὴ εἰς Σάραπτα τῆς Σιδῶνος, πρὸς γυναῖκα χήραν* and so in the following verse, of Naaman: the woman of Sidon, by a natural association of ideas, being reckoned among the widows of Israel, simply because she was a widow; and Naaman the Syrian among the Israelitish lepers, because he was a leper. And to the same idiom we should perhaps refer the enigmatical and much controverted language of John in Rev. xvii. 11, *καὶ αὐτὸς ὄγδοος ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐστὶ.*

We are now in a condition to give the true solution of the phrase *בְּנוֹתָי בְּנוֹתָי*, formerly noticed as applied by Jewish writers to Jehovah. The foundation of it is doubtless the metaphorical sonship already described, all creatures being viewed as *sons of God*. Nor do we now need to ask, whose Son is Jehovah? for he is reckoned, by a kind of tapeinosis, *among his own creatures*, as connected with them by the common category of *being*, precisely in the same way as Eve, in the above quotation from Milton, is represented as one of her own daughters, because she, like them, was a woman. To say that God is "the first-born of the world," is therefore tantamount to affirming that he is "the greatest and best of *beings*."

W. S.

SUGGESTIONS ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT, IN RELATION TO MODERN OPINIONS.

It would seem as if the two great questions which were to occupy the attention of thinking men, and possibly to receive their solution, so far as a solution is possible, in our day, were those of the atonement and the inspiration of Scripture. It is happily not only the prescribed duty, but the privilege of this Journal to examine all questions without reference to the warfare of parties—with or in which, however, every man must necessarily be more or less interested—that is raging everywhere in what should be the peaceful fold of the Great Shepherd. Nor is any

course more calculated to bring out results of real value, apart from the pleasure of immediate victory or renown, than thus to view things *αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ*, by and in themselves, and, setting before us only the truth, to endeavour by God's help to disentangle those difficulties, which the course of action that he has prescribed to himself and to those through whom he has made known to us his will, has presented to the ministers and students of his Word. It is to the former of these grand subjects that we desire now to request the attention of our readers, not as counting ourselves to have attained full and complete knowledge of that stupendous question, but as hoping that we may nevertheless be enabled to contribute some little mite towards its future settlement on a more satisfactory basis.

If we look to the origin and derivation of the word atonement itself, it will soon appear that it can give us little or no assistance in the investigation. Etymologists are divided as to whether it signifies *at-one-ment*, or the setting *at-one* those who had been previously at variance (*eutzweit*, as the Germans have it), or whether it indicates a bringing into *tone* or *tune* what has previously been discordant, and thus ought more properly to be written *attunement*. The word thus becomes merely a conventional symbol, used by theologians to indicate the manner and ground of the reconciliation of sinful man with his Maker. Nay it is frequently limited more strictly still, and is confined to the reconciliation of God with man, so far as it is effected by, or closely connected with, sacrifice. It is in this latter point of view more especially that we are now about to treat of it. And it is clear that, if we do not rightly understand the primary idea of sacrifice, everything we write about the atonement, considered as a sacrifice, must be comparatively aimless and valueless in a scientific and theoretical point of view, whatever practical lessons of holiness and self-denial we may be able to deduce and enforce upon the way.

Want of knowledge of the real meaning of sacrifice appears to have led many of the Fathers to look to the figure of *redemption* or *ransoming*, under which Christ's work is also represented in the Scriptures of the new covenant, as affording a basis of explanation of the great work of reconciliation. Thus the devil was represented as having obtained certain rights over man, an equivalent for which was given him in the person of Christ, whom, however, being God as well as Man, he was unable to retain within his grasp. Then came the notion of a debt incurred by man, and paid by Christ to God, and its various modifications—such as, that the mercy of God was unable to act until his justice had been satisfied by the voluntary death of

the sinless victim; that the infinite turpitude of sin rendered necessary the infinite sufferings of a person who was divine as well as human, and so forth. But all these theories and their modifications alike neglected the words in which our Lord described the nature of his own death—namely, that his blood was “the blood of the new covenant, shed for many for the remission of sins.” (Matt. xxvi. 28). If these words, of which a great part of the Epistle to the Hebrews is but the expansion, be taken as the real account of the matter, and surely our Lord’s own account of his own death and its effects ought to be accepted as the real account thereof, it is clear that both Fathers, schoolmen, and reformers thus took a practical illustration of the benefits flowing from the atonement for a real and scientific elucidation of its nature. It certainly seems to us that it is to the doctrine of sacrifice as connected (1) with remission of sins, and (2) with the making of covenants, that, according to our Lord’s own words, we ought to look, if we wish to explain his office both in itself and in connexion with God’s dealings with the human race, as set forth in the Scriptures of both the Old and New Covenants.

Nor should it strike us as at all a strange thing, that in the latter days the doctrine of sacrifice should have to be re-discovered inductively, even as the secrets of nature have to so great an extent in these latter times yielded to that at once potent and reverential instrument, the inductive philosophy. For, in the first place, the great effort of the first Christian missionaries was, to wean both Jew and Gentile from sacrificial worship; is it then wonderful if the theory and practice of sacrifice should be the last thing to which they would have recourse in their teaching? Is it wonderful that the theory of a system should have been lost, the practice of which it was their greatest aim to do away with? Is it wonderful that the passages in the Scriptures relating to sacrifice should be just those, for the interpretation of which we obtain least light from the earlier writers? In the second place, it is surely a more reverential method to endeavour to find out what the laws of an Almighty Being are, than to assume *à priori* what they ought to have been, and then endeavour to place the phenomena on a kind of procrustean bed, and adapt them to our theories. The old astronomers assumed that the motions of the heavenly bodies ought to have been circular, whereas the inductive philosophy has discovered that they really are elliptical. Let us then, in dealing with the doctrine of the atonement, endeavour to cast aside all *à priori* notions and preconceived prejudices, and simply try to discover a principle of sacrifice which shall at once account for all the phenomena presented by the historical facts and language of the Scriptures,

As data to go upon in this inquiry, we have two recorded facts, antecedent to all other history. In the first place we find a system of sacrifice existing in the very earliest times, and applied both to expiation of sin and to covenants or treaties; and in the second place, the book of Genesis gives an account of the passing of a sentence of death upon mankind in requital for wilful sin. A question then arises as to whether these things have any or no connexion with each other. If they have none, we must go with Bähr, Jowett, and Maurice, and simply say that they are written for our moral instruction, but do nothing towards unveiling for us the real secrets of our life in relation to our Creator, and the principles of his dealings with us his creatures. If they have a connexion with each other, what is it? In what does it consist? What principle have these things together in common? It is often said that by bringing a victim a man declared himself deserving of the death which the victim, as his substitute, actually suffered, so that he thus underwent a great moral humiliation before God. And he laid his hands on the head of the victim in order to identify himself with it, his vicarious substitute. But this gives us no clue to the meaning of sacrifice as connected with covenants or treaties, so that the holders of this view have recourse to the lower theory of sacrifice for the purpose of explaining this part of the subject, and simply look upon sacrifice as a solemn ceremony, which gave religious sanction to a political or civil contract. Thus, to them "the blood of the New Covenant" is what it is upon a principle entirely different to that by which "the blood shed for the remission of sins" has its deep and solemn meaning.

But if, as we have proposed in a former number of this Journal,* we endeavour to find a formula which shall include both the substitution of the victim for the offerer, and the identification of the offerer with the victim, we may perhaps obtain some result that can be applied at once to covenantal or federal sacrifice. Let us try the formula proposed there, namely, that the primary idea of sacrifice is the *symbolical* death of the offerer in the *real* death of the victim. It is easy enough to see how easy of application this formula is as regards sin offerings. Man is under sentence of death, and he actually does die (symbolically) before he can approach his Maker as a worshipper. To use the words of Dr. Hawkins: "Primitive sacrifices were probably intended to denote the guilt of the worshipper, and to procure for him, not indeed pardon for his sin, but acceptance for his worship;" a view of the effect and intention of sacrifice, in which

* Vol. XI., p. 188.

we have also the concurrence of Mr. Macdonnell, in his admirable Donnellan lectures for 1858, though it certainly seems to us that this latter writer's exposition of the nature of sacrifice would be materially cleared by the adoption of the simple formula above recommended.

But to come to the application of our formula to covenant sacrifice. Two methods of doing this have been proposed—one, that given in a little work noticed in the last number of this Journal (page 481), and another proposed in a review of the same work in the *Christian Examiner and Church of Ireland Magazine*, for March, 1860. Both methods agree in the translation of the celebrated "testament and testator" passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and in considering the death of the *διαθέμενος*, as the symbolical death of God in his representative victim, CHRIST. But the work in question regards that death as taking place with regard to the covenant thus made, and as guaranteeing that it shall not be altered; while the reviewer explains his view as follows:—"May not the covenant sacrifice, in harmony with what we know of other sacrifices, have symbolically indicated that both the contracting parties were dead to their former condition—generally one of enmity, and were then entering into a new relationship—generally one of friendship? As the expiatory sacrifice symbolized the punishment which the offered had deserved, and the death of his former sinful self, may not *both* parties in a covenant sacrifice have exhibited symbolically the death of their ancient enmity? And does not this receive confirmation from St. Paul's language with regard to the baptismal covenant (*e.g.* Rom. vi.), which he makes to represent the death of the believer to his old nature, and his resurrection to newness of life,—truths very indistinctly symbolized in the washing of baptism, and which may rather have been suggested by the older form of covenant through sacrifice and the ideas attached to it? If this be correct, there is no violence in transferring the idea from a human covenant to an engagement between God himself and his creatures. He who cannot *die* (in the literal sense of the word) may be represented as dying to his former anger. And thus, even to him, the general rule may be applied, that 'where a *covenant* is, there must of necessity be brought in the (symbolical) death of the maker of the covenant.'"

This view is well worth consideration, and we should gladly have accepted it, were it not for the concluding words of the passage of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 17). The words "since it is never strong, when the maker of the covenant lives," *ἐπεὶ μήποτε ἰσχύει ὅτε ζῇ ὁ διαθέμενος*, appear to contemplate the symbolical death of the maker of the covenant as a guarantee

against insecurity in, or a bar to violation of, the covenant. Thus, while either view suits the former part of the passage fairly enough, the latter part appears to us to pronounce strongly in favour of that of the dissertation, "God's death in Christ." Or perhaps some one from consideration of these things may strike out a third explanation, which shall be equally consistent with the philological and grammatical exigencies of the passage. But we may be pretty certain that there is a very deep and serious meaning in the *διαθήκη* made by our Lord's blood, and that it is not for nothing that (Heb. vii. 22) he is called an *ἑγγυος* or surety of a better covenant." Neither can we expect acute and almost sceptical enquirers, like Professor Jowett, to come into our views, unless we can furnish them with really correct and satisfactory explanations of the passages on which we base our theories. If we tell them that *τοῦ διαθεμένου* means "the mediating victim," they simply laugh at us; if we introduce the Greek ideas of a testament or testator into the passage, they are willing enough to accept our interpretation, but then it is at the expense of the reputation of the sacred writer that they do so; and, in fact, Professor Jowett^b twice recurs to this passage (Heb. ix. 15—18), to invalidate the importance commonly attached to the doctrine of the atonement considered as a sacrifice. He first makes use of the "inconsistency of the figures," "arising from the confusion of two or more figures;" and secondly "of the use of language in double senses" in the same passage, to shew that the "long passages, which might be quoted from the Epistle to the Hebrews, which describe the work of Christ in sacrificial language," "have only a deceitful resemblance to the language of those theologians who regard the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ as the central truth of the Gospel."

Now, if either of the above explanations of the "testament and testator" passage be at all a satisfactory approximation to the true interpretation, quite enough of Professor Jowett's ground is cut away from under his feet to render the whole theory, of which his remarks on this passage are notable props and supports, very unstable and unreliable. But so long as an explanation of that passage is current in which, to borrow his words, "the idea of a sacrifice forms a transition to that of death and a testament, and the idea of a testament blends with that of a covenant," *i. e.*, so long as the current interpretation of the passage is what, in a profane writer, would be treated as a simple nonsense, and serious blame would therefore be attached either to the author or his interpreters, it is clear to us that the case of

^b Vol. ii., pp. 566, 567.

the more orthodox writers on the atonement can never be satisfactorily, or, at any rate completely, made out. This is the only passage that unites together the making of a covenant, and the remission of sins, as our Lord united them in his solemn words at the Last Supper. This passage appears intended to explain and enlarge upon those words and that union of two things apparently distinct, and till it is satisfactorily interpreted, we can only be guessing and writing in a kind of twilight. We may *feel* that we are right, but we cannot *prove* it.

Passing from the consideration of our Lord's office of surety in the covenant made through him with mankind, let us proceed to consider not only in what his sacrifice was *like*, but also in what it was *unlike* ordinary sacrifices of expiation. It was unlike them in that it provided a RESURRECTION after the death, while they ended, as they began, in a mere ceremony. In ordinary sacrifices the man died to his sin or former state in his representative victim, but was not in any respect put into a new state, either as regards future sin and future defilement, or as regards his own present moral feelings. Thus a constant repetition of those sacrifices was necessary (Heb. x. 1—3), in order to renew a state of external and ceremonial purity for religious purposes; but the worshippers were not purified *κατὰ συνείδησιν*, in point of conscience (Heb. ix. 9); whereas our grand representative victim not only died for us really, and we in him symbolically, but also REVIVED and rose again, and we in him, into a new and better state of things. This is often more or less implied in the words of writers on the atonement, *e. g.*, Mr. Macdonnell, but it seems to us to require to be stated with greater force and clearness.

There is another point also, in which our Lord's sacrifice of himself differed from ordinary sacrifices. It was a *voluntary* sacrifice of himself, whereas other victims, as such, were entirely involuntary agents, or rather passive instruments in the hands of a superior will. It would seem then that the *will* in our Lord was that which corresponded to the priest in an ordinary sacrifice, and that it was as voluntarily offering himself that he fulfilled the symbolism of the priestly office, as well as that of the unresisting vicarious victim. We obtain thus a simple view of his office as *μεσότης*, or Mediator, as well as that which he discharged as *ἑγγυος* or surety, and as sin offering.

Now if we proceed to consider the arrangements which God has made for the entrance of individuals into the grand covenant, which was made with the whole human race collectively upon the cross, we shall find that he never loses sight of the sentence of death passed once for all upon mankind after the first dis-

obedience. Every one of us, in order to enter into this covenant, must suffer a symbolical death, and pass through a symbolical resurrection in baptism. And it would seem to be not altogether unjustly observed by the reviewer in the *Irish Christian Examiner*, quoted above, that this death, which is so strongly insisted upon by St. Paul in Rom. vi. 2—7, is not so strongly symbolized in the actual ceremony of baptism as deduced from the original idea of covenants made by means of sacrifice. But while we admit this to a certain extent, we must not forget that the covenant itself involves a symbolical death in the grand victim, and that the authorized mode of appropriating and entering into that covenant subsequent to its original making, need not necessarily renew or repeat the original form in which it was once for all made.

Thus God's justice is satisfied by the execution of the sentence of death upon every man, while his mercy from the first devised or accepted a method of proceeding, which admitted for certain purposes of a symbolical instead of a real death on the part of human beings. And at the proper time God's mercy was still more exhibited by his providing them not merely with the means of dying with respect to their former state, but also with a resurrection into a new state, after which death and resurrection there was nothing *à priori* to prevent God from considering the believer in Jesus just or righteous, *δίκαιος*. So that God was at once just and a justifier of the believer in Jesus (Rom. iii. 26). "For he that has died (symbolically) is justified from his sin" (Rom. vi. 7), a passage which we have endeavoured to interpret in Vol. XI., page 433 of this Journal, as having a distinct reference to the principle of symbolical death in a representative victim.

But besides these things, there was also the state of the human race and the course of God's dealings with man, to be taken into consideration. St. Paul tells us (Rom. iii. 25) that God set forth Christ as a propitiatory sacrifice (*προέθετο ἱλαστήριον*) on account of the passing over (*πάρεσις*) of previous sins during the forbearance (*ἀνοχή*) of God. *Πάρεσις* appears to be an inferior kind of *ἀφεσις*, by which the worshipper seems to have been allowed to approach God without being justified in point of conscience (*κατὰ συνείδησιν*), by merely going through a ceremonial and symbolical death for a temporary purpose. The time during which God permitted this imperfect state of things, under which the "exceeding sinfulness" of sin could scarcely have been understood, is called his *ἀνοχή*, or forbearance. This is also what St. Paul appears to have alluded to in his speech at Athens, when he said (Acts xvii. 30), "The times of the igno-

rance God winked at, but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent," where the word *ὑπεριδὼν*, translated "winked at," is singularly expressive of the imperfect act of *πάρεσις* in the strongest contrast to the perfect act of *ἄφεσις*. And God appears to have judged it requisite, in giving a new dispensation to mankind, to make on that account a grand *ἐνδειξις*, (Rom. iii. 25), or display of his justice (*δικαιοσύνη*), by requiring the death of a fitting representative Man, as a necessary preliminary to the reconciliation of the race to himself.

Thus it was not from any antecedent necessity in the nature of things that God selected the means which he did select for bringing us back again to him, but because he judged it best for our race, and most consistent with his own sentence upon us at the first, and with the system of proceeding which he adopted in dealing with his creatures from the earliest times of which we have any record. It seem to us that the whole doctrine of the atonement is implicitly involved in the primal sentence of death and the institution of sacrifice regarded in its two principal points of view, (1) as a means of approach to God, and (2) as the original mode of making a binding covenant. To these considerations we may add (3) the unspeakable importance to ourselves of the incarnation, human life and sufferings of a divine person, in that we are thus enabled to know and feel, that our present representative before the throne of God, and future judge, is one who was tempted in all points like ourselves, and who is fully able as well as willing to sympathize with all our temptations and all our difficulties.

Thus every arrangement subsequent to the fall appears to have been made for man's sake and for man's advantage. O that we were all as willing to avail ourselves of God's great mercy as he is to extend it to us! But men have been quarrelling and anathematizing each other on account of speculative difficulties arising from the logical exigencies of their own theories and their own assumptions, while an inductive method appears to us to present the ways of God to man in a simple and coherent form, and promises, unless we are greatly mistaken, gradually to clear up all remaining difficulties, illuminate the dark places of Scripture, and eventually to prepare our race for that perfect knowledge which will burst upon us when faith shall be swallowed up in sight, and God himself shall be all in all.

Such are the reflections which have passed through our minds while studying in close connexion Professor Jowett's essay on the atonement, and Mr. Macdonnell's Donnellan lectures, which were written expressly in answer to it. There are several topics which we have touched upon, and which are generally

looked for in a work on the atonement, that have not been handled in Mr. Macdonnell's work. One important instance of this is the question of the connexion of the initiatory rite of baptism with the doctrine of the atonement. We trust that, should these excellent lectures reach a second edition, as they surely must ere long, the writer will extend his work, and make it full and complete in all its parts. We know that it would require considerable care in so doing to avoid resuscitating or being drawn into the controversy about baptismal regeneration in all its fury, but we think that by simply dropping all allusion to baptismal "grace," which is a purely theological and not a scriptural application of the term "grace," the question might be treated in such a manner as not merely to avoid, but even to get rid of that stupid and tiresome controversy. For it certainly seems to us that the very existence of that controversy at all is due to an insufficient and inadequate mode of stating and explaining the doctrine of the atonement.

Having spoken so fully on the subject of Mr. Macdonnell's work, it would seem but fair that we should say a few words with regard to that of Professor Jowett. The latter is often irresistible as regards current and popular modes of explaining theological verities, but he appears to be constantly labouring under the mistake of supposing that these verities are adequately and completely, instead of only approximately explained and expounded by theologians. To real thinkers his work is very valuable, rather, however, indirectly than directly, rather for the many lights in which he looks at the matter he handles, than for any positive information or pregnant suggestions to be derived from him. That he endeavours to pull down almost everything he comes near is possibly a serious fault, possibly a great misfortune. It is certainly a great misfortune that his turn of mind is so essentially destructive and so little constructive, that a person following after him incurs almost too much trouble in setting to rights what he has thrown down and strewn about,—in clearing up, in fact, the litter he has made, to compensate for the many questions which he properly and fairly raises, a solution or elucidation of which may often be properly and fairly required. Unfortunately the undoing, cleaning, and scraping process, to which the professor appears to delight in subjecting everything he deals with, does not usually include a restoration of things, when done with, to their proper place, neither does it usually leave sufficient positive results behind to make up for the turmoil and destruction which it more or less necessarily involves. Possibly, too, there may be cases in which the only damage suffered is suffered by the fingers of the invader himself.

Be that as it may, it is our firm conviction that the controversies thus excited will eventually result in a great strengthening of the proofs, and a great clearing of the explanations of many of the more important verities. These controversies will have their oscillations from time to time, and sometimes perhaps dangerous symptoms will shew themselves, and "the faith of many will wax cold." But let us ever remember that the threads that pull all the springs are in the hands of God, who will cause all things to work together for his own glory, and the *real* advantage of his church. Let us not live like men whose faces are turned backwards, seeing only the good in the primitive times and the evil in our own, but let us by God's help be up and doing our own appointed work, whether that appointed work consist in pulling down or in building up. And let us feel and act upon a firm confidence in God's overruling providence, and entertain a firm faith that, when a person is raised up, as Professor Jowett seems to be, for the purpose of pulling down many things that we have been taught to revere from our earliest days, other builders will also be raised up who will go over the same ground, and restore or rebuild in a better and more fitting manner the things that have been apparently injured by his "remorseless criticism," or equally remorseless scepticism. But happier and more blessed is he whose powers are granted him, and whose task is allotted him, *εἰς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ οὐκ εἰς καθάρσιν*, for the purpose of building up, and not for that of pulling down.

A. H. W.

MODERN SCEPTICAL WRITERS—"ESSAYS AND REVIEWS."^a

THE attention which a volume entitled *Essays and Reviews*, has

^a *Essays and Reviews*. The Second Edition. London: Parker. 1860. pp. 443.

The contents of this volume, with the names of the authors, are as follows:—
The Education of the World. By Frederick Temple, D.D., Head Master of Rugby School, etc.

Bunsen's Biblical Researches. By Rowland Williams, D.D., Vice-Principal, and Professor of Hebrew, St. David's College, Lampeter, etc.

On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity. By the late Baden Powell, M.A., F.R.S., Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford.

Stances Historiques de Genève. The National Church. By Henry Bristow Wilson, B.D., Vicar of Great Staughton, Hunts.

On the Mosaic Cosmogony. By C. A. Goodwin, M.A.

Tendencies of English Thought in England, 1688—1750. By Mark Pattison, B.D.

On the Interpretation of Scripture. By Benjamin Jowett, M.A., Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford.

excited in Great Britain and America,—everywhere indeed where English literature is appreciated, is a remarkable phenomenon of our times, and there are some indications of their producing effects far beyond what the writers could have anticipated. This excitement in the public mind is not to be accounted for by any novelty in the theories propounded by the writers of the volume, nor by any extraordinary ability in stating their views. It arises principally from the fact that the authors of the *Essays and Reviews* are, most of them, men holding positions of influence and authority in the Church of England, and from the generally recognized discrepancy between those positions and their teaching. It arises also, and in a great degree, from the eagerness with which the doctrines of the work are seized hold of and used by every heterodox and infidel school of thought to be found among us. We shall examine some of the propositions of this volume, without pretending to exhaust the subject, or to supply a complete refutation. To some points not now examined we may return at a future period.

Dr. Temple, in his "Essay on the Education of the World," begins by the assumption that, whatever fixity there may be in the material world, in the world of spirits there must be continual progress. "Each moment of time, as it passes, is taken up in the shape of permanent results into the time that follows, and only perishes by being converted into something more substantial than itself." And in accordance with this assumption, he professes to trace an analogy between the successive stages of the world's development, and those in the education of the individual mind. His account of the latter, as far at least as it relates to those who have every educational advantage, is really unexceptionable. There are three stages in such an education:—

"In childhood we are subject to positive rules which we cannot understand, but are bound implicitly to obey. In youth we are subject to the influence of example, and soon break loose from all rules, unless illustrated and enforced by the higher teaching which example imparts. In manhood we are comparatively free from external restraints, and if we learn, must be our own instructors. First come rules, then examples, then principles. . . . It is impossible to explain the reasons of all the commands you give to a child, and you do not endeavour to do so . . . Every detail of manners and of conduct the careful mother teaches her child, and requires implicit obedience. Mingled together in her teaching are commands of the most trivial character and commands of the greatest importance . . . Meanwhile to the child obedience is the highest duty, affection the highest stimulus, the mother's word the highest sanction. . . .

"As the child grows older the education changes its character, not so much in regard to the sanction of its precepts as in regard to their

tenor. More stress is laid upon matters of real duty, less upon matters of mere manner. . . . Moreover, while much stress is laid upon his deeds, little is laid upon his opinions; he is rightly supposed not to have any, and will not be allowed to plead them as a reason for disobedience.

"After a time, however, the intellect begins to assert a right to enter into all questions of duty, and the intellect accordingly is cultivated. The reason is appealed to in all questions of conduct. . . . Thus the conscience is reached through the understanding."

But, Dr. Temple argues, this development of the individual character would be impossible but for the influence of society, without which a man would not be human; and "if in this case the whole is prior to the parts, we may conclude that we are to look for that progress which is essential to a spiritual being subject to the lapse of time, not only in the individual, but also quite as much in the race taken as a whole. We may expect to find in the history of man, each successive age incorporating into itself the substance of the preceding. This power, whereby the present ever gathers into itself the results of the past, transforms the human race into a colossal man whose life reaches from the creation to the day of judgment."

"The successive generations of men are days in this man's life. The discoveries and inventions which characterize the different epochs of the world's history, are his works. The creeds and doctrines, the opinions and principles of the successive ages, are his thoughts. The state of society at different times are his manners. He grows in knowledge, in self-control, in visible size, just as we do. And his education is in the same way and for the same reason precisely similar to our own."

And Dr. Temple thinks that, in accordance with this theory, human nature has attained a high degree of development. "The child of twelve now stands at a level where once stood the child of fourteen, where ages ago stood the full-grown man."

At first sight this analogy of the world's development seems plausible as a theory; but even as a theory it will not bear examination, still less is it capable of being established by induction of facts. On the ground in which reason and revelation are in harmony, according to which the Creator and Father of the Universe is the ever present "manager of all his forces," exerting a special influence in the universe of mind, it may well be regarded as in the highest degree probable, and this is made certain by revelation, that the education of the world is in his hands; that the purpose of Divine Providence is to bring about a continual progress in the spiritual condition of mankind. And this object is seen to be still more important and worthy of the universal Father, when it is admitted, as it cannot be denied, that

human nature is diseased, and requires to be cured; and especially in view of the entire prophecy of revelation and of the human heart, that man is destined to a higher state of being, which is to constitute the inheritance of the educated world. This, in fact, is the theory of revelation; and however imperfectly at present it may be realized in our observation, while on the whole the tendency of things appears that way, a theory so derived may be accepted with confidence. But this of Dr. Temple is destitute of the main element which that theory contains, and of that which he represents as so important in the education of the individual. There we have at the outset, and during a large part of the course of it, the prevalence of some superior power. The *parent*, according to Dr. Temple's own theory, is to the child, and as long as he is under parental influence, in a high degree what the Father of our spirits is to the world. The parent is already accomplished in those moral and intellectual conditions in which, and towards which the child is to be educated. The parent is to the child in a great degree in the place of God, and is regarded with absolute faith and love by the child, until he has attained the spiritual stature of the parent, and become fully conscious of his relationship to a still higher parentage.

But in Dr. Temple's education of the world, there is really nothing to correspond with this essential means of instruction. There is no mother to the infant world; there are no tutors and governors at all corresponding to those who have been qualified to carry on the individual education. We can find no reference in his essay to anything properly divine in the management of the world's affairs. The whole history of human progress is, according to him, a spontaneous development, in the progress of which there is no trace of any other interference than the mutual action of the members of society on each other. He does indeed, for the purpose of his theory, refer to superior educational attainments, the record of which is found in the Bible; but these are no other than a local development of human genius, to be compared, and sometimes disadvantageously, with other developments presented in different localities. We must do Dr. Temple the justice of saying that his exclusion of every thing divine from the management of the world's affairs is not so palpable as it is in most of the other Essays; but at the same time all his reasonings are independent of the conviction of a God in the world, and of the prevalence of any influence superior to the human. His illustrations, however, of the different stages of the world's progress are chiefly derived from Biblical sources; and if Dr. Temple had given a faithful account of the *educational*

means of the Hebrews, and had not confounded these with the tendencies of the people in a corrupt part of their history, there might have been some important truth in his representation. As the author of the Hulsean Essay for 1850 has said :—

"It is fully in accordance with the spirit of revelation to regard the Israelites at the time of the Exode as in a state of religious and political infancy. 'When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and from Egypt I called him my son. I taught Ephraim also to go, taking them by the arms; but they knew not that I was healing them; and I drew them with cords of a man and with the bands of love' (Hosea xi. 1, 4). Now the course of Divine instruction was exactly in accordance with this idea: the great principle which was instilled into them from their first deliverance, and which was the doctrine of all the wonders which were wrought in their sight, was that of implicit *obedience* to the divine will and *absolute confidence in him* both for the present and the future. They were to feel themselves as it were in *his arms* who had baptized them into Moses, *i. e.*, into the covenant of which he was the minister. Now under these circumstances important reasons may be perceived why a degree of *reserve* should have been at first maintained in the subjects of their spiritual instruction. Their minds were not prepared for everything which was in store for them, as is found in the case of children, because it is impossible for them at present to form any but erroneous notions respecting them. . . . Their first lesson was that of being made, so to speak, personally acquainted with a *personal God*. He was ever present with them, *manifesting* himself to them in the only way in which, as far as we know, God can (externally) hold communion with man in our present state."

The following, however, is Dr. Temple's account of this teaching :—

"This system (the Mosaic) is a mixture of moral and positive commands: the latter precise and particular, ruling the customs, the festivals, the worship, the daily food, the dress, the very touch; the former large, clear, simple, peremptory. There is very little directly spiritual. No freedom of conduct or opinion is allowed. The difference between different precepts is not forgotten; nor is all natural judgment in morals excluded. But the reason for all the minute commands is never given. Why they might eat the sheep and not the pig they are not told. The commands are not confined to general principles, but run into such details as to forbid tattooing or disfiguring the person, to command the wearing of a blue fringe, and the like. That such commands should be *sanctioned by divine authority is utterly irreconcilable with our present feelings*. But in the Mosaic system the same peremptory legislation deals with all these matters, whether important or trivial. The fact is, however trivial they might be in relation to the authority which they invoked, they were not trivial in relation to the people who were to be governed and taught."

How far this is a fair representation of the Mosaic system,
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we leave any of our readers to judge who have thought it worth while to be tolerably acquainted with it. It appears, according to Dr. Temple, that the system was all but abrogated by the prophets. The captivity taught them lessons respecting the unity of God which they had never learnt before; and, though in some respects the people had apparently retrograded in the time of our Lord, yet the author can speak in the following terms about the real advance in their education.

"It is nevertheless clear that even the Pharisaic teaching contained elements of a more spiritual religion than the original Mosaic system. Thus, for instance, the *importance attached by the Pharisees to prayer* is not to be found in the law. The worship under the law consisted almost entirely of sacrifices. With the sacrifices we may presume that prayer was always offered, but it was not positively commanded; and as a regular and necessary part of worship, it first appears in the later books of the Old Testament, and is *never even there so earnestly insisted upon as afterwards by the Pharisees.*"

Now, not to mention that there never was a religion in which prayer was not an essential element, and that it never was absent when sacrifices were offered; do we not find it in every part of the Old Testament? The Patriarchs, Moses, and all who represented the religion of their time, exhibit prayer in its most earnest forms, as being in fact the only mode of their communion with God. The characteristic of the true God was declared in the words, "O Thou that hearest prayer;" whereas the Pharisees are denounced by our Lord for their hypocrisy, which was especially manifested in their prayers; all we know of which is that "for a pretence they make long prayers," and become thereby exposed to greater condemnation. "Like cunning priests and Jesuits (says Stäudlin) they played with forms and phrases, they seized a place in the hearts and consciences of men, corrupted them even by means of pious instruction . . . and became rulers of an earthly kingdom of darkness."

Such was the training of the Hebrews. But says Dr. Temple:—

"Other nations meanwhile had a training parallel to and contemporaneous with theirs. The natural religions, shadows projected by the spiritual light within shining on the dark problems without, were all in reality systems of law, given also by God, though not given by revelation, but by the working of nature, and consequently so distorted and adulterated, that in lapse of time the divine element in them had almost perished. The poetical gods of Greece, the legendary gods of Rome, the animal worship of Egypt, all accompanied by systems of law and civil government springing from the same sources as themselves, namely, the character and temper of the several nations, were the means of educating

these to similar circumstances in the economy of Providence to that for which the Hebrews were destined."

This is the verdict of subjective philosophy rather than of history. The *latter* would lead, rather, to the statement of the opposite; but the religion of the old world had been both the symptom and the source of moral corruption, and had prepared men for the reception of the Gospel chiefly by having reduced them to absolute moral helplessness.

"Two very opposite views," says Mr. Mansel, "may be taken of the false religions of antiquity. The Scriptures invariably speak of them as corruptions of man's natural reason, and abominations in the sight of God. Some modern writers delight to represent them as instruments of God's providence, *and steps in the education of mankind*. This view naturally belongs to that pantheistic philosophy which recognizes no Deity beyond the actual constitution of the world, which acknowledges all that exists as equally divine, or, which is the same thing, equally godless; but it is irreconcilable with the belief in a personal God, and in a distinction between the good which he approves and the evil which he condemns. . . . We must, indeed, believe that in the darkest ages of idolatry, 'God left not himself without witness:' we must believe that the false religions of the world, like its other evils, are overruled by God to the purposes of his good providence. But this does not make them the less evils and abominations in the sight of God."

The second stage of the world's education corresponds with that in which the youth is mainly influenced by example; and this, according to Dr. Temple, is the only thing presented in the Christian revelation. The New Testament is chiefly occupied by two lives; those of Christ and of the early church. "Christ himself was the example of all examples," but he was nothing more; and he was only that to the people of the age in which he lived. "Had his revelation been delayed till now, assuredly it would have been hard for us to recognize his divinity, for the faculty of faith has turned inwards, and we *cannot now accept any outward manifestations of the truth of God*."

"But the whole period from the closing of the Old Testament to the close of the New was the period of the world's youth—the age of examples; and our Lord's presence was not the only influence of that kind which has acted upon the human race. Three companions were appointed by providence to give their society to this creature whom God was educating; Greece, Rome, and the early Church. To these three mankind has ever since looked back, and will ever hereafter look back with the same affection, the same lingering regret with which age looks back to early manhood."

Now it may be allowed that the *literature* of Greece and Rome has had considerable influence in the *intellectual* educa-

tion of a portion of the human race; and the institutions of the latter have been embodied in our own. But surely neither of these is to be regarded as of the nature of example. The Roman jurists adopted or adapted the best of the legislative *doctrines* of the Greeks, and the Emperor Justinian did the same with regard to the ancient Roman law; at a time, however, when the principles of Christianity, as these were written down, had a large share in determining the character of his institutes. But what we admire or what we adopt from either source is surely more of the nature of law than of example; we do not enquire how the Greeks and Romans in any particular period of their history *exemplified* the principles, either moral or political, which a few wise men among them became cognizant of, but merely what they have written down for our learning; their example, exactly at those times when the apostles of heathenism preached, was the worst possible. And even with regard to the early Church, though the effect of Christian teaching was so great as to be called "a power of God unto salvation," yet the example of the early Church was vastly below the divine ideal which was exhibited in the *teaching* of Christ and his apostles, which ideal is that to which true Christians of all ages have looked as the guide of their conduct, which is equally exhibited to *us*, and to which, probably, a nearer approach has been made in later times than when the Church was imperfectly weaned from heathenism.

But the period is now come, according to Dr. Temple, when neither law nor example are required. The principles and precepts which were brought to bear in the childhood and youth of the world, and the manner in which former ages exemplified them, are no guide to us on their own account. "The Church in its fullest sense is left to work out by her natural faculties the principles of her own action." "*We are now men*, governed by principles, if governed at all, and cannot rely upon the impulses of youth or the discipline of childhood." It appears, in fact, that the world has arrived at such a state of intellectual and moral advancement, that every man is qualified to be "a law unto himself." He is obedient, not to external rules, "but to the rules of his own mind; "a law which is not imposed on us by another power, but by our *own enlightened will*." (?) There is no reference here, or in any part of this essay, to any kind of communication from a higher intelligence or a higher will than that of each individual man. The *θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον*, as that which commands obedience while it fully approves itself to right reason, has no place whatever in Dr. Temple's theory. Whatever assumes to come with such authority may, for its own sake, be more worthy of atten-

tion than the maxims and practices of heathenism, but it is equally of human origin and equally amenable to human criticism. All the conventions of the Christian world which have been based on the assumption of this faith in God, are the crude conclusions of its non-age, and may be dealt with according to the arbitrament of each man's enlightened will.

Now we may imagine, and even hope that the time may come, when, at least, the Christian world shall have so acquired and made its own the will of God, as that that "perfect will" shall be the spontaneous utterance of every human heart; when "men shall not need to say to each other, Know ye the Lord, for all shall know him." Such a state of things is spoken of as the object of the divine bestowments to the Church, which were given "for the building up of the body of Christ till we all arrive at the oneness of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man; unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." But that the present age has any of the characteristics of having "obtained or being already full-grown," is a mere idle assumption on the part of a few dreamy theorists. The grounds on which they arrogate to themselves to represent the maturity of human nature are exactly those which infer the contrary. In the Apostle's judgment they would be described not as τέλειοι, but as νήπιοι, κλυδωνιζόμενοι καὶ περιφερόμενοι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας. It is a fond assumption, contradicted by the strongest testimony of history, that every age of the world has exhibited progress in spiritual enlightenment. There have been periods of spiritual and moral declension; and these have coincided with tendencies like those which these men are glorying in; tendencies to neglect the eternal truths of revelation, and to indulge in loose, *unprincipled* speculation. As far as the authors of these essays are concerned, at least in this joint production, they have established no claim to be leaders of the public mind. There is no evidence of solid learning on the subjects of history or of Biblical science; there is no positive philosophy which is worthy of that name; there is no earnestness and seriousness in their way of talking. Their chief characteristic is a reckless audacity in advancing things which have often been advanced before by inferior minds; and our hope and belief is that the disturbance which they are attempting to create will ere long subside as similar disturbances have done before.

The contribution of Dr. Rowland Williams to this volume consists of a very laudatory estimate of those works of the late Baron Bunsen, in which he has gone to the greatest extreme of singularity. This eminent personage has recently passed away. It is seldom that a foreigner has acquired so large an amount of

esteem in this country as the functionary so long known as the Chevalier Bunsen. We believe that he was a greater general favourite here than he was in his own country. Many who were far indeed from harbouring his sentiments on religious subjects, admired him as a scholar and loved him as a man. But of these there were not a few, considering his critical eccentricities,

“Who laughed that such a man should be,
Or grieved that Atticus was he.”

On Biblical and historical subjects, to which he devoted a large share of his great industry, his despotism as a critic was absolute and quite unparalleled. His delight was in the paradoxical, and he appears to have entertained a real antipathy to all conventional modes of thinking. History appears to have existed, writers, sacred and profane, to have put forth the fruits of their genius, merely to furnish materials for a kind of phantasmagoria for the amusement of Baron Bunsen. That he had a kind of faith in divine verities, and that this influenced his life is more than probable. We believe it is no uncommon a thing among his countrymen, even when their speculations go the length of theoretically destroying all the foundations of religion, for the heart to accept what the theory ignores. And, though among the mass of their countrymen these speculations have been most disastrous in their influence, it does not appear to be supposed among the theorists themselves that their speculations are things to be believed; that there is any objective truth in *them* when there is none in nature. And thus the idea of any one of these independent thinkers pinning his faith upon another would appear ridiculous. This habit of mind has not as yet established itself in our own country. We cannot trust our important interests, whether material or spiritual, to anything which does not appear logically trustworthy and real. And hence when the English mind adopts a theory, that theory becomes a creed, though it may be only a belief in *nullifidianism*. To this kind of faith our learned countryman, Dr. Williams, has become a zealous convert; so zealous that he demands, in company with the other essayists, that our ecclesiastical constitution should be required by the nationality to give way for its admission; and this essay of his devotes itself to the exaltation of the apostle of that faith. Of him he speaks with far greater reverence than he is willing to bestow on any who have borne that name in the Church. To the latter he is inclined to ascribe a great many blunders, and his theory respecting them implies something worse than this; but all which Baron Bunsen has said, however wild it may appear to others, is gospel to the Doctor, and he is so inspired by

the theme, that he concludes by singing to his praise and glory a *psalm of his own composing*. The writings of Bunsen are before the public, and have been noticed as they came out in this Journal; it is no part of our present task to criticise them, and therefore we must be excused from entering into a detail of his opinions, or of those which Dr. Williams has here particularized. As a single specimen of both we may take the Baron's *dicta* by which he astonished his own countrymen on the subject of some of the most important writings of the Old Testament. In the uncertainty, real or alleged, as to the authorship of the Book of Psalms, of that of Job, of Jeremiah, of Isaiah, it has pleased Dr. Bunsen to give the credit of a large portion of them to a friend of his called *Baruch*. The whole of Jeremiah, and of the Book of Job, the better half of Isaiah, and very many of the Psalms, were written by one who had not had the credit of writing anything at all until patronized by Bunsen. All this our Doctor either steadfastly believes, or thinks very feasible. He says:—

"Whether the great prophet, whose triumphant thanksgiving *on the return from Babylon* forms the later chapters of our Isaiah, is to remain without a name, or whether Baron Bunsen has succeeded in identifying him with *Baruch*, the disciple scribe, and perhaps biographer or editor of Jeremiah, is a question of probability. *Most readers of the argument for the identity will feel inclined to assent*, but a doubt may occur whether many an unnamed disciple of the prophetic school may not have burnt with kindred zeal, and used diction not peculiar to any one; while such a doubt may be strengthened by the confidence with which our critic ascribes a recasting of Job, and parts of other books to the same favourite Baruch. Yet, if kept within the region of critical conjecture, his reasons are something more than ingenious. It may weigh with some Anglicans that a letter ascribed to St. Athanasius mentions Baruch among the canonical prophets."

We are obliged to say that there is nothing in this essay to raise our estimate of the author's mental *calibre*, his credit for which must be somewhat damaged by the following piece of absurdity, *the psalm* to which we referred:—

"Bunsen, with voice like sound of trumpet born,
 Conscious of strength and confidently bold,
 Well feign the sons of Loyola the scorn
 Which from thy books would scare their startled fold—
 To thee our Earth disclosed her purple morn,
 And Time his long-lost centuries unrolled;
 Far realms unveiled the mystery of their Tongue,
 Thou all their garlands on the Cross hast hung."

My lips but ill could frame thy Lutheran speech,
 Nor suits thy Teuton vaunt our British pride—
 But ah ! not dead my soul to giant reach
 That envious Eld's vast interval defied ;
 And when those fables strange our hirelings teach
 I saw by genuine learning cast aside
 Even like Linnæus kneeling on the sod,
 For faith from falsehood severed thank I God."

Professor Baden Powell, the author of the third Essay, has, with Bunsen, been called away. We have in these remarks nothing to say about the *personality* either of the dead or of the living, and in criticising their productions, as things bestowed or inflicted on the public for good or for evil, we are not speaking *de mortuis* any more than we are called upon to regard living susceptibilities. We were aware that the late Savilian Professor of Geometry had stated views on religious subjects strongly sceptical, but not that he had gone to the extreme of unbelief which is displayed in this his last production. We cannot help thinking that the result of the publication of all these Essays, and especially of this of Baden Powell, may be the opposite of what their authors intended. The less of truth a system of falsehood carries with it, the less such a system is tinged with the hue of what is good and beautiful, the less dangerous it becomes, and the more it is likely to arouse reaction in the minds of those who may have been influenced by the *prestige* of vaunted theories. The object of this essay on the Evidences of Christianity is to shew that there are no external evidences whatever of religious truth, and to decry the study of them. But when we come to see what his assumptions are respecting the Divine Nature itself, and find that all his arguments, such as they are, rest ultimately on these assumptions, we feel that in dealing with him, the matter of the evidences of Christianity is a logical impertinence; as much so as it would be to reason with a man on the subject of geometric demonstrations who denied the axioms of geometry.

The foundation on which the true religion has always been felt to rest, is the conviction which our consciousness suggests and our observation establishes of the existence of a Supreme Being, whose attributes bear some analogy to those of our own spirit, and who, according to this analogy, is a Personal God. The whole system of nature, as far as it is understood, is found to accord with this assumption, and with the belief that it is the work of his hands, and is under his supreme control. It is also assumed in every system of theism that the Author of the universe has especially consulted for the well-being of man; for his well-being not only during the short period of his earthly

discipline, but in that continued existence which is confidently foretold by our own consciousness. And in every system of religion it has been assumed more or less distinctly that the Personal Supreme and his personal dependents hold communion with each other in a way answering to that in which human persons do. "The irresistible impulse to prayer, which bids us pour out our sorrows and make our wants known to One who hears and will answer us;—that indefinable yet inextinguishable consciousness of a direct intercourse and communion of man with God, of God's influence upon man, yea, and (with reverence be it spoken) of man's influence upon God; these are facts of experience, to the full as real and as certain as the laws of planetary motions and chemical affinities,—facts which philosophy is bound to take into account, or to stand convicted as shallow and one-sided; facts which can deceive us only if our whole consciousness is a liar, and the whole boasted voice of reason itself is but an echo of the universal lie."—(Mansel, p. 191).

Such are the assumptions of natural religion, which all writers who have entered into the discussion of revealed religion and its evidences have taken for granted, or supposed to have been already established by argument. But what are the assumptions of Mr. Baden Powell? They amount to a denial of all those convictions of the human consciousness on which natural religion is founded, and to a credulity in theory which is all but unique among physiologists. He charges with scepticism those physiologists

"Who have joined in rejecting the development theories of Lamarck and the Vestiges; and while they have strenuously maintained successive creations, have denied and denounced the asserted production of organic life by Messrs. Cross and Weeks, and stoutly maintained the impossibility of spontaneous generation on the alleged ground of contradiction to experience."

This it appears is unphilosophical, for he goes on to say:—

"Yet it is now acknowledged, under the high sanction of the name of Owen, that 'creation' is only another name for our ignorance of the mode of production; and it has been the unanswered and unanswerable argument of another reasoner that new species *must* have originated either out of their inorganic elements, or out of previously organized forms; either development or spontaneous generation *must be true*: while a work has now appeared by a naturalist of the most acknowledged authority,—Mr. Darwin's masterly volume on the origin of species by the law of 'natural selection,'—which now substantiates on *undeniable grounds* the very principle so long denounced by the first naturalists,—*the origination of new species by natural causes*; a work which must soon bring about an entire

revolution of opinion in favour of the grand principle of the self-evolving powers of nature."

And thus Professor Powell has accepted a *faith*, for it is nothing more, which goes the length of excluding the idea of Divine interference at *any time*, or in any way as the originator or manager of the universe and its laws. To speak about creation, it appears, is to speak *in ignorance*; and the ignorance of supposing creative power, as distinguished from the ordinary operations of nature, is equally great, whether imagined to occur in the more recent series of events, or in any period within the limits of time. Even if we extend those limits beyond all the bounds of human conception, the difficulty, the *ignorance*, lies in conceiving God as *acting at all*. "The creation of the world at *any* period of time; the establishment at *any* moment, of immutable laws for the future government of that world; this is the real mystery which reason has to fathom."

But this hypothesis excludes from its notion of the universe all consideration of mind. "But what right has this so-called philosophy to build a theory of the universe *on material principles alone*, and to neglect what experience daily and hourly forces upon our notice—the perpetual interchange of the relations of matter and mind? In passing from the material to the moral world, we pass at once from the phenomenal to the real; from the successive to the continuous; from the many to the one; from an endless chain of mutual dependence to an originating and self-determining source of power" (Mansel). A thousand millions of human wills, each originating mechanical and other disturbances of the course of nature, are in constant operation, yet this merely mechanical theory excludes all consideration of a mind by which these disturbances are controlled! There ought surely to be the strongest evidence of some kind or other for this monstrous conclusion. But what does that evidence amount to as stated by our author? The speculations of Lamarck, an assertion, isolated, we believe, from his general sentiments, of Professor Owen; the absolutely unsustained and self-contradictory scheme of Mr. Darwin. But these theories have been declared, almost unanimously, by physical theorists themselves, to throw no light upon the matter, and to be absolutely without support on the principles of inductive science. Not *one single fact has ever been observed*, which gives the least countenance to the idea of spontaneous production, or of the origination of new species by natural causes, mere *terms* invented to get rid of the idea of creation! Indeed, the modern authorities on which Mr. Powell so helplessly pins his faith,

have become as dialoyal to every rule of English philosophy as they are to the formularies of religious truth. If it has been urged by reasoners like Butler, that our acquaintance with the system of nature is far too limited to warrant an universal theory: "The natural world being so incomprehensible, that a man must really in the literal sense know nothing at all, who is not sensible of his ignorance in it;" we are told by our author that

"One of the first inductive philosophers of the age, Professor Faraday, has incurred the unlimited displeasure of these profound intellectualists, because he has urged, that the mere contracted experience of the senses is liable to deception, and that we ought to be guided in our conclusions, and in fact, can only correct the errors of our senses, by a careful recurrence to the consideration of natural laws and extended analogies."

But what do physical philosophers mean by *natural laws*? They can mean nothing more than principles derived from generalizing on natural phenomena, and sound philosophy has always held that principles thus derived are worth anything, only as they exhibit the results of observation; all which goes beyond this is mere guess work, and however great a man may have become by reason of the accuracy of his observations, and his sagacity in perceiving the relations among observed phenomena, a greatness to which Professor Faraday may lay claim, he shews his weakness and forfeits his authority when he presumes to guess into the region beyond observed reality, while those who implicitly trust him in this latter region, shew the weakness of their own judgment in not being able to distinguish between things which essentially differ.

Such is the faith of Baden Powell as professed in this Essay; and the "*reason* of the faith that is in him," is simply an implicit confidence in the assertions of men who cannot be witnesses on these points, and are not received as such in the courts of philosophy. The argument of Professor Powell thus derived, is directed as much against the evidences of natural religion as it is against the evidences of Christianity. It is, that a supernatural interference of the Divine power with the course of nature at any time is impossible, because the machinery of nature is so constituted, as that it cannot admit of such interference. But, further; this machinery is of a kind which does not allow the supposition of anything but physical causes, acting in it during all the infinite ages of its past existence. So that to talk of "rising through nature to nature's God," is to talk without meaning. The delight with which former philosophers,

profound in their day, have traced the evidence of beneficent design, becoming more and more striking and effective, as the investigation becomes more perfect; the clearness with which they perceived in external nature the hand-writing of a wise and benevolent mind, was all a mistake! No such mind, as far as true philosophy can trace, has ever, from first to last, been concerned with the mechanical automaton, which is now found to be entirely and solely a series of physical sequences! With one who argues from a position like this, what can there be in common to those who are studying the evidences of Christianity? But relying on this *faith* of the impossibility of any Divine interference with the sequences of nature, Professor Powell has consistently contented himself with allegations against the evidences of a character, which, apart from his name, would be regarded as absolutely flimsy; while he has not thought it worth his while to shew, as far as this Essay is concerned, a tolerable acquaintance with the solid answers which every one of his allegations has received. We cannot think that this Essay will, in any point of view, be regarded by the friends of the late professor, as redounding to his credit; the subject of it is one which he *has not studied*. There are no marks in it of intellectual power, and if there are any of those friends to whom the truths and hopes of Christianity are dear, they will mourn that his last utterances should have been expended in the attempt to shew that those truths are baseless, and all those hopes are vain.

Mr. Wilson, the author of the "Essay on the National Church," had already, in his Bampton Lecture of 1851, given expression to sentiments on the subject of Christianity considerably at variance with those which are held by the Church of which he is a minister, and in this Essay, he has still more unequivocally declared his unbelief. His argument has the same tendency with that of Dr. Temple; viz., that the time is now come when human nature is qualified to rely absolutely on its own judgment in matters of religion, and to reject all authority, whether human, or what has been alleged to be divine, in the matter and form of Christianity. But Mr. Wilson's object is to shew, that not only has the *congregation* of our national Church already deserted the old foundations of the Christian faith, and declared itself free of such authority, but that the Church itself, as that term is applied to the body of ministerial Churchmen, is virtually free to promulgate the popular modes of thinking; or if this is doubtful, that the nationality should declare that it should be so.

He takes his departure from a reference to a discussion which

has lately been going on at Geneva, whether the true basis of the Christian Church is that of *individualism* or of *multitudinism*; i. e., whether the members of it are supposed to be believers, or whether it includes in its definition all who constitute the nationality to which that Church belongs. M. Bungener, one of the disputants, maintains that the theory of the Geneva Church is that of *multitudinism*; and reckons that that Church owes to this principle much of the renown he claims for it. Mr. Wilson, in referring to the history of that Church, remarks:—

"Very different are the recollections which are awakened by the past history of such a Church as ours. Its roots are found to penetrate deep into the history of the most freely and fully developed nationality in the world, and its firm hold upon the past is one of its best auguries for the future. It has lived through Saxon rudeness, Norman rapine, baronial oppression, and bloodshed; it has survived the tyranny of Tudors, recovered from fanatical assaults, escaped the treachery of Stuarts; has not perished under coldness, nor been stifled with patronage, nor sunk utterly in a dull age, nor been entirely depraved in a corrupt one; neither as a spiritual society nor as a national institution, need there be any fear that the Church of this country, which has passed through so many ordeals, shall succumb, because we may be on the verge of some political and ecclesiastical changes."

Mr. Wilson might have connected with the facts which he here states, the other important fact by which the Anglican Church has been distinguished, viz.: that in all parts of its history, a greater degree of scriptural light has shone in it, and that since the Reformation it has been incomparably more *conservative* of scriptural and Catholic truth than any other national communion whatever. This, however, is so far from being to him a source of hope for the future, that it constitutes at this time the main source of danger, and the object of this Essay is to shew that what he reckons to be the Church, viz., the nationality, has outgrown the use, and determined to cast off the Christianity of our forefathers.

"If," says he, "anxieties respecting the future of Christianity and the office of the Christian Church in time to come were confined to a few students or speculative philosophers, they might be put aside as mere theoretical questions; if rude criticisms on the Scriptures were the only assaults to which the letter of the Bible was exposed, it might be thought that further instruction might impart a more reverential and submissive spirit; if lay people only entertained objections to established formalities in some of their parts, a self-satisfied sacerdotalism, confident in a supernaturally transmitted illumination, might succeed in keeping peace within the walls of emptied churches. It may not be very easy, by a statistical proof to convince those whose preconceptions indispose

them to admit it, of the fact of a very wide-spread alienation, both of educated and uneducated persons, from the Christianity which is ordinarily presented in our churches and chapels. Whether it be by reason of their moral sense which is shocked by what they hear there, the ordinances of public worship and religious instruction provided for the people of England are not used by them to the extent we should expect, if they valued them highly, or if they were really adapted to the wants of their nature as it is."

Mr. Wilson has no idea that this alleged alienation has at all arisen from any foreign influence. "It may be, on the other hand, that on these subjects we shall, in England, be much indebted, for some time to come, to the patience of German investigations." But

"This is rather owing to a spontaneous recoil on the part of large numbers of the more acute of our population, from some of the doctrines which are to be heard at church and chapel, to a distrust of the old arguments for, or proofs of, a miraculous revelation, or to a misgiving as to the authority of the scriptures."

We have only to say, in passing, that though the attendance on the means of grace is by no means such as those who love the gospel and the souls of men would desire; the amount and the proportion of interest displayed in the services of religion at present, is vastly greater in our own country than in any other, and than in any other part of our history; and, moreover, that it is exactly in proportion as the doctrines of our Church are faithfully, intelligently, and earnestly propounded and developed, that our churches are frequented by attentive hearers, while the sort of speculation which Mr. Wilson recommends, without any savour of Biblical Christianity, is that which invariably empties the Church and drives the people elsewhere.

But what are the tendencies of modern thought which have produced this alleged general alienation from Christian teaching? They are such as the scepticism suggested by geology; as though, supposing all the assumptions of the extreme speculators in that science were established on logical grounds, which is far enough from being the case, they could invalidate the religion of the New Testament! But "the want of universality in revelation, and the supposed deficiency in the proof of it," the consideration of which objection occupies one of the most important and conclusive of Bishop Butler's chapters, is a "difficulty which, though not new in itself, is new as to the great increase in the number of those who feel it, and in the practical urgency for discovering an answer, solution, or neutralization of it, if we would set many unquiet souls at rest." In what way then

would this Christian minister attempt to set these uneasy minds at rest? Not by shewing that this is not an objection to Christianity as such, but to the idea of *any* Divine interference with the affairs of men. None of the benefits, however derived, possessed by portions of the human race are possessed by all; and the only way of accounting for this, is to assume that all such benefits are self-derived on the part of those who enjoy them, and are not to be referred to a power who cannot, even in appearance, be supposed to be partial in his bestowments! This is, in fact, Mr. Wilson's solution,—Christianity is *not a Divine bestowment*. It was not intended and is not adapted for all. It is no more to be traced to a Divine source, than any other forms of religion which different races and ages of men have invented for themselves. "Buddhism," though, "it would not be very tasteful" to say so, was "the Gospel of India preached to it five or six centuries before the gospel of Jesus was proclaimed in the nearer East!" Accordingly, Mr. Wilson's definition of a Church equally applies to all nationalities to which a particular system of belief on moral subjects has been common. He charges some of the clergy with committing a "wrong," "who consider the Church of Christ to be founded as a society on the possession of an abstractedly true and supernaturally communicated *speculation concerning God*, rather than upon the manifestation of a divine life in man." This *divine life in man*, it appears, is independent for its origin and maintenance on anything divinely imparted; it is merely a human instinct, which has manifested itself differently in different times and places, but is everywhere equally entitled to be called divine; and, by reason of the common possession of it in some form or other, any people are as much entitled to be recognized as a *Church*, as is "the Church of the living God." "*The Church and State*," he says, of the heathens of classical antiquity, "were mutually bound together by the penetrating of the whole public and domestic life of the nation with a religious sentiment." "If a nation is really worthy of the name, conscious of its own corporate life, it will *develope itself on one side into a Church*, wherein its citizens may grow up and be perfected in their spiritual nature." Mr. Wilson does not tell us what it is that renders a nation "worthy of the name," or what are the modes of thinking by which it will develope itself into a Church. The communities in the far East who have reformed the corrupted doctrine of the Vedas into the "gospel of Buddhism," are to be distinguished by no *principle* which Mr. Wilson has indicated, from our own nationality, and from that Church which is "a congregation of faithful men, in the which the word of God is

preached, etc." He assumes, in fact, that the Church of this country, being according to his definition of it the nationality, is largely affected with notions on the subject of religion, which are essentially infidel, or epicurean, or pantheistic, and he does not conceal, in the midst of a studied ambiguity, his own tendency not only to tolerate, but to sympathize in the want of all conviction as to the most elementary truths even of theism. The Church of England, according to his definition of *multitudinism*, has for its doctrine the multitudinous modes of thinking, which may happen to exist for the time being in the mass of the people; and consists of the heterogeneous materials of Jews, Turks, heretics, and infidels, to be found in the country, and of which partly our national Parliament is made up.

This being the actual state of things as to the Congregation of the Anglican Church, Mr. Wilson declares that the clericality of our "Church, those to whose hands the moral growth of the people is committed," are morally justified in conforming to this multitudinism of the congregation, and he demands that all doubt should be removed as to their being legally at liberty to do so. He says:—

"If the national Church is to be true to the multitudinist principle, and to correspond ultimately to the national character, *the freedom of opinion which belongs to the English citizen, should be conceded to the English Churchman*; and the freedom which is already practically enjoyed by the members of the congregation, cannot without injustice be denied to its ministers. A minister may rightly be expected to know more of theology than the generality, or even the best informed of the laity; but it is a strange ignoring of the constitution of human minds to expect all ministers, however much they may know, to be of one opinion in theoreticals, or the same person to be subject to no variation of opinion at different periods of his life. And it may be worth while to consider how far a liberty of opinion is conceded by our existing laws, civil and ecclesiastical. Along with great openings for freedom, it will be found there are some restraints, or appearances of restraints, which require to be removed."

It is, we are obliged to, say, painfully obvious, that Mr. Wilson's own state of mind is that of alienation from all which the Church of which he is a minister has ever regarded as vital and essential to its character as a Church; the divine origin of the true religion in general and of Christianity in particular; the divine authority of the Scriptures, and the eternal objective truth of those main principles of revelation which the Church has always most surely believed. That a large amount of individual liberty of thought on minor and unessential points "in those curious points in which the present differences lie," is

conceded to the clergyman, is a distinguishing feature of the Anglican Church; and its provisions are marked by a superior confidence in the *honesty and Christian character* of those who had been trained under its teaching, and bound themselves by its solemn vows.

But the idea that any one of these should feel himself at liberty, not only legally but morally, to deny in his teaching all its essential doctrines, and to fall in with the popular stream of dissolute scepticism, is monstrous; and the sentiments which Mr. Wilson avows on this subject are, we must say, nothing less than profligate. The question is not merely what in the present relation of the state to the Church and the present condition of ecclesiastical discipline, can be enforced by pains and penalties; the question is, what the Church expected of those who took upon them its ordination vows, and what she considered they meant as men of honour and men of God. And yet Mr. Wilson dares to say that "in this case *the strictly legal obligation is the measure of the moral one!*" We declare it impossible that any man of common intellect and common education could have thought of what he was doing in entering the Church with such results. The whole course of a churchman's training, his baptismal and confirmation vows; his theological education; the episcopal examination in the articles themselves; the solemn charges given at his ordination; the whole tone and teaching of the Prayer Book; constitute the system of religious thought to which a man declares himself conformable who takes upon himself the obligations of a churchman. And all this is implied by an *act and deed* which is believed all over the world to bind a man beyond every other, the crowning act of his subscription.

But now, Mr. Wilson and his associates in these essays proclaim to the world that such subscription, and all the obligations implied by it, were a mere matter of form, and that they may wriggle out of them by a process which in matters of worldly interest would be scouted as most dishonourable! We will not disgust our readers by exhibiting the miserable shifts to which Mr. Wilson resorts to justify himself in so doing. They betray ignorance of language which is unworthy of a scholar, as well as a prodigious elasticity of conscience. But he is not quite at ease even in his own mind, or at least he has some qualms as to whether this process may not be distasteful to some who are less unscrupulous. or less advanced in "modern refinement;" and thus he joins his brethern of the seven in demanding that subscription should be done away with. But what if it were so? Would not Mr. Wilson still be daily engaged in uttering in the presence of God and before his people, sentiments which imply

in the most unequivocal manner all and more than all which he has subscribed to? We are confident his notions about the prevailing sentiments of the clergy and laity of the English Church are drawn almost entirely from his own subjectivity. The body of the English clergy, and the earnest religionists of all communions in this country would declare their loathing of the profligacy which these men have dared to avow under the name of "modern refinement;" while a vast majority of the clergy and laity accept *ex animo* the doctrines of the Church of England as declared in her various documents. Mr. Wilson, and his associates in this volume, have, almost in every point abandoned "the faith once delivered to the saints," they sneer at the very term. Those of them who are clergymen must be most uncomfortable in proportion as any part of their conscience has escaped the paralysis which has befallen them. They are not in an element in which they can breathe, and they demand that the Church should be rendered "fluid" to accommodate them. But they are much mistaken in supposing that the Church is going to dissolve itself on their account.

We have not left ourselves room to notice in particular the remaining essays. Their tendency is all more or less distinctly in the same direction. The sentiments of Professor Jowett are well known; but like the late Mr. Baden Powell, he has determined in his contribution to these essays, to express them in their extremest forms, and to aid to his utmost in striking a fatal blow at the religion of the Church of England. We repeat our conviction that the very violence of the blow thus aimed, the manifestly hostile spirit with which it is directed, will overshoot its mark, and make manifest to our Christian people that these are not the men to whom their dearest interests are to be entrusted.

S. T.

MODERN SCEPTICAL WRITERS.—ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE, BY PROFESSOR JOWETT.

THAT a written revelation demands a sacred style and order of words, to distinguish it from merely human composition, is a necessary truth which contains its own evidence. If God has been pleased to address man in a supernatural manner, there must be something characteristic and appropriate in his words and speech. It is this which has always been denominated "verbal inspiration." It is this verbal inspiration which constitutes the Word of God.

That the Bible, which contains this written revelation, exhibits this peculiar style and phraseology is a matter of fact, attested by its whole literary character and composition. There is no book in the world which resembles the Bible in the uniformity of its doctrinal vocabulary. This distinction is, no doubt, originally to be traced to the Hebrew language, in which this written revelation was recorded by Moses: but it is so indestructible in its elements, that it finds its way into every version, whether ancient or modern. The English reader finds it in every page of our authorized translation, and still more condensed when he turns to Cruden's *Concordance*.

As it is the Greek Testament which constitutes the most important part of this written revelation, it is here accordingly that the sacred style of the Old Testament is so exactly repeated. But such a re-impression could not have been made in Greek, unless the Old Testament had been turned into Hebraic, or, as we call it, Hellenistic Greek, long before the Christian era. None but Jews, using the Greek language, could have performed this task. None but devoted adherents to the Mosaic economy would have ever attempted it. Their version, the Septuagint, is on the whole very literal, and approaches as near to the Hebrew idiom as the genius of the Greek would admit. It is not free from errors. It has many omissions and additions. But it has been deemed sufficiently faithful and accurate by Christ and his Apostles, not only to be generally cited, but to be worked into the composition of the New Testament, as the lexicon of its words, the grammar, of its style, and the vesture of its doctrines. Under these regulations, the legitimate interpretation of the New Testament becomes much more definite and circumscribed than is frequently supposed. The exact import of most of its words and phrases may be distinctly ascertained by this Greek version of the Old Testament. There is scarcely a doctrinal word which is not used in the same sense by Moses and the Prophets. There are a few isolated passages which will always remain obscure, such as, "the power of a woman over her head," etc.; but in its main, essential and practical bearings, the sense of the New Testament is so plain, that he who runs may read it.

It is not so to the curious, disputatious and restless speculatist. If men will be "wise above what is written," they cannot be satisfied with a *written* revelation. Such is the nature of the human mind and the ambiguities of written language, that endless doubts and difficulties may be raised when there is a wish and inclination to moot them. It is a part, and an important part, of the moral trials of learned and literary men

to curb this unruly licence of thought, in their interpretation of the Word of God. The humble and devotional spirit is quite as essential as the most vigorous and capacious intellect.

Nothing can be more unreasonable than to introduce the influence of modern thought into the exposition of ancient documents. You might as well dress up the statue of Venus in a modern crinoline, as attempt to interpret the Old or New Testament by the aids of modern speculation. That new applications may be given to the doctrines of Christianity by the progress of the human mind, and that its knowledge may be accelerated by the inventions of art and the discoveries of science, is what might have been naturally expected, and in this sense the Gospel admits of unlimited development till it compasses the habitable world. It is in this view we are assured, that the "knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth, even as the waters cover the seas." But the interpretation of a Divine revelation must always be essentially the same. It cannot differ in the same sense, as the philosophy of Newton differs from that of Des Cartes. Its doctrines are fixed and permanent, they are not the subjects of invention and discovery.

Still, as it is a written revelation, contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, its interpretation is subject to the obscurities of ancient languages and modern versions, and due allowance must be made for the peculiarities of its individual students. The man of imagination, and the man of logic, will always give a different hue even to the same doctrines, as they are passing through his mind. The Word of God not only admits, but encourages these prismatic variations. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." But the identity of the family-likeness must always be preserved.—"*Facies non omnibus una, nec diversa tamen.*" To assist us in maintaining this unity of doctrinal interpretation, the traditional influence of the Church in all ages has been allowed to be of great, though not of infallible, authority. "The things which thou hast heard of me," says St. Paul to Timothy, "amongst many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also." The great body of the faithful have ever adhered to the same general doctrines, even when schisms and controversies have perplexed synods and councils. The doctrinal language of devotion has been uniform, even amongst those who may have differed in some articles of their creed.

We have been led to these reflections by the Essay of Professor Jowett "On the Interpretation of Scripture," in a late celebrated volume of *Essays and Reviews*. As we wish to be perfectly fair and candid in our notice of this Essay, we shall follow

it rather more in detail than is the usual fashion of our public journalists. We may well be content to sacrifice the brilliancy of a dashing article for the more practical benefits of accurate and patient investigation. The author commences (p. 330) with stating it as "a strange, though familiar fact, that great differences of opinion exist respecting the interpretation of Scripture." A moment's reflection might have convinced him, there is nothing strange or surprising in this variety. It could not have been otherwise, according to the constitution of human nature. There are no dittos in creation. There are no two individuals who think exactly alike. Our individuality depends on some partial differences of thought and opinion.

That such men as Luther and Calvin have led to different schools of interpretation is certain, but whether they had lived or not, the individual reader of the Bible would always have been liable to the same diversities of interpretation. The whole difference would have been that, between an army and a mob. These opinions are now marshalled and regimented. They would then have been indefinitely multiplied amongst individuals.

The next cause "is the growth or progress of the human mind itself" (p. 331). On this subject we have already remarked, that the interpretation of a *written* revelation is necessarily less involved than that of any ordinary writings. As it is the very object of revelation to make that known which could not have been discovered by merely human faculties, so is it essential to this knowledge, that it should be given us in a form which is fixed, definite, and removed, as far as possible, from the caprices of human opinions. That the Bible does in its essential character exhibit this grand distinction is, as it seems to us, a matter of historical fact. It has stereotyped the word and will of God in all ages. The various readings of its manuscripts, and the numberless opinions of its commentators have merely touched its *epidermis*. The variations which Mr. Jowett adduces of ecclesiastical opinions, as affecting our own interpretations of Scripture, are very much overstated. Nor should they be considered as the sources of unmixed evil. To know the history of the Church, even its errors, is to gain much useful knowledge, and to acquire many lessons of caution.

The third reason which the Professor assigns for the uncertainty of scriptural interpretation, "arises out of party efforts to wrest its meaning to different sides" (p. 342). It might have been expected that the writer would have here alluded to the different sects and parties which have strained the Scriptures to meet their own doctrinal distinctions. But no! he adverts to such statements as these:—"There can be no error in the

Word of God." "It is a thousand times more likely that the interpreter should err than the inspired writers" (p. 348). However absurd such general propositions may appear in their application to particular passages, we cannot think that Professor Jowett would logically denounce them. With respect to the language in which some intemperate divines have condemned all theories respecting the formation of the three first Gospels, we certainly do not defend it. But it cannot be wrong to say "God speaks not as man speaks," unless we condemn the very words of Scripture: "My thoughts are not as your thoughts, nor my ways as your ways."—So much for the introductory sections of this able, but somewhat devious essay.

We next come to the great question—the inspiration of the Old and New Testament, in which, says the Professor (p. 344), "Almost all Christians agree in the word, but here the agreement of opinion ends." This is not a fair statement of the belief of the great body of devotional Christians. They reverence the Bible, because they believe it to be the Word of God, and dictated by the Spirit of God. Speculative critics are always disputing about the meaning and extent of divine inspiration, because they do not accept the only basis on which a *written* revelation can be reared. Unless the inspiration of the Bible be incorporated in its language, it can never be read or preached as the Word of God. Inspiration, as a metaphysical notion, can germinate only in a curious metaphysical enquiry,—it becomes useful, practical, and instructive, when lodged in the words of Scripture.

To the question, "What is inspiration?" the first answer therefore is, "That idea of Scripture which we gather from the knowledge of it. It is no *à priori* notion, but one to which the book is itself a witness" (p. 347). There is truth in this statement, but not the whole truth. It may represent "the idea" of inspiration, as considered by a scholastic, but it does not tally with the conviction of the earnest and devotional student. He reads the Bible; he finds its composition, as well as its Hebraisms, altogether unique. As he proceeds, he discovers a supernatural harmony in its thoughts and expressions. He finds that such words as *sin, faith, repentance, salvation, righteousness, justification*, and all other doctrinal terms, are constantly recurring in the same form and the same signification. His heart is affected, and he discovers the truth of Luther's experience: "*Bene orasse est bene studuisse.*" He now realizes the truth of "verbal inspiration."

But he is a theological student and intended for holy orders. He therefore studies the Bible in its original languages:

in the Old Testament, he commences with the Hebrew, and amidst all its obscurities, he finds it a sacred language. He then compares it with the Greek version, in which the Hebraisms are transferred into Hellenisms. They are the very same as those which he had previously met with in the Greek New Testament. This uniformity of doctrinal language and expression conveys to him an indelible conviction of the verbal inspiration of the entire Bible. He is proof against all the speculations of German or English rationalists. He has that conviction within, which no sophistry can destroy. He could as soon doubt of his own existence, as question the verbal inspiration of the Old or the New Testaments.

The Professor, however, asserts, "That the interpretation of Scripture has nothing to do with any opinion respecting its origin. The meaning of Scripture is one thing; the inspiration is another." "Rigid upholders of the verbal inspiration of Scripture, and those who deny inspiration altogether, may nevertheless meet on the common ground of the meaning of words" (p. 351). We are sorry to say, that this is very sophistical reasoning. How great is the difference between the Word of God and the word of man, even when they agree in their meaning; the one rests on the dictates of reason, the other on divine authority. But when they differ, how far greater their difference! The one bows in humility to the revealed doctrine, as dictated by the Holy Spirit; the other rejects the doctrine, because it is partially unexplainable. The conviction of verbal inspiration retains the interpretation of Scripture within very narrow limits. It consists chiefly in ascertaining the meaning of any passage by the collation of similar passages. It forbids all attempts of novelty or invention, and leaves us humble and docile, instead of being curious, daring, or inventive.

There is, however, much truth in the Professor's observation, respecting the risk of introducing the conventional opinions of later ages into our interpretation of Scripture. To guard against this danger, we would earnestly recommend the Biblical student not to consult commentators, whether ancient or modern, but to confine his attention as much as possible to the Hebrew original—to the Greek version of the Old Testament, and to a very diligent investigation of the New Testament phraseology. For merely philological purposes, he will gain much instruction from the apocryphal writings, and he may occasionally consult Philo and Josephus. As to the fathers, the creeds, and the liturgies of the Church, we mean no disrespect to them, when we deny their authority, as interpreters of the Word of God, which is the best, indeed, the only interpreter of

itself. The study of the Bible would have been far more satisfactory, if its *exegesis* had been confined to the sacred confines of its own inspired materials. Human learning, when even sound and orthodox, has very little tendency to illuminate the Word of God. It is like a candle held up to assist the glorious orb of day: "It pales by its own ineffectual light." The fewer words and opinions which are used to interpret the Scripture the better. Look into the *Critici Sacri*, Poole's *Synopsis*, or Bloomfield's *Recensio Critica*, and you are lost in a wilderness of contradictory explanations,—that book, which can make "the simple wise," becomes to the learned a trap for their feet and a labyrinth for their speculations.

To harmonize this total dissonance of interpretation, the professor lays down this brief canon—"Interpret the Scripture like any other book." "No other science of hermeneutics is possible, but an inductive one, that is to say, one based on the language, and thoughts and narrations of the sacred writers" (p. 373). Much as we may differ from other sentiments in the Essay, we rejoice that we are here at one with Mr. Jowett. It has been the labour of our life to collect the materials of this Biblical induction. The *Editio Hellenistica Novi Testamenti* has no other object, than to enable the student to interpret the Word of God, by rendering the Bible its own interpreter. Other editors have ventured their own comments and explanations, but we have acted only as laborious pioneers. We have collected this mass of materials, and left it for others to work them up into the finished edifice.

But, besides its exegetical object, we have always designed the formation of a new and distinct evidence for the inspiration of the Holy Scripture. It is impossible to contemplate this large mass of verbal and doctrinal illustration from the Old Testament, without viewing it as a protective barrier against the conflicting waves of modern unbelief. We may confidently challenge all the books in the world to produce a similar concordance of words and doctrine. No doubt it leaves considerable liberty of interpretation to individuals, and this is at once natural and desirable. But it impresses the reader with the indelible conviction, that he must select his interpretations from inspired materials, and that it is by comparing one Scripture with another, both verbally and mentally, that we can alone hope to attain "the mind of the Spirit."

It is very true, as Mr. Jowett remarks (p. 392) "that the study of the New Testament has suffered by following too much in the track of classical scholarship." "A more promising field opens to the interpreter in the examination of theological terms, such as

faith (πίστις), grace (χάρις), righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), sanctification (ἀγιασμός), the law (νόμος), the Spirit (Πνεῦμα), the Comforter (Παρακλήτος), and provided that the use of such terms in the New Testament is clearly separated, (1.) from their derivation or previous use in classical or *Alexandrian* Greek, (2.) from their after use in the Fathers, in our systems of theology." We are at a loss to understand what the professor means by denouncing the *Alexandrian* Greek, especially, as he soon afterwards allows, "that interesting subjects of real enquiry are also the comparison of the Greek of the New Testament with modern Greek on the one hand, and the Greek of the LXX. on the other." "It is not likely," he adds, "that they will afford much more help than they have already done in the elucidation of the Greek of the New Testament" (p. 394).

There is surely much confusion of thought, in blending together such very different means of illustrating the language of the Evangelists and Apostles—to suppose, *e.g.*, that the knowledge of modern Greek (Romaic) can be compared with the value of the LXX., whose version is cited several hundred times in the New Testament, and whose phraseology enters into every verse of every chapter. With the sole exception of *Παρακλήτος* every one of the "theological terms" above named may be found used in the Greek version, in the very same sense as they are found in the New Testament. We have been engaged for more than thirty years in collecting these septuagintal phrases and fragments. Since the publication of the *Editio Hellenistica*, we have added about 40,000, and few days elapse in which we cannot add to the number.

But we heartily agree with him, that classic illustrations, whether of thought or language, are of very little value in elucidating the sacred text. What shall we say of Wetstein, who illustrates Col. iii. 16. ἐν χάριτι ἄδοντες by the observation, "Communis erat ara Bacchi et Gratiarum," and cites Anacreon de Baccho, δι' ὃν ἡ χάρις ἐτέχθη, who cites Cicero, "omnes cives studeo salvos esse," to illustrate 1 Tim. ii. 45, "Ὅς πάντας ἀνθρώπους θέλει σωθῆναι, and who adduces Ovid's *Ars Amoris* Utendum est ætate, cito pede labitur ætas," to elucidate St. Paul's 1 Cor. vii 31, παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα κόσμου τούτου. Yet Wetstein is esteemed of high authority, and is thought by many the most valuable of all editions of the New Testament!

With respect to the Fathers, a wide distinction should be made between those who are termed *Apostolic*, and others of a later date. The Hellenistic style is peculiar to the former, whilst the latter attempt to emulate the rhetorical periods of classic writers. As interpreters, their value ceases when they

adopt the conventional language of the Church, though they are still of importance, as commentators.

The observations of Mr. Jowett on the peculiar phraseology of the New Testament, are worthy of his station, as the Regius Professor of Greek, but it would have stamped them with a far greater value, had he illustrated them from the LXX. He is quite correct in limiting the classic fragments of the New Testament to the prefaces of St. Luke to his own gospel and to the Acts. "There is a sort of lyrical passion," he remarks in some passages (1 Cor. xiii. ; 2 Cor. vi. 6—10 ; xi. 21—33 ;) "which is a new thing in the literature of the world to which, at any rate, no Greek author of a later age furnishes any parallel" (p. 396). With all deference to the learned professor, we would suggest, that the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii.), the Pœan of Deborah (Judges v.), the Funeral Benediction of Jacob (Gen. xlix.), partake of the same spirit. Nor can we forget many beautiful specimens of a lyric character in the Wisdom of Solomon, and in Ecclesiastes. We allude to these illustrations, to encourage the young Biblical student to consult the LXX. and the apocryphal writings for passages of much pathos and sublimity, in addition to their intrinsic value as elucidations of New Testament phraseology.

Mr. Jowett very properly observes, "that the power of the Gospel over language must be recognized, shewing itself first, in the original, and consequently variable signification of words (*πίστος, χάρις, σωτηρία*), which is also more comprehensive and human than the heretical usage of many of the same terms, *e. g.*, *γνώσις* (knowledge), *σοφία* (wisdom), *κτίσις* (creature, creation) ; secondly, in a peculiar use of some constructions, such as *δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ* (righteousness of God,) *πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (faith of Jesus Christ), *ἐν Χριστῷ* (in Christ), *ἐν Θεῷ* (in God), *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν* (for us), etc." Now, in all these examples, there are many passages in the LXX., some of which exactly, and others which very nearly resemble this peculiar phraseology with no more difference than that which distinguishes an introductory from a finished dispensation.

"Our knowledge of the New Testament is derived," says Mr. Jowett, "almost exclusively from itself" (p. 398.) Surely this is very unguarded language, when we consider the connexion of the Old Testament with the New. Never was any book which contained so much of another, whether of style or thought, as the New Testament contains of Moses the Psalms and the Prophets. We believe there is as much direct citation from the LXX. in the New Testament, as would cover the whole gospel of St. Matthew. In St. Stephen's speech before

the Sanhedrim, there are fifty or sixty direct quotations. Out of a vocabulary of ten thousand words, there are not more than five or six hundred which are not in Greek versions and the Apocrypha. "The modes of thought of the Old Testament," says the professor, "are not the same with those of the New, and those of the New are only partially the same with those in use amongst us at the present day" (p. 402). The latter part of this sentence is very correct, but to the former we must demur. How could Christ begin with Moses and all the prophets, and explain them as concerning himself;—how could the testimony of Jesus constitute the spirit of prophecy, if the modes of thought in the Old and New Testament were altogether dissimilar?

"Of what has been said," says Mr. Jowett at the close of this section, "this is the sum, that Scripture, like other books, has one meaning, which is to be gathered from itself, without reference to the adaptation of Fathers or Divines, and without *à priori* notions about its nature and origin" (p. 404). If this "sum" be intended to include a strict literal and doctrinal collation of the Greek version of the Old Testament with the language and doctrine of the Evangelists and Apostles, we do not question its general truth and reality; but if so, the phraseology of the New Testament is far more fixed and ascertainable, than would follow from Mr. Jowett's previous statements. We now come to section 5.—The application of Scripture; and here, we trust we shall pretty nearly unite.

The verbal inspiration of the New Testament is in nothing so striking as in its plastic application to all states and conditions of men, and to all the ages of the world. Directly it is proclaimed to any nation, whether barbarous or civilized, its practical meaning is understood and appreciated. "Go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature," is a command which could not have been accomplished by any other religion. The call to repentance, the tidings of salvation, the message of a Redeemer reach every heart. The Moravians in Labradore are welcomed by the poorest Greenlander, and the missionary at Madras finds an audience amongst the learned Hindoos. The critical objections of modern scholars find no response in the hearts of the common people, and this is admitted by the learned Professor: "Amid all the differences of modes of thought and speech which have existed in different ages, of which so much is said in our own day, there is a common element in human nature which bursts through these differences, and remains unchanged, because akin to the first instincts of our being" (p. 411). Through several succeeding pages Mr. Jowett applies this statement in the most eloquent language, and concludes

this section with an admission which sounds rather condemnatory of his own speculations: "Such difficulties are greater in theory, and on paper, than in the management of a school or parish; they are found to affect the half-educated rather than either the poor, or those who are educated in a higher sense. To be above such difficulties is the happiest condition of human life and knowledge, or to be below them; and to see, or think we see, how they may be reconciled with Divine power and wisdom, or not to see how they are apparently at variance with them" (p. 418).—"*O si sic omnia.*"

The concluding section, which relates to some application of the preceding subjects to theology and life, again relapses into rationalistic interpretations of Scripture. "A change in some of the prevailing modes of interpretation is not so much a matter of expediency as of necessity." He proceeds to deny the propriety of any typical meanings, such as that, "Out of Egypt have I called my Son." We do not suppose that any sober-minded commentator believes that these words were *intended* by the Prophet to refer to the return of Joseph and Mary out of Egypt. They are cited by the Evangelist, not to shew the intention of the Prophet, but to exemplify that manifold wisdom and inspiration of Scripture, which can illustrate a prediction, though not known, or intended by the speaker. "The types of the Mosaic law," however, are not to be sacrificed to "the modes of modern thought." That the sacrifice of Christ was prefigured by the Paschal lamb, is a truth which cannot be given up, without denying the inspiration of nearly all the writers of the New Testament. The general evidence arising from such types is very powerful, and such as belongs to no other book. Nor is it true, that the arguments of Paley and Butler, the one in favour of miracle, the other of analogy, can ever lose their force, though they temporarily lose their fashion. What is true in Plato or Aristotle is still true, though it may be somewhat differently stated. But what is true in Holy Writ, where everything is true, can never pass away. Our "modes of modern thought" may place this truth in a different attitude, but the radical interpretation can never alter.—"The fashion of this world passeth away, but the Word of God endureth for ever."

"Is it a mere chimera that the different sections of Christendom may meet on the common ground of the New Testament? Or that the individual may be urged by the vacancy and unprofitableness of old traditions, to make the gospel his own—a life of Christ in the soul, instead of a theory of Christ, *which is in a book, or written down?*" (p. 423.) However we may answer the first of these queries, we can have no doubt respecting the last.

It is a chimera to suppose that the life of Christ, as exhibited by the Evangelists, can ever be superseded by mystical reveries. It is a chimera to suppose that the value of the written Word can ever be affected by "the modes of modern thought." We forbear to answer the succeeding queries, which are all of this dreamy and sceptical character, especially as in the subsequent pages they are virtually contradicted by the author. "That these truths, instead of floating down the stream of tradition, or being lost in ritual observances, have been preserved for ever in a book, is one of the many blessings which the Jewish and Christian revelations have conferred on the world,—a blessing *not the less real, because it is not necessary to attribute it to miraculous causes*" (p. 426). It is thus, alas! that Professor Jowett is continually beginning a sentence with an important truth, and closing it with a fundamental error.—The very existence of the Bible is the greatest of all miracles.

"The Scriptures are a bond of union to the whole Christian world." "Christian missions" also lead to much fellowship amongst Christian sects, but they do not lead to the oblivion of the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, unless amongst the missions of the Jesuits. "It may be doubted," says the Professor, "whether Scripture has ever been sufficiently regarded as an element of liberal education. . . . This best book for the heart, might also be made the best book for the intellect" (p. 428). This is a golden sentence, and yet how paradoxical is the conclusion: "Before we can make the Old and New Testament a real part of our education, we must read them, not by the help of custom or tradition, in the spirit of apology or controversy, but *in accordance with the ordinary laws of human knowledge*" (p. 429). What is this but saying, that we are to read and study the Word of God, as if it were the word of man?

The author next touches on sermons, and he cites Robertson and Newman as models for the pulpit. He recommends that country scenery should be dwelt on, and that the spiritual aspects of Scripture should be brought forward to the exclusion of the Jewish law, or controversies about the sacraments, or exaggerated statements of doctrines, which seem to be at variance with morality" (p. 430). Divested of surplusage, we fear that this advice goes to exclude all the peculiar doctrines of the gospel,—that we are to omit the sacrifice and atonement of Christ in the admiration of his moral excellence, and thus, as Horsley would say, to render the clergy "the apes of Seneca or Epictetus." We trust they will still adhere to the doctrines of their Church, which are no other than the doctrines of the Bible, as commonly understood and interpreted.

One of the secrets of Mr. Jowett's style, is the mixture of ugly words with acknowledged truths,—it is the “give and take” style; he presents a truth with one hand, and he takes it from you with the other. It is in this spirit he concludes his Essay. He cannot mention the Church, without alluding to party spirit. He cannot mention “the prevailing opinions of Christians,” without feeling his own solitude and isolation from the great body of his brethren. We sincerely condole with him in his anguish and bitterness of spirit. But whilst we allow him full credit for his own honesty, we think he should allow the same sincerity to others, and that the “favourite preacher” who adheres to the traditionary doctrines of Christianity, may give an account of his ministry, “not without a sure hope that the love of truth, *which men of saintly lives often seem to slight*, is nevertheless accepted before God.”—Why should he conclude, with a satirical inuendo?

Having now cursorily gone through this very wayward and devious Essay, we repeat the opinion already expressed, that the Greek version of the Old Testament should be considered as the best interpreter of the Evangelists and Apostles, and that it should be viewed, not only as the safest aid to its *exegesis*, but as the strongest evidence of its verbal inspiration. The value of the Septuagint consists, not so much as being a version of the Old Testament, as the expositor of the words and doctrinal terminology of the New. As Professor Blunt says, “It is the *viaduct* to the New Testament. Without it the language of Christ and the Apostles would have been almost unintelligible. The prophecies of the Old Testament would have been so vague and uncertain, as to give no definite witness to the Messiahship of Christ; and its doctrinal language could never have been clearly ascertained. All that commentators could have written respecting the meaning of words or of texts, would have passed for little better than critical speculation and conjecture, if we had not the Hellenistic style of the New Testament explained and guaranteed by that Greek Version, which was read and studied universally and exclusively in the primitive church, till the age (A.D. 400) of Jerome and Augustine.”

This great historical, or rather ecclesiastical, fact, will fully substantiate the claims of the Greek Version of the Old Testament, as the expositor and inseparable interpreter of the New Testament canon. That the Christian Church should have been left for the three first centuries, under the sole authority of the LXX. in the Old Testament, is a fact which is seldom realized by Protestants, who date the study of the Bible from the time of the Protestant Reformation. Let all praise be given to

Luther, Reuchlin, and the other Protestant divines, who dug out the fossil remains of the Hebrew, and who enabled the Buxtorfs and Capelluses to litigate the antiquity of the rabbinical points, and to interpret the "*Hebraica Veritas*" as the standard text of Moses and the Prophets. But no renovation of the Hebrew language can invalidate the reign of the LXX. during the first four hundred years of the Christian Church. No accession of Hebrew knowledge can affect the value of the LXX., as the staple of the Greek New Testament. It must always remain an incontestible fact, that the appeals of Christ and the Apostles are chiefly made to the Greek Version. It must always remain a fact, that nearly the whole lexicography of the New Testament is to be found therein, and that nearly all the doctrinal and sacrificial terminology of the New Testament is explicitly and exclusively contained in this Version.

Perhaps it would be presumptuous to enquire into the cause of this oblivion of the original language of Moses and the prophets, during this long period. But it should be remembered, that as Christianity was intended for the Gentiles, it was necessary to consolidate and embalm that particular style of Greek in which the New Testament is composed. If the attention of the primitive Church had been distracted between the study of the Old Testament in the original and the Version, there can be little doubt that the use and value of the Version would have been very much limited and depreciated. It is so, at the present moment, by the great body of Protestant commentators. Hence it is, that we have Hebrew Professors in all our Protestant universities, but no Professors of Hellenistic Greek.* Hence it is, that classical illustrations are still so often preferred to those which are taken from the LXX.

But it should be considered, that no attainable knowledge of Hebrew can throw much light on the phraseology of the New Testament, except through the medium of the Septuagint; and that the knowledge of the Hebrew itself is so much indebted to the Greek Version, that Professor Lee asserted he had learnt more of the grammatical construction of the Hebrew from the LXX. than from every other source. Be this as it may, you cannot pass from the Hebrew to the Greek, without the *viaduct* of the Version, and that is decisive of its supreme exegetical value and importance.

But there is another aspect of the LXX., which has been very little considered. This Version accounts for the early spread of Christianity in the East, and for the readiness of the Gentiles to

* There is a Professor of Biblical Greek at Trinity College, Dublin.—ED.

greet the tidings of the Gospel, when contrasted with the opposition of the Scribes and Pharisees. It was the herald and interpreter of the Gospel. It proclaimed the claims of Christ as the Messiah in the echoes of Moses and the Prophets. Nor is this all. It still remains an indestructible barrier against the attacks of modern scepticism. If you test the doubts of Professor Jowett, respecting the interpretation of the New Testament, in the crucible of this version, you will find how little is their force. It is the spear of Ithuriel to destroy the incantations of German mysticism. It confines the endless wanderings of rationalistic commentators in a *cul de sac*. It exemplifies and explains the anomalies of a semi-barbarous dialect. How often might the commentator spare all his research and ingenuity by merely collating the lexicons of Trommius and Schmid! A single quotation from the Greek Version will do more to interpret the perplexity of a text, than a whole page of wordy commentary.

In all our controversies respecting the style and interpretation of the New Testament, more real and definite information may be obtained from the LXX. than from any other quarter. But the apocryphal books are also of very great value, because they approach still more to the style of the Gospels, and more especially of the Acts. This arises in part, from their being of later growth, and therefore nearer to the era of Christianity. But it results still more from their being originals, and not translations; for, as the Professor remarks, "many Hebraisms would occur in the Greek of a translator, which would never have come to his pen, but for the influence of the work which he was translating" (p. 396). Such, in fact, is the close similarity between the style of several chapters of the Maccabees, and the Acts of the Apostles, that they are the exact counterparts of each other. It is then in this Septuagintal aspect, that we earnestly recommend the young student of theology to remember the maxim of Horace:—

"Vos exemplaria Græca,
Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ."

Brighton.

E. W. G.

P.S. As much of the foregoing reasoning is substantially the same as that which Bishop Wilberforce has so much embellished in his two eloquent discourses before the University of Oxford, it is proper to add, that this article was drawn up several months ago, and was expected to appear in the January number of this Journal. The coincidence, be it more or less, is entirely accidental.

**HISTORY OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, FROM THE TIME OF
HIS BIRTH TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF HIS MISSION.**

THE Evangelic History of the Life of Christ is a subject of paramount interest to Christians: and, great as may be the value of the writings of St. Paul, the profit to be derived from them is not to be compared to that which may be gained from the teaching of his Divine Master, and from the constant meditation on the examples afforded by his life and sufferings. In our own language, we have no work which represents the picture of Christ and his Times in a manner befitting the importance of the subject; nor do we believe that such a work exists in any language in Europe. However much we may despair of doing justice to a topic so far above the grasp of mere human intellect, yet in the paucity of popular information on the subject, we may be excused for attempting, in however humble a manner, to fill up a small part of this immense gap in our national literature. With this view, but with all the diffidence which the vastness and extreme difficulty of the subject should produce, we venture to offer an essay towards the history of Christ and his Times, from the date of his birth to the commencement of his mission. We designedly omit the incidents preceding his birth, recorded in the first chapters of St. Luke and St. Matthew, as being too plain in themselves to require the aid of critical elucidation.

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.—*The birth of Christ.*

At the period immediately preceding the birth of Christ, the Jewish people were waiting with intense anxiety for the fulfilment of the national prophecies, by the birth of the expected Messiah. The oppressive yoke of their Idumæan master Herod, and of his master Augustus, and the insolence of the Roman functionaries in Judæa, exasperated the spirit of the nation to the highest pitch; and they looked forward with fierce exultation for the appearance of that Anointed King, the son of Jehovah, who should not only deliver them from their enemies, but enable them to retaliate in their turn, and to bruise the now dominant nations under the awful terrors of a sceptre of iron. The time marked by tradition for these great events was closely accomplished; and there were persons actually living in Jerusalem, who knew by the infallible revelation of the Divine Spirit, that they should see, in the flesh, the Redeemer of Israel.

The very place from whence he was to appear was well known, as it had been predicted in the prophecies of Micah that the Messiah should be born at Bethlehem in Judæa.

A decree of Augustus was, in this instance, made the means of carrying into effect the divine intention. It was the custom of the Romans that, at stated intervals, a census should be taken of the citizens, in which the names, ages, tribes, families, offices, dignities, professions, occupations, wives, children, and estates of all the citizens were duly registered. Augustus extended this census to the provinces, and also to those subject kingdoms which his sagacious foresight clearly perceived must, at no distant period, be converted into provinces. Among the latter was Judea; and one of these censuses was commenced in the twenty-sixth year of Augustus, and in the eighth before the Christian era.^a The completion of the registry throughout Syria was entrusted to the Roman governor of that province, then Sentius Saturninus; and, as it was a work of time and labour, including Coele-Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa, the officers entrusted to take the census of Judæa did not commence till the fifth year before the vulgar era, viz., the year in which Christ was born. It is this census, or registry, of which the word ἀπογράφειν used by St. Luke, and improperly translated in the sense of "being taxed," in our English version, is to be understood. Judæa, at that time, paid no taxes to Augustus. The taxes of the kingdom were collected by Herod, out of which he paid the tribute to Rome. After this deduction the whole revenues of Judæa belonged to Herod, to be employed in public works, the maintenance of his forces, the payment of his officers, and for his regal expenses.

That the registry might be exact, every person included in the census was compelled to present himself to the registering officers in "his own city." This appears to mean the birth-place of each individual, and not as some commentators have supposed, "the places where their respective families had their first rise." If the latter explanation were correct, all the Jews who were scattered throughout the Roman Empire, must at the time of every census have betaken themselves to Judæa; and so

^a The chronology of our Saviour's life, and certain portions of the general history of Palestine during that period, have been, and are, the subjects of much discussion. Into those enquiries (far too extensive to be embodied in a sketch like the present,) we do not propose to enter. We have contented ourselves, therefore, with selecting from ordinary and secondary sources, such dates, facts, and events, as were necessary to the completion of our biographical essay. In these respects, therefore, we are only to be considered responsible for the selection and grouping of the materials. The critical reader will easily perceive on what parts of our sketch we ground our pretensions to original investigation.

vast were their numbers, that the influx of such multitudes must have been attended with an inconvenience and expense equally great and useless. We may conclude, therefore, that both Mary, the selected mother of the Messiah, and Joseph her husband, though at that time residents of Nazareth in Galilee were *natives* of Bethlehem in Judæa. To this city they were now to betake themselves to be registered; and we shall find reason to believe as we proceed, that they intended, after the census was completed, to remain at Bethlehem, instead of returning to the wild and secluded city of Nazareth, and its lawless and proverbially disreputable inhabitants. As the unborn infant in the womb of Mary was to inherit the throne of David, it was natural that they should look on the city which was peculiarly called the "city of David," as the proper place of his future residence. Another advantage would result from their return to their birthplace, that they would, in this case, be near Zechariah and Elisabeth, the future fortunes and ministry of whose son John appeared to be so indissolubly connected with those of the unborn Jesus.

There would be no want of company on their journey. Great was the multitude of Galileans who were compelled to journey southward to be registered in Judæa; for the tyranny of Herod had probably compelled many families to emigrate from their southern homes to the mountains of Galilee; and all these had now to return, for a brief period, to comply with the mandate of Augustus. The humble travellers, in company, as we may suppose, with the Galilean caravan, proceeded towards Judæa, bearing with them, if they intended to remain at Bethlehem, all their worldly effects,—no very onerous incumbrance. When they arrived at the city of David, they found that diminutive place completely filled by the influx of travellers. It is uncertain whether they lodged at an oriental caravanserai, a Roman inn, or a private house; for the Greek word *κατάλυμα*, used by St. Luke, has, in its proper primary signification, the same general meaning as the Arabic *Menzil* and the Hebrew *Malón*; and signifies merely the place where a traveller puts up at the end of his day's journey. We know that there was in the times of Jeremiah the prophet (Jeremiah xli. 17) a *gêrûth*, or caravanserai, at Bethlehem, built by a person of the name of Kimham, for the accommodation of persons travelling to Egypt. But the circumstances related by the Evangelists are such as could scarcely have occurred at an inn,^b and we are inclined to

^b The present form of an oriental khan, or caravanserai, is probably of the earliest antiquity. In such a building the part in which the cattle are kept, is exposed to

believe that Mary and her husband were lodging, at their first arrival, at a private residence, until they could procure a house suitable to their circumscribed means and to the business of Joseph.

The birth of the Messiah now approached, but such was the throng of strangers in Bethlehem, and so crowded was the place where they were staying, that there was no retiring place for the Virgin when she was seized with the pangs of parturition, except in the stable, among the cattle; and there probably upon a bed of straw, she was delivered of the Saviour. The judgment pronounced against Eve after the fall, "in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children," was perhaps rarely more completely fulfilled, than in the *human* birth of that Divine Being, by whom probably, in the character of Jehovah, the severe, but just, original sentence had been declared against the mother of mankind. When the Virgin was delivered of her first-born son, such was the total absence of all those aids and accommodations which were required by her condition, that she herself was obliged to wrap him in swaddling clothes, and place him in a manger, happy even to find so rude a cradle for her infant. The birth of John the Baptist had been celebrated with joy and triumph; and a happy woman had Elisabeth been, when she could shew her infant to her admiring friends. At the delivery of Mary, no friendly females were ready to afford her their kind assistance:—in grief, sorrow, and wild confusion, amidst the sounds, not far distant, of riot and clamour, revelry and contest, she produced the Saviour of mankind: and yet while earth was unconscious of the greatest event which had occurred in it since its creation, the heavenly host were sounding hymns of triumph over the hills of Bethlehem, and conducting poor, but faithful men,—of incomparably higher value, in heavenly estimation, than the impious Herod or his master Augustus,—to visit and adore the new-born Saviour.

SECTION II.—*The visit of the Shepherds.*

In the country near Bethlehem, certain shepherds were watching their flocks by night, at the time when the birth of Jesus took place. It is a beautiful incident affording an

the view of every temporary inhabitant of the place. It is obvious also, that in every place of general entertainment, of whatever form, the place appropriated to the cattle, would be liable to be constantly entered by travellers looking to the care of their horses, etc. Such a place would be in the highest degree unsuitable for a female seized with the pangs of parturition. We must understand therefore that the Virgin and her husband were lodged in some humble private house, where every room being filled by the family, or other lodgers, the stable was the only vacant place. The cattle might have been at that time in the fields,

admirable lesson, that the first persons who paid homage to the Saviour of the world should be these shepherds; and that they should be directed to the presence of the infant Messiah by an angel of Jehovah. To find fitting spectators for the greatest event which the world had witnessed, the angelic choir did not go to the palaces of princes, the mansions of the priesthood, the homes of the Levites, the residences of the great and wealthy of the earth, but they sought for pure hearts and sincere minds among the mountain sheepfolds, where were to be found the truly faithful of Israel. In the stillness of the night, an angel of Jehovah appeared to these shepherds, the halo of the divine glory beamed luminously around them, and a deep fear seized upon them. The angel bade them not to be afraid; "for, behold," he said, "I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David, a Saviour, which is the Lord, the Anointed. And this shall be a sign to direct you in your search: you shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger."

Scarcely had the angel uttered these words, when he was joined by a multitude of the Heavenly Host, praising God, and raising the exulting cry, "Glory to God, in the highest; and on earth peace, good will towards men!" The shepherds then beheld the angels ascending to heaven; and, on recovering from their astonishment, exhorted each other to proceed with all possible haste to Bethlehem, to witness that marvel which the Lord had made known to them.

They accordingly hastened, under the guidance of the Spirit, and found Mary and Joseph in their humble abode, and the babe lying in the manger. When they made known the message of the angel, Mary received that consolation which her distressed condition required; and she saw that, while the earth and its inhabitants remained in unconsciousness of the great event which had occurred, all Heaven was filled with joy at a miracle which immortal natures could alone appreciate. The shepherds, on quitting them, made known to all whom they met, what they had heard and witnessed, and returned to their homes, glorifying God for his merciful interposition on behalf of Israel. The story of the shepherds spread wonder and admiration through Bethlehem and its vicinity; "But Mary kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart."

SECTION III.—*The circumcision of Jesus and the purification of the Virgin.*

The circumcision of an infant was usually observed as a feast, at which all the relatives of the family assembled. Joseph

and Mary were now at Bethlehem, in the midst of their relations; but, in the bustle and confusion of the census, there would be little opportunity of holding family meetings; and as no mention is made by St. Luke of any incidents attending the circumcision of Jesus, and as this evangelist (the only one of the four, who refers to it at all) has been more minute respecting the circumcision of John, we may presume that it passed over with little celebration. We only know that the rite was duly performed on the eighth day after his birth; and that on this occasion the Messiah received the name of Yêshûa' (Jesus); which the angel, before his conception, had directed to be bestowed upon him.

Here we may perhaps be allowed to explain, for the information of readers ignorant of the Hebrew language, the various names which are applied in the New Testament, to our Saviour. I. *Ἰησοῦς* or Jesus, is the Greek mode of expressing the *sound* of the Hebrew Yêshûa' a name used in the later Hebraism, as a contracted form of the more ancient proper name *Yehôshûa'*, Joshua. Both words have therefore the same signification, *Saved, or aided, by Jehovah*; and hence the angel directed Joseph to bestow this name upon the divine child of Mary, "because he should *save* his people from their sins." II. By the word *Χριστός*, Christ, the Greeks intended to express the *sense* of the Hebrew word *Máshtach* (anointed), while by the name *ὁ Μεσσίας* (*Anglicè*, the Messiah) they meant, so far as the Greek alphabet admitted, to express the *sound* of the same word. 3. *Ἐμμανουήλ*, Immánû-El in Hebrew, has a meaning closely analogous to Yêshûa'. It signifies "*God is with us.*" [*i. e.*, as our Helper or Saviour].

The ritual Law of Moses (Lev. xii. 2—8) required, that forty days after the birth of a male child, the mother should present herself at the temple, and offer a sacrifice for her *purification*, which in the case of the poorer classes, was to consist of two turtle doves, or two young pigeons, the one for a burnt-offering, and the other for a sin-offering. In the case of a first-born male child, it was also necessary that the child should be *redeemed*; for every male which opened the womb was consecrated to the Lord; and the law required that five shekels should be paid for his redemption. (Numb. xviii. 15—16.) At the appointed time, therefore, Joseph and his wife went up to Jerusalem, a journey of only six Roman miles from Bethlehem, carrying with them the child. They entered the temple, and purchased the doves or pigeons required for the poorer offerings, which there were always persons within the walls of the temple prepared to sell; the sacrifice was then offered, and the

redemption paid. It was a singular event, this legal redemption of the Redeemer of mankind; and it might have afforded a vast scope for the curious speculation of those following ages, when the refining spirit of the Lower or Greek empire, broke the Church into schisms about almost every question which could be raised respecting the Saviour. If Jesus, as one of the *persons* of the *JEHOVAH ELOHIM* of the Old Testament, were that person of the Trinity who, taking from the first the guidance of the children of Israel, as the depositories of revealed religion under his peculiar care, had himself dictated the Law to Moses,—*He* it then was, who had claimed for himself all the first-born of Israel, and had commanded their redemption, unless they were destined to the service of the tabernacle. Strange, therefore, it would appear to the subtle but shallow spirit of imperial Greece, that he should thus have been brought to his own temple, the consecrated servant to his own worship, and that from this service he should have been redeemed by his adopted father and his human mother for the price of five shekels. But such investigations are rather idle than profitable; and we may safely leave them to those whom St. Paul calls “the disputers of this world,” who have “turned aside unto vain jangling,” and who know not the value of the Apostolical counsel, to “walk in wisdom, redeeming the time.”

Now occurred the second recognition of Jesus, as the Messiah of the prophecies, in a more conspicuous scene than in the lodgings at Bethlehem. Among the residents at Jerusalem, were two persons of singular devotion; Simeon, a man enlightened by the Holy Spirit, and distinguished for his religious fervour, and Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher.* The aged Simeon had long been waiting for the “Consolation of Israel,” which the ancient prophecies, particularly that of Daniel ix. 24—27, and also, as it seems, certain unwritten ones, preserved traditionally among the people, declared to be now on the eve of manifestation; and to which he looked forward with a calm and holy confidence; as it had been revealed to him by the divine Spirit, that he should not die until he had beheld the Lord’s anointed. As for Anna, she was now more than a century old. She had been married in her youth to a husband who lived only seven years from their nup-

* Though Asher is one of the *Lost Tribes* of Israel, and all traces of this tribe have long vanished; yet it might easily have happened, that some of the individuals of the tribe took refuge in Judah, soon after the revolt of the ten tribes, that they might not be compelled to join in the religious apostacy under Jeroboam. In this way we may account for the descent of the prophetess Anna, from the tribe of Asher.

tuals, and she had now been eighty-four years a widow. She never quitted the temple, but remained there day and night, serving God with fasting and prayer. Being endowed with the spirit of prophecy, she, like Simeon, was expecting the immediate appearance of the Messiah, and possibly, on that account, made the temple her perpetual habitation.

While Joseph and Mary were in the court of Israel with the infant Jesus, Simeon was brought by the Spirit into the temple, and we may well conceive that the presence of this venerable man caused no slight emotion among the by-standers. This was increased to an intense degree when they saw him salute the child of Mary as the *Salvation of Israel*. Taking up the infant in his arms, Simeon blessed God for the great mercy which had been vouchsafed to his people; and satisfied with having witnessed the great object of his aspirations, he petitioned God that he might now himself terminate, in peace, a life which appears to have been miraculously prolonged far beyond the usual age of ordinary mortals. The following are the words of what may be termed the *Death-hymn* of Simeon.

“ Lord, now lettest^d thou thy servant depart
In peace, according to thy word;
For mine eyes have seen thy salvation,
Which thou hast prepared
Before the face of all people,—
A light for a revelation to the Gentiles,
And for the glory of thy people Israel.”

While Joseph and his wife were marvelling at these words, Simeon bestowed his blessing upon them, and afterwards addressed Mary in particular, in words intended to warn her against indulging in hopes of worldly triumph, by informing her of the dissensions which should be consequent upon the preaching of the Messiah,—the separation which it should cause between the pure in heart, and the hypocritical followers of the Pharisees, and the final death of Christ, in a manner, which should pierce like a sword through her heart. “Behold,” said the venerable prophet, “this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against; (yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also,) that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.”

Scarcely had Simeon concluded, when Anna, coming in at that instant, gave thanks to God for the fulfilment of his pro-

^d Ἀπολύεις here is the *prophetic* present. Simeon who foresaw, in the spirit, that he was about to be released from the present life, speaks of that as immediate, which he knew to be quickly approaching.

phesies, and addressing all those devout persons present who looked for redemption in Israel, proclaimed the presence of the promised Messiah, the expected Redeemer.

CHAPTER II.

SECTION I.—*The visit of the Magi.*

That Joseph and his wife had no intention of returning to Galilee, will, we think, appear plainly as we proceed. The prophecies respecting the infant Jesus, appeared, as we have before observed, to connect him closely with Bethlehem, the city of David, whose throne he was to fill, and with John, the son of Zachariah, who also inhabited the Hill country of Judæa. Nor could it have been agreeable to return to the miserable city of the rude, insolent, and ruffianly Nazarenes, with an apparent blemish on the reputation of Mary. These were sufficient motives to induce Joseph to settle in the city of his ancestors, which the decree of Augustus had compelled him to visit; and there appears sufficient deductive evidence that he remained there, at least a year from the birth of Christ. We may conclude, therefore, that he took a settled residence in Bethlehem, and that he followed, to gain a livelihood, his business of a carpenter. At the end of the first year, we should place the visit of the magi, which some of the harmonies of the Gospels insert between the circumcision of Christ, and the purification of the Virgin. The reasons for referring it to the later date will appear in the sequel. The visit of the shepherds is related by St. Luke, that of the Magi, by St. Matthew. The Apostolic evangelist informs us, that “when Jesus was born at Bethlehem, in Judea, in the days of Herod the king, there came Magi, or wise men, from the East to Jerusalem, saying, ‘Where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the East, and are come to worship him.’” The words of St. Matthew, *Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐν Βηθλεὲμ*, must be construed, *After Jesus was born at Bethlehem*, with an indefinite extension of time; because the Magi, we may suppose, could not have seen what they termed “the star, τὸν ἀστέρα, of Jesus before his birth; and the journey from the East, if by this is meant the country beyond the Euphrates, must have occupied a considerable time. The next question which arises, is, *Who were the Magi?* We cannot suppose, with some learned writers, that they were Arabians; because the latter had nothing in common with the Magi, either as a sect, or a philosophical designation. Neither does it appear probable that the word Magi can be taken in its proper signification, as persons

professing the religion of Zerdusht or Zoroaster ; for we cannot imagine that any of the fire-adorers would have felt the slightest interest in the birth of the King of so insignificant a province as Judæa, removed from their country by a vast distance, whose religion clashed in all respects with their own, and which possessed neither the political, nor commercial importance which could interest the inhabitants of a distant land. It is true they had seen a meteor, or star, which they declared to be that of the newly born King of the Jews ; but this star could have no attraction for them if they were indifferent to Judæa and its King.

The Magi, according to mediæval tradition, were three kings, sovereigns of some unknown countries in the East, (the Prester Johns of an earlier day) whose names were Casper, Melchior, and Balthazar. Their bones, collected after their deaths, apparently by angelic aid, (for angels were the great ministers of mediæval superstition), were after various unknown vicissitudes of fortune, not recorded even in legendary fiction, deposited in the city of Milan in the twelfth century. When that city was taken by the Hohenstauffer, Frederic I., the emperor generously bestowed them upon the archbishop of Cologne, who had accompanied his army into Italy. By that prelate, they were transferred to Cologne, and deposited in a reliquary of solid silver, richly gilt, and adorned with jewels of great value. How firmly this romance was believed in, and how numerous were the pilgrims which it attracted to Cologne, it is needless to relate. But these were the inventions of the dark ages : the most probable solution of the narrative of St. Matthew, is that the persons termed the Magi were Babylonian Jews, learned in the Scriptures, of pious lives, and guided by the Holy Spirit ; who expected, like Simeon, the coming of the Messiah ; and who, when made aware of it, eagerly journeyed to Jerusalem, to present their gifts and pay their adoration to the descendant of David. Their gifts were the natural tribute of zealous and devout Jews to their king ; and they were called *Magi*, in the looser sense of the word, as applied in the West to the wise men of Babylon.

The star which guided them was probably an angelic apparition, luminous, and in the form of a star, intended to guide them in their way to Bethlehem, as the appropriate reward of their piety and virtue. The chaldees of the Babylonian Jews would have been easily understood at Jerusalem, so that they could readily have communicated with the inhabitants of that city, to whom the Persian of the fire-adorers would have been unintelligible. If we accept this as a solution of the difficulty, the

history at once assumes an intelligible shape : it agrees harmoniously with the story of Simeon and Anna ; there is a similar grace bestowed as the reward for similar fervour of devotion. It is needless to observe that the guiding star could not have been a star in the proper sense of the word ; and that the meteor or apparition which assumed that shape, could not have been connected with the birth of the Messiah, except by an express spiritual revelation, which would not have been accorded to the superstitious worshippers of Ormuzd and Ahriman. But nothing, on the contrary, could be more natural and consistent, than that the most virtuous and pious of the Babylonian Jews should be called by revelation, and miraculously conducted, to mingle their worship and adoration of the Messiah, with that of their few pious brethren in Judæa.

From Babylon to Jerusalem would have been a journey of months, especially for aged men, as we may suppose these devout Jews to have been. We are not to suppose that they could quit their homes immediately after the appearance of the star ; the preliminary arrangements would occupy some time ; and thus it might have been a *full year* after the delivery of Mary, when the so-called Magi arrived at Jerusalem, that being the time which harmonizes best with the subsequent occurrences. On arriving at Jerusalem, they enquired for the infant King of the Jews, supposing that every one would be familiar with his birth. They found no one had even heard of him ; for the declaration of Simeon and Anna had only been addressed to discreet persons, who, like themselves, were waiting for the Salvation of Israel ; and who could discern the impropriety of prematurely publishing a fact, which might excite the suspicion of a jealous government.

The enquiries of the Magi were quickly reported to Herod ; and “ he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him ; ” the king certainly from fear, and the people probably from expectation and hope. Herod, before seeing the Magi, deemed it prudent to communicate with the chief-priests and scribes. He enquired where the *Christ*, or *Anointed King*, mentioned by David, in the Psalms, should be born. They replied, “ At Bethlehem, in Judæa ; for thus the prophet Micah had foretold, in these words. ‘ And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah ; for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel.’ ”* Thus apprized

* The prophecies respecting our Saviour cannot be treated separately. To do them justice, they must be grouped. For this reason, in the present sketch, we deem it improper to enter into the long discussion which this prophecy of Micah invites. Before we could examine the prophecy itself, it would be necessary to

the king sent for the Magi, and enquired diligently what time the star had appeared to them, assuming that this would be the time of the birth of the Child. They gave him all the information he required; and the king in return, advised them to prosecute their enquiries in Bethlehem, treacherously adding, "When you have found the young child, return, and bring me word, that I also may go and worship him." Thus instructed, the Magi departed, and were permitted to journey to Bethlehem alone; for Herod probably expected that they would discover the infant King much more easily, if they sought him alone, than if accompanied by his officers. He naturally expected, (the distance to Bethlehem being so short) that the Magi would return on the ensuing day at the furthest. No sooner had the wise men quitted Jerusalem, than they perceived the same luminous star-like apparition, which they had observed in the East; and which they had there hailed as the *star* of the Messiah. / On remarking this, they rejoiced exceedingly; and their delight was justified when they perceived that it actually preceded them, in their way to Bethlehem, as the guide of their journey. Conducted by the angelic light, they not only reached Bethlehem, but easily discovered the house in which Joseph resided; and over which the luminous apparition finally rested. On entering the humble house of the carpenter, they saw the young child, (now probably a year old) with Mary his mother, and immediately recognising the Messiah, they fell down and worshipped him as the King of their nation and Saviour of the Jews. They had brought with them rich gifts, as a tribute to their king; and, opening their repositories, they presented him with their treasure, gold, frankincense, and myrrh.

They probably rested for the night under the roof of Joseph; and, being warned by God in a dream of the evil designs of Herod, and forbade to return through Jerusalem, they departed by a different way for the East. In all likelihood, they would

dispose of the much-contested question, as to the primary and secondary application of the prophecies.

/ It is not to be inferred from the appearance of this meteor, that the journey of the Magi, from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, was made by *night*. The meteor, (for such it certainly was), would be more remarkable by day, and we are not to suppose that it was visible to any other persons than the Magi themselves. These sages made the journey alone; and as strangers, unacquainted with the way, would not have ventured after sunset to enter upon an unknown route. It is clear that they did not expect to see the star when they quitted Jerusalem. It had first appeared to them at Chaldæa, but had *not* accompanied from thence on their journey to Judæa. For this well-known route they needed no guidance, and if the meteor had conducted them, it would have been unnecessary for them to stop and make enquiries at Jerusalem: they would have trusted entirely to the supernatural guidance. When they saw the *star* again on quitting Jerusalem, they "rejoiced with great joy" at the agreeable surprise.

journey southward to Arabia Petræa, and return to the East with one of the Nabathæan caravans. Herod waited the next day for the return of the Magi, but waited in vain. When night came, Joseph was warned by the angel of the Lord in a dream, that Herod would seek the young child's life, and ordered to seek a refuge in Egypt, from the machinations of the tyrant. The words of the angelic mandate were peremptory, Ἐγερθεὶς παράλαβε τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ, καὶ φεύγε; and Joseph immediately, and literally obeying the order, arose and set out *by night* with his wife and the child on his journey to Egypt.

SECTION II.—*The Slaughter of the Innocents.*

Great was the rage of Herod when he found that the Magi, instead of returning to Jerusalem, had taken a different route homewards; and that he could procure no intelligence of their proceedings at Bethlehem. It is obvious that the visit of the Magi must have been made, in all respects, under miraculous circumstances, and the same power which conducted them by a meteoric light, may have rendered them invisible to the inhabitants of Bethlehem. In so small a city, the appearance of strangers, in a foreign dress, and probably of distinguished and remarkable appearance, their visit to so obscure a person as Joseph the carpenter, and their lodging at his house, could not have escaped the attention of the people. Herod not finding the Magi return at the time he expected them, would certainly send confidential officers to make inquiries what houses they had visited, and would thus discover the truth;—the flight of Joseph would immediately have become known; nor could he have escaped the pursuit of the messengers who would have been immediately despatched to overtake, and bring him back. But it is evident that Herod could procure not the slightest information, though Bethlehem was only six miles distant from Jerusalem. No one had seen the magi; no one could tell when they had entered the city, where they rested, or when they departed. No one had seen them any where in the vicinity of the town, or in any of the roads conducting from it. The whole affair would look like sorcery, and the Magians would well deserve the magical reputation attached to the title bestowed on them.

It was no wonder, therefore, that Herod conceived himself “mocked” by the Magi, and that the indignation of the ferocious and savage king reached its highest pitch. Determined to take measures which should baffle the arts of magic and its votaries, “he sent forth and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem,

and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently inquired from the Magi." Such are the words of St. Matthew; and it is perfectly evident from them that the visit of the Eastern sages could not have occurred so near to the birth of Christ as it is usually placed. We are told that Herod diligently inquired the time of the birth of the infant king of Judea, and that his orders for the massacre were given in accordance with the information which he had received. Herod had no motive to perpetrate any needless cruelty, and it is impossible that he should have considered it necessary to slaughter all the children under two years of age, in order to secure the death of a child, little more than a month old. The deaths of all the children six months old and under, would, under such circumstances, have satisfied the precautionary cruelty of the most jealous tyrant. But if we suppose the infant Saviour to have been then a year old, the savage Idumean, in order to take ample scope, might have loosely added a year each way, as the certain means of securing his object. Taking a year as the exact middle term, he might consistently have named two years and under, as the period which would render his vengeance secure.

The slaughter of so many infants, and the entire silence of profane history, even of the Jewish historian, Josephus, as to such an act of extensive cruelty, has afforded a favourite scope for the attacks of sceptical writers. But they have generally misapprehended the extent of the massacre. Bethlehem was an exceedingly small city;—"all the coasts thereof," in Hebrew phrase, would mean merely the lands belonging to the city and its inhabitants;—probably only a mile or two in every direction; and the audacity of Herod, and the tolerance of Augustus, would, without hesitation, have extended to the slaughter of *all* the inhabitants of Bethlehem and its coasts, on any plausible pretext. It would only have been necessary for Herod to represent to the Emperor (what was actually the fact), that the Jews were filled with a seditious spirit against the authority of Rome and the power of the Emperor; that they were looking forward for a king who was to deliver them from the Roman yoke, and revenge them on their enemies, that Bethlehem was the place from which the expected king was to arise; and, to add to this, that a conspiracy was on foot to persuade the people of Jerusalem that this suppositious king had been actually and lately born at Bethlehem. Under such circumstances, Herod, to support the Roman authority, and quell the sedition, had been compelled, reluctantly, to order the execution of all the lately-born children in Bethlehem, as an act

of wholesome severity absolutely necessary to quell the sedition, and to put a stop to the progress of the contemplated imposture. On such a representation, we may be well assured that the good Augustus, who could not but remember the days of the proscriptions of the Triumvirs, and who jested when he was informed that Herod had put his own son to death, probably would merely have smiled, and agreed that a severe example was necessary.

We shall find in the sequel, that Herod was accused of contemplating, even on his death-bed, a murder more extensive, and, if possible, more atrocious than this.

One of the most ignorant of the opponents of the Bible, Thomas Paine, of immoral memory, made the murder of the innocents the subject of an attack which he probably deemed not easily to be parried. What the nature of his objections was, we may discover from Bishop Watson's *Apology for the Bible*, without the necessity of recurring to *The Age of Reason*—a book which seems long since to have fallen into oblivion.

“The story of the massacre of the young children by the order of Herod, is mentioned only by Matthew, and therefore you think it is a lie. We must give up all history if we refuse to admit facts recorded only by one historian. Matthew addressed his gospel to the Jews, and put them in mind of a circumstance of which they must have had a melancholy remembrance; but Gentile converts were less interested in that event. The Evangelists were not writing the life of Herod, but of Jesus; it is no wonder that they omitted, above half a century after the death of Herod, an instance of his cruelty, which was not essentially connected with their subject. The massacre, however, was probably known even at Rome; and it was certainly correspondent to the character of Herod. John, you say, at the time of the massacre, ‘was under two years of age, and yet he escaped; so that the story circumstantially belies itself.’ John was six months older than Jesus, and you cannot prove that he was not beyond the age to which the order of Herod extended. It probably reached no further than to those who had completed their first year, without including those who had entered upon their second; but without insisting upon this, still I contend that you cannot prove John to have been under two years of age at the time of the massacre; and I could give many probable reasons to the contrary. Nor is it certain that John was, at that time, in that part of the country to which the edict of Herod extended. But there would be no end of answering, at length, all your little objections.”

It must be confessed that in this reply, (as indeed throughout his whole apology, the chief merit of which is the admirable temper preserved throughout, for it is certainly deficient in learning and inconclusive in argument,) the bishop relies too much on the ignorance of his adversary. He is too fond, throughout his

work, of that convenient argument, the *petitio principii*, and too frequently adopts the evasive tone of a quibbling special pleader.

1. The objection of Paine that the story is related only by St. Matthew, really deserves no reply; if it had any force it would completely destroy the Evangelical history; but the sense of a child would discern that two or more persons may each relate correctly such portions of a story as interest them, or as they imagine will interest their readers, without each of them selecting the same portions, or including the same incidents.

2. Whether the massacre were known at Rome, or not (to which the Bishop appears to attach some importance), is really of no importance whatever; since, if known, it would have excited little more sensation than the massacre of the same number of swine. A great nation is wonderfully tolerant of any act of severity which it deems necessary to support its authority in a distant province or dependency; and the manner in which the Roman historians write of the Jews, the marvellous fables which they relate of them, and the cool manner in which they refused to seek for authentic materials in the Septuagint and Josephus, sufficiently shew how farcical it would be to suppose that they would have occupied their own time, or that of their readers, in narrating the massacre of a few children in a petty village of Judea.

3. The objection which represents John the Baptist as resident at, or in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, is destitute of all foundation. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that Zachariah could possibly have resided in Bethlehem. On the contrary, if he had done so, we may be certain that Joseph and his wife would not have been compelled to lodge in a stable, at the time of their arrival. Bethlehem was *not* one of the sacerdotal cities of the highlands of Judah. These were Chebrôn, or Hebron (the modern El Khalil); Yattir (now 'Attir); Eshtemoa (at present called Es-Semû'a); Cholon; Debir (Dhoberîyah) and Yattah (now Yutta). Of all these cities Hebron^s appears to

^s The ignorant Greeks, in the time of that *mother of holy sites*, the Empress Helena, placed the house of Zachariah in a *convenient* position, between Bethlehem and the Jaffa road; for these holy impostors had always a benevolent regard to the accommodation of pilgrims. On the site they selected was built the Church of St. John, in whose ruins even the Latin pilgrims were accustomed to offer their devotions, after visiting *il santo Presepio* in a *subterranean grotto* at Bethlehem, and repeating the appropriate prayers, accompanied by the following hymn, worthy of the site, if not of the occasion:—

“ Quando venit ergo sacri
Plenitudo temporis,
Missus est ab arce patris
Hic natus orbis conditor;
Atque ventre virginali
Caro factus prodiit.

have been the nearest to Bethlehem; yet the distance between the two was *sixteen* miles. 4. The quibbling supposition of the Bishop, that the order of Herod extended only to those who had completed their first year, without including those who had entered into their second, betrays a want of respect for the authority of St. Matthew. The Evangelist writes, that Herod "slew all the children *from* two years old and under." Nothing can be more plain than this, yet the Bishop's comment amounts to a suggested *erratum*,—"quere, for two years, ought we not to read one?" 5. When the Bishop avers that he could produce "many probable reasons" to shew that John was *not* under two years of age at the time of the massacre, he appears to scout his own previous suggestion, for if the order of Herod extended only to those who had *completed* their *first* year, and not to those who had *entered* into their *second*, Christ (to have been included in this order) could barely have completed his first year; in which case John could only have been eighteen months old. Consequently the probable reasons which induced the Bishop to believe that John was two years old at the period in question, clash inconveniently with the probable reasons which compelled him to infer that Christ at that period was only a year old. But probably the Bishop, like many other persons, could find probable reasons for anything. It would be curious to know what the "many probable reasons" of the Bishop respecting the age

Vagit infans inter acta
 Conditus præsepio;
 Membra pannis involuta
 Virgo mater alligat,
 Et manus, pedesque, crura
 Stricta cingit fascia."

At the altar of the Magi is sung the following hymn, still more exquisite than the former :—

"Ibant Magi, quam viderunt
 Stellam sequentes præviam;
Lumen requirunt lumine
 Deum fatentur munere."

Of the church of St. John the Catholics assert (following the Greek tradition), "In questo luogo, che fù la casa del sacerdote Zaccaria, nacque il suo figliuolo, il santissimo Profeta e Precursore." But the good monks understood the importance of multiplying holy sites, and therefore the house where Elisabeth was visited by the Holy Virgin, is placed at a little distance from that where St. John was born. On the latter site was also built a church and a monastery, of which Giovanni Zuallardo (*Viaggio di Gierusalemme*, p. 223), informs us, "Non ci è restato altro in piedi, ch' un chiestro." Two or three miles from thence is shewn the desert "dove S. Giovanni Battista, guidato e confortato dalla Spirito Santo, si tenne nella sua puerizia." After all these crudities, it is consoling to observe that the more instructed Catholics, rejecting these legendary absurdities, select Hebron for the residence of Zachariah. It would, however, be much wiser to leave the question open.

of John really were, for if John were, at that time, two years old, Christ must also have been aged eighteen months; and, in this case, we may reasonably presume that the suspicious policy of Herod would have taken a larger scope of security than the two years named in his mandate for slaughter.

We have been more particular than we otherwise should have been in pointing out what we conceive to be the errors of an excellent and most respectable prelate, because we think that the tone which he adopted in the defence of revealed religion was not the correct one, since the Bible needs no quibbling or subterfuges to defend it. It is also, we fear, only too obvious, from the preceding specimen of his style of argument, that the Bishop had devoted much less time to the study of theology than his sacred calling, and his position in the Church, imperatively required.

CHAPTER III.

SECTION I.—*The Flight to Egypt.*

While Herod was giving directions for the slaughter of the innocents, the Holy Family was pursuing its way towards Egypt. There were two routes which conducted to Egypt from Palestine. The first was from Beersheba across the desert of Paran, to the head of the Heroopolitan Gulf. Here in the time of Moses had stood the city of Shur; but this city under the Ptolemies had been replaced by the more modern Arsinoe. The second route was from Gaza to Pelusium, along the coast of the Mediterranean, through a sandy and almost waterless desert. The former route was that by which Jacob and his family had journeyed to Egypt, to settle there under the protection of Joseph. It was the old caravan track, ordinarily used at the time when Memphis was the capital of Lower Egypt, and before the building of Alexandria. The route by the coast seems not to have been much frequented till the times of the Persians; during their occupation of Egypt it became the usual military road between Palestine and Egypt, and after the building of Alexandria the route by the Red Sea probably fell into comparative disuse. To the Jews the coast road would be infinitely the more preferable, for by this they avoided passing through the territory of the idolatrous Idumæans, a people whom they peculiarly detested. We can scarcely doubt, however, that Joseph and Mary would prefer the route by Beersheba, as in this way they would be the least exposed to the pursuit of Herod, if he should obtain such information as would induce him to pursue them. Travelling in this direction, they would pass by Hebron, and enter into what was

termed the *Inner Daroma*,ⁱ or that part of Judæa which had been occupied by the Idumæans during the Babylonian captivity. These Idumæans had been reduced to subjection by John Hyrcanus, and compelled to submit to circumcision, and to adopt the rites and religion of the Jews. Their conversion was, however, probably much more in form than substance, and though nominally amalgamated with the Jews, they thoroughly detested that people.

From Hebron the route led through Malatha (the ancient Moladah, and now El Milh) to Beersheba. This place was memorable to the Jewish traveller as one of the cardinal points in the history of his nation, being the spot where Jacob and his family rested before they commenced the passage of the desert to Egypt. How many recollections would this place have aroused in the minds of persons like Joseph and Mary! The whole country around, and to the south of Beersheba, was classical ground to a Hebrew imagination. Not far from hence to the westward was Gerar,—at the time of the flight an insignificant village, but a place of primary importance in the days of Abraham. Here was that valley, the Nachal Gerâr, in which Abraham and Isaac resided for many long years, and where they had made so many treaties with the Philistine kings of Gerar. The desert to the south had been the temporary residence of Abraham, and here Isaac passed a great part of his uneventful life. In the two deserts of Beersheba and Paran, the angel of the Lord had twice appeared to Hagar, and in the latter desert the race of Ishmael had been cradled, till it became too mighty to be confined in the regions south of Canaan, and was compelled to emigrate to the great Arabian desert. Here too, David, the great ancestor both of Joseph and the Virgin, had protected the flocks of Nabal against the prowlers of the desert.

On quitting Beersheba, the caravan track entered what was termed by the Jews the *Outer Daroma*, and by the Greeks and Romans, *Idumæa Proper*. This region was inhabited by those Idumæans who had always remained to the south of Palestine, and had not intruded, like their brethren, into the territories of Judæa. This portion of the Idumæan people had never been reduced to the yoke of the Asmonean princes; they retained their old idolatrous worship, and spoke an older dialect of the Aramæan or Syrian, than that which was the then popular language

ⁱ The limits of the *Inner Daroma* were exactly co-equal with the territory usurped by the Idumæans. The term appears to have been invented under the second temple, though it is to be found in Ezekiel. The Jews, perhaps, in this case, according to a familiar custom of theirs, substituted in the sacred text, a modern term for one more ancient.

of the Jews. Their present territory was, however, only a small part of the ancient Edom. The rest was possessed by the Nabathæan Ishmaelites, whose present metropolis was Petra, the original capital of Edom. The little district of Idumæa Proper was, in the days of Herod, a province of the Roman empire, but the kingdom of the Nabathæans still remained independent under its proper princes; and its inhabitants were wealthy, industrious, and civilized, the most commercial people in Western Asia. At Petra law-courts were supported for the benefit of strangers only, who flocked to that singular and magnificent city. The Nabathæans were too wise to indulge in litigation among themselves, and too equitable to refuse this pleasure to such strangers as deemed law an indispensable luxury.

Chalutza (the ancient Kadesh, or Kadesh-Barnea of Moses)^j was the next stage after quitting Beersheba. This city was called by the Romans Elusa, and the memory of the worship, in this vicinity, of the planet Venus, or Alytta, on its appearance as the morning star (the *Heylal* of the Hebrews), is probably preserved in the name of *Jebel el-Heldl*, now given to a mountain to the south-west of this site. On quitting Chalutza, the route left the Outer Daroma and entered upon the great desert of Paran, passing (in the way to Arsinoe on the Red Sea) by Beer-lachai-roi and Bered, places celebrated in the patriarchal history.

The desert of Paran seems to have a peculiar association

^j As to the site of Kadesh, see *The Journal of Sac. Lit.* for April, 1860, p. 39. It is to be hoped of modern Biblical criticism that it will either have the candour to admit this identification, or that it will shew the learning to refute it.

With respect to the relative position of Kadesh and Gerar, an old error of one of the best of geographers, Reland (see his *Palest.*, p. 804, Utrecht Ed.), has been lately revived. This learned writer describes Gerar as being "inter Cadesh et Schur, Gen. xx. i."

Unfortunately he misunderstood the text in Genesis, in which *three* operations are described,—1. The journey of Abraham into the Negeb; 2. His residence between Kadesh and Shur, probably at Beer-lachai-roi; and 3. His return northwards to Gerar. We know from Eusebius that the city of Gerar cannot be placed more than twenty-five miles to the south of Eleutheropolis; now that Moses, in Gen. xx. 1, speaks of the *city* of Gerar, is evident from the whole of the context. It is clear that Abraham was residing near the court and palace of Abimelech. If Gerar were between Kadesh and Shur, Kadesh must have been either to the north or east of Gerar. If the former, the Israelites encamped at Kadesh would have been within the territory of the Philistines; if the latter they would have been in the kingdom of Edom, for Beersheba was one of the cities of Judah, which lay to the north of the border of Edom. In either cases the Israelites would have been encamped in an interdicted territory.

Another modern error respecting this region, is the identification of the site now called Sebâta with that of Tzephath, afterwards called Chormah. Sebâta could not possibly have been Tzephath; and there can be no question that the modern name is merely a corruption of Sebaste, or Augustopolis.

with the history of Christ. Here, for thirty-eight years Jehovah conducted the hosts of Israel after their deliverance from Egypt. No inferior minister, no angel of his presence, led the wandering nation during its forty years' pilgrimage. JEHOVAH himself, always present with them, had headed their marches in the visible shape of a cloud and pillar of fire alternately, had directed their encampments, favoured them constantly with miraculous assistance, and borne them, like a nursing father, through the horrors of the wilderness. Their lives were supported by a constant miracle; they fed upon manna (angels' food), their clothes and shoes waxed not old; they owed everything to the beneficent Deity who guided their steps, and whose patience they tried by fourteen rebellions, recorded by Moses, and probably by many others of which we have no record. It is true that there are modern divines, boasting great names among them (such, for instance, as Bishop Warburton),^{*} who absolutely refuse the testimony of Moses as to the constant presence and interference of the Divinity, and believe that God, having chosen Moses as a fitting instrument, left the whole of the affairs of the Jews, and the invention of their ritual and civil code, to the human wisdom of that great prophet. These opinions unfortunately (however far this might be from the intention of those who hold them), have a strong and inevitable tendency to infidelity. It seems impossible seriously to believe in the divine legation of Moses, and at the same time to deny that Moses can be received as a credible witness of the events he relates.

Shall we believe then (it may be asked) that God, for forty years, deserted the rest of the universe, and the myriad of worlds which it contains of apparently greater importance than the planet which we inhabit, in order to give his full and undivided attention to a particular planet, in a particular system, and to a particular nation in that planet; that nation being (as many

^{*} Warburton boldly asserts, as an indisputable proposition, that "God, in the moral government of the world, never does in an extraordinary way that which can be equally effected in an ordinary." *Evidenter sane, ut solent isti, nihil tam verens quam ne dubitare aliquid de re videretur, tanquam modo ex Deorum concilio descendisset.* The author of the *Dissertations on the Knowledge of a Promised Redeemer* (p. 9), supports the Bishop of Gloucester: "God assuredly never makes an extraordinary exertion of his power to effect that which may be brought about by the ordinary operation of human means." How the two bishops could have made this discovery without the aid of revelation, it is difficult to conceive; yet the testimony of revelation is directly opposed to the dogma they would establish. The orthodoxy and sincerity of Warburton were much doubted by his contemporaries; and we cannot forget that he commenced the *respectable part* of his literary life by defending the semi-atheistical philosophy of his future adversary Bolingbroke, as it was versified by Pope in the *Essay on Man*.

people would contend) the meanest, basest, most worthless, the most ungrateful, and the most rebellious, of all the races which have inhabited the earth? To believe Moses, it is not necessary that we should adopt this extreme opinion, involving in itself so obvious an absurdity. If we believe that a special emanation of the divine essence accompanied the Israelites in the course of their journeys (as Moses peremptorily asserts), this seems sufficient to satisfy the terms of the history which Moses has transmitted to us. But if this solution be objected to, there seems another mode of viewing the question, which to many persons may be more satisfactory, and which is certainly above all possibility of cavil. It will scarcely be disputed by any competent critic, that as in the *ЈЕHOVAH ELOHIM* of the Old Testament, we are generally to recognize *all* the three persons of the Trinity, so, in particular cases, this divine name is sometimes used to signify the Father, as distinct from the Son, and sometimes the Son, as distinct from the Father. Now, as no orthodox Christian will deny that the divinity, in the person of Jesus, continued in Palestine for thirty years and upwards to effect the great object of the redemption of mankind, so we might infer, by the most legitimate analogy, that it was the same person of the Trinity who, under the name of Jehovah, accompanied the Israelites for forty years in the desert, in order to prepare the way for the second dispensation which was to be finally introduced under his auspices. If we adopt this opinion, with what interest must we follow the journey of the infant Messiah to Egypt (a child in his mother's arms, and fleeing before the wrath of a petty king of Judæa, himself the slave of a Roman, one of the most profligate of mankind), through the same desert, in which, after destroying a Pharaoh and the armies of Egypt, he had conducted the hosts of Israel to the conquest of Canaan, as the terrible Jehovah!

Other reflections crowd upon us as we proceed. If the fugitives pursued (as is most probable) the route from Beersheba to Arsinoe, on arriving at the latter city they would enter into precisely the same track by which Moses had journeyed to Egypt, when he quitted the Midianite tents of Jethro, to confound the Pharaoh of that time in his city of Rameses. The equipage of the Holy Family bore a singular resemblance to that of the great lawgiver, when he commenced his ominous journey. Moses, on leaving his father-in-law, to cross the Desert of Paran, put his wife and children on an ass,¹ and accompanied them on

¹ A writer, whose Biblical labours are entitled to great respect, translates the text, *Exod. iv. 20*, in a manner different from that of our Authorized Version, "His wife and two sons were with him, riding upon asses" (*Kitto's History of*

foot, bearing perhaps his miraculous rod in his hand. There is something singularly sublime in the contrast between this apparent penury of worldly means, and the presence of that wonder-working rod, which was to confound the magicians of Pharaoh, —afflict the land of Egypt with intolerable plagues of the most humiliating description,—cleave the waters of the Red Sea, and compel them to leave a dry path between mountains of water,—and finally to overwhelm in their waves the greatest king of the age, and an imperial army.

With a not less total absence of worldly pomp, the Holy Family entered Egypt. When the skill of the artist is exercised to illustrate that part of the Biblical history, we almost invariably find Mary and her child represented upon the same humble beast of burden, on which Moses had placed Tzipporah and her sons; and there can be no doubt that the propriety of costume is, in this instance, perfectly preserved. A greater than Moses, even beyond expression, was included in the little party of Joseph; yet he was the true successor of Moses; and all the labours of Moses, all his laws, his miracles, his long and patient conflict with the rebellious race whom he conducted, his triumphs over the Amorite kings of Transjordan; all these were merely intended to prepare the way for the divine Child, who was now pursuing his way to the banks of the Nile, nestled in the lap of his mother. In the meditations of a pious mind, the two journeys to Egypt of Moses, and the Messiah, will be always inseparably connected. The length of intervening centuries disappears, and the law and the gospel seem blended together. When we compare the character of the lawgiver with the *human* character of the Messiah, how great is the similarity in many respects! how wide is the discrepancy in others! Both were the meekest of mankind; both severe judges, when stern necessity compelled;* both the teachers of Israel, and both the

Palestine, 161). The words of Moses are מִצְרַיִם; and Dr. Kitto possibly imagined that the use of the definite article justified him in assuming, that the noun was to be used collectively, and therefore might be translated in a plural sense. In this opinion it would be difficult to agree; the collective noun indicates something more than the mere plural number; and there is no necessity for attributing a plural tense to מִצְרַיִם. The two sons of Tzipporah were evidently infants (Exod. iv. 25), and an Arabian ass would easily have carried the small family of Moses. We are too confident of Dr. Kitto's good sense to suppose him to have imagined that the dignity of the subject required a *plurality* of asses. On the contrary, nothing can be more truly sublime than the apparent poverty with which the journey of Moses was commenced, compared to the magnificence of its ultimate results.

* That Moses could be severe, when the occasion required, no one will question. If he had been otherwise, it would have been impossible that he could have checked the rebellious spirit of the nation which he conducted. To produce an

workers of the most astonishing miracles. On the other hand, how wide seems the contrast between the aged man, and the innocent babe; the propounder of the sternest of religions, and the teacher of the mildest; the lawgiver, and him by whose mission the law was abrogated; the man of the peculiar people, and him whose words were addressed to all mankind; the offerer of myriads of sin-offerings, and him who offered himself as the last and final sacrifice for sin!

SECTION II.—*The Residence in Egypt.*

We will suppose the Holy Family to be now within the boundaries of Egypt; and it may be proper to take a rapid view of what Egypt was at the time of the flight. The land of Mitzrayim, as the Hebrews termed it, had lost much of that unity of character which had rendered it a world apart under the Pharaohs. Under its native princes it had been solemn and exclusive; but the Persians had trampled under foot its arrogant pretensions and grovelling superstitions; and the Macedonians had made it the centre of a vast commerce, which the native Egyptians had always restricted, and had introduced the language, arts, literature, and beautiful architecture of Greece, amidst the bizarre sciences and gigantic constructions of their former masters in philosophy and the mathematics.

Amongst the other innovations of the last age of the native Egyptian dynasties, a colony of Jews had established themselves in Lower Egypt, in the time of the prophet Jeremiah; and a new temple had been built by them at Heliopolis, in violation of one of the fundamental precepts of the Mosaic law.

The Jewish population had been vastly increased in the time of Alexander the Great and the Ptolemies; and a complete colony of Jews had been settled in Alexandria. A translation of the Old Testament into Greek had been made for the use of the Jews in Egypt, several learned Judæans having, at different periods, undertaken separate portions of the Scriptures; by which means, in the lapse of time, a complete version had been made, the separate parts of which were, of course, of various degrees of merit. A city like Alexandria (long the seat of the Muses) softened even the barbarous spirit of the Jews of the second temple; and several of the Jewish denizens of that city devoted themselves to the study of philosophy, and perverted the pure spirit of the Mosaic religion, by mixing it up with the reveries of the later Platonists. Upon the whole, the Jews had

instance of severity on the part of our Lord may seem a more difficult task. Yet the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, where the guilty parties were the whole sect of the Pharisees, may be cited as an instance sufficiently in point.

become an important part of the population of Egypt, and were not the least turbulent portion of that singular congeries of races.

It was scarcely five and twenty years before the entry of the Holy Family into Egypt, that the dynasty of the Ptolemies had terminated with Cleopatra, and Egypt had been converted into a Roman province. This was one of the first acts of the reign of Augustus; and since that time, this country had been governed by Roman prefects, under singular circumstances, and with peculiar restrictions. Egypt was the most important, perhaps, of all the Roman provinces; but for that very reason, the jealousy of the tyrant had decided, as a fixed rule of policy, that it should only be governed by men of inferior rank and reputation. A Roman of high connexions, and superior talents, might in so wealthy a province as Egypt have made himself independent, and used that independence as a step to the empire. The very intercourse between Egypt and Rome was deemed a fit object of suspicion. The noble Egyptians were not permitted to visit Rome; nor could the higher order of Romans enter Egypt without permission of the emperor. The prefects were subjected to a jealous supervision: their conduct was strictly watched: they were frequently changed. Every precaution was taken to preserve so important a province from the arts of seditious or rebellious subjects. The Romans principally knew Egypt, as forming with the fertile province of Mauritania, the granary of the sovereign city. Those who were permitted to visit it, examined it with mysterious awe, viewed its gigantic edifices with astonishment, inscribed their names at the base of the vocal statue of Memnon, and gazed on the rites of its mysterious religion with the supercilious curiosity which befitted the pupils of the atheistic school of Lucretius; for atheism had long been the fashionable philosophy of Rome. Augustus and his successors, however, from motives of policy, protected the old idolatry of Mitzrayim, and erected new temples to the deities of that perplexed polytheism, which it may be questioned if the priests themselves perfectly understood.

In other respects, Egypt was fast declining in population and wealth; for the iron rule of Rome was infinitely less favourable to its prosperity than the enlightened tyranny of the Pharaohs, or the capricious despotism of the Ptolemies, often modified, as it had been, by the liberal views of a commercial policy. The population was now as motley as could well be imagined; Egyptians, Greeks, Jews, Nubians, Arabs, Romans, all mingled together in the valley of the Nile, in the towns and plains of the Delta, and above all in the wonderful city of Alexandria.

Such was the Egypt, which was visited by Joseph and his wife; in most respects different from that Egypt, which had been bounteous to Abraham, over which his great grandson Joseph had exercised almost imperial sway; which had received with hospitality Jacob and his family, which had severely oppressed their descendants, and which had quailed in abject terror before the miraculous rod of Moses. The number of Jews in Egypt, almost amounting to a nation, and totally independent of Judæa, made it a very convenient place of refuge for the Jewish fugitives from Herod; and, in a population so varied and motley as that which now swarmed in Egypt, it was peculiarly easy to avoid pursuit and detection. In what part of Egypt the Holy Family resided, the Evangelist gives us no information; all we know is, that in some part of this province Joseph settled till the death of Herod, and, as we may reasonably conjecture, pursued his occupation of a carpenter to obtain a livelihood. Legendary tradition points to the neighbourhood of Heliopolis as the place distinguished by the residence of an immortal visitor. Close to the ruins of On, or Heliopolis, and about five or six miles to the north of Cairo, stands the modern village of Matareah. Here, at the time when that conceited and eccentric traveller, Pietro della Valle, visited Egypt, was shewn the house in which, as it was asserted, the fugitive Judæans had resided; and in a citron grove near the village and on the road to Cairo, still stands a sycamore of venerable antiquity, under which the traveller is told that the Virgin was accustomed to repose with the infant Jesus in her arms. It is still called *the tree of the Madonna*. Close by is the Fountain of the Sun. We may admit, that no place in Egypt is more likely to have been selected by Joseph as a residence, than the convenient and agreeable vicinity of Heliopolis, which, at the time of the flight, was regarded by the Jews as the place allotted by Pharaoh, for the first settlement of Jacob and his family.

CHAPTER IV.

SECTION I.—*Changes in Palestine.*

We must quit the Holy Family for a time, to examine the changes which had taken place in Palestine during their absence. The slaughter of the Innocents was soon followed by a domestic tragedy in the house of Herod. His son Antipater, anxious to succeed to his father's kingdom, and fearing his capricious disposition, had combined with Pheroras, the brother of Herod, then bitterly incensed against him, to poison the king. The plot was discovered, and Antipater arrested and tried before Quin-

tilius Varus, the new governor of Syria, who had just succeeded to Sentius Saturninus. The guilt of Antipater being proved, he was condemned to death; and this sentence, being confirmed by Augustus, was accordingly carried into execution. Five days afterwards, Herod himself died in the seventieth year of his age. If we are to believe Josephus, he expired after lingering tortures of the most horrible description; and the only thing which can throw suspicion upon this statement is, that Josephus speaks of it as the ordinary death of most of the great persecutors of the chosen people. It needed no great discernment to assure the suspicious king that his death would be a subject of general rejoicing among the Jews. His dark spirit, as Josephus informs us, contrived an atrocious scheme for converting the general joy into mourning. He sent for the chief persons among the Jews, to Jericho, where he was lying on his death-bed; and, ordering them to be confined in the circus of that city, directed his sister Salome, and Alexas her husband, to have them all put to death by a general massacre, immediately after his own decease. This story also is exceedingly suspicious; for Herod might reasonably have conjectured that Salome and her husband would have been afraid of exciting the anger of Augustus, by so horrible and unprovoked a massacre. The complaint of the whole Jewish people, for so detestable a crime, would have been carried to Rome; and the whole family of Herod would probably have been involved in the crime of their father, and have been, by it, excluded from the succession. If, regardless of all consequences, the tyrant had contemplated so execrable a massacre, he would assuredly have caused it to be executed when he felt the approach of his own death, as he might be assured that Salome and Alexas would never place their own safety in jeopardy, to execute the vengeance of a dead man. He himself might have given the orders with safety; death would soon have placed him beyond the reach of all resentment; and it might then have been regarded as the act of a man, whom extreme sickness had rendered irresponsible, by depriving him of all ordinary judgment. The mere circumstance, however, that Herod could be suspected of having given an order so barbarous, shews the general estimation of his character; and the cruelty with which he initiated his reign by the murder of the whole Sanhedrin, with the exception of two individuals, on his conquest of Jerusalem, leaves no doubt that this detestable tyrant was precisely the person who would have commanded the slaughter of the children of Bethlehem, to put an end to the rumours of an expected Messiah.

After the death of Herod, his dominions were divided,

according to his will, confirmed by an edict of Augustus, among three of his sons. To Archelaus was given Judæa, Idumæa proper, and Samaria; to Herod Antipas, Galilee and the Peræa; and to Philip the Auranitis, Trachonitis, Paneas, and Batanæa.

SECTION II.—*Return of the Holy Family.*

While the last days of Herod were spent in horror and confusion; and the murders of his wife Mariamne and her children were agitating the mind of the expiring tyrant, (if indeed it were capable of remorse), and the judicial execution of Antipater was embittering his last moments, the Holy Family, safe in obscurity, was enjoying a peaceful repose on the banks of the Nile, and though, even in worldly estimation, of a descent more illustrious than either Herod or Augustus, lived in peace from the labours of Joseph, apparently one of the most insignificant of all the Jewish families in Egypt. But heaven, which watched over their safety, was now about to recal them to fulfil their destinies. After the death of Herod, the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, and, informing him of the death of those who sought the young child's life, commanded him to return with his family to the land of Israel. They accordingly quitted Egypt to return to Palestine. In this the Evangelist Matthew sees the fulfilment of a passage in the prophecies of Hosea (chap. xi. v. 1),—"Out of Egypt have I called my son Israel." To this it might be objected, that the words of Hosea were historical, not prophetic; that they referred to the past, not the future, and that there were no grounds for treating a mere reference to the deliverance of the children of Israel from Egypt in the time of Moses, as a prophecy of the journey of the infant Saviour from Egypt in the days of Archelaus. The truth may be that the Jews of that latter age, misinterpreting the words of Hosea, had imagined a prophecy where none was intended; and that the apostle merely proposed to shew them, that even the gloss given to this text by their Rabbins had been literally fulfilled. The first idea of Joseph was to return to Judæa; and this confirms the opinion that the Holy Family had been settled at Bethlehem with the intention of remaining there, when the contemplated persecution of Herod drove them to Egypt. But when Joseph learnt that Archelaus had succeeded his father Herod in Judæa, he was afraid to return to the city of David, imagining probably that, of all the sons of Herod, Archelaus was the most imbued with the ferocious spirit of his father,—a belief which the subsequent complaints against this prince appear sufficiently to verify.

While he remained in doubt what course to pursue, he was again instructed by an angelic vision. The first mandate had been to return generally to the land of Israel, which included Judæa, Samaria, Galilee and the Peræa. He was now specifically directed to "turn aside," and betake himself to Galilee. The heavenly mandate, in this case, happily concurring with the fears which his own prudence had suggested, Joseph decided on returning to Nazareth;—in this case, fulfilling the words of some unknown prophet (supposed to have been current among the Jews) in which, speaking of the Messiah, it was said, "He shall be called a Nazarene."^a

SECTION II.—*History of Palestine continued to the fifteenth year of Tiberius.*

To make the ensuing part of the history of Christ more clear and intelligible, it will be proper here to take a brief view of the various revolutions, civil and ecclesiastical, which occurred in Palestine between the return of the Holy Family to Galilee, and the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, when John entering upon his mission, commenced his baptism on the banks of the Jordan.

I. Over the Roman empire Augustus was still master, having reached the twenty-ninth year of his reign at the time of Joseph's return to Nazareth. The cool and crafty tyrant was by no means favourably disposed to the Jews. He disliked their exclusive religion and singular institutions, and praised his grandson Caius Cæsar (the son of his daughter Julia) for his contemptuous refusal to offer sacrifices in the temple of Jerusalem, as he passed from Egypt through Judæa, on his way to reduce the rebellious Armenians. In the fourth year of the vulgar era, Augustus adopted Tiberius, the son of his wife Livia by her former husband Drusus, thus opening the way to his succession

^a There is another, but not very logical, mode of explaining this passage. It is contended that though the *words* of this prophecy cannot be found in the existing prophetic writings, yet the *sense* may be traced in them. *The Nazarenes were the most despised among the Jews; and there are many passages among the prophecies intimating that our Saviour should be despised during his human mission.* To this solution there are two objections:—1. It would be impossible to prove that the Nazarenes were *despised*, it is more likely that they were *feared*, for they were certainly a lawless and violent community; but who will say that there are any prophecies representing the Messiah as lawless and violent? 2. If they had really been contemptible, to say that the Messiah should be *despised*, was not equivalent to saying that he should be called a *Nazarene*. If such a loose mode of interpretation were admitted, the completion of any prophecy whatever might be established, and the mischiefs which such a system would introduce, would be incalculable. It would be just as rational to say, "Dr. Macknight made a journey to Palestine: Nazareth is in Palestine; therefore he made a journey to Nazareth." Who would not scout such logic as this?

to the empire. Eight years afterwards, he associated him with himself in the empire, and two years later, left him, by his death, the sole sovereign of the Roman world. Thus there are two dates from which the years of Tiberius are reckoned,—the year 12 of the vulgar era, when he was associated with his step-father, —and the year 14, when he became, by the death of the latter, sole emperor of Rome. When this event occurred, Christ was in about his nineteenth year.

II. Though Palestine had been a separate and tributary kingdom in the reign of Herod, it was still, in some respects, subject to the jurisdiction and control of the prefects of Syria. They were expected to exercise over it a wholesome supervision ; and subsequent events, after the death of Herod, soon rendered the dependence more complete. Antioch, the capital of Syria, was the ordinary residence of these prefects ; and the splendour and luxury of this city, the delicious climate of Syria, and the wealth of the province, made it a considerable object of Roman ambition. The prefect of Syria, at the birth of Christ, was Sentius Saturninus, who in the next year, the fourth before the vulgar era, was succeeded by Quintilius Varus.

In the year 8 of the era, Varus was succeeded by Publius Sulpitius Quirinius, whom Strabo calls *Κυρήνιος*, and St. Luke *Κυρήνιος* ; though the proper way of writing the name in Greek is evidently *Κουϊρήνιος*.

III. In Southern Palestine (Samaria, Judæa and Idumæa) Archelaus remained Ethnarch (for the title of king was refused him) till the eighth year of the era ; but his reign was so tyrannical and odious to his subjects, that the Jews and Samaritans forgot their dissensions in their common hatred of the oppressor, and sent envoys to Augustus, to make known to him the mal-administration of his deputy. Archelaus was then sent for to Rome ; and the allegations of his subjects having been proved to the satisfaction of Augustus, the emperor gladly seized the occasion for dethroning the tyrant, and reducing his territories to the condition of a province. Archelaus was banished to Vienna in Gaul ; and orders were sent to Quirinius, then prefect of Syria, to seize on Samaria, Judæa and Idumæa, and to arrange their government into the ordinary form of a Roman province, subject to Syria. The taxes, which had hitherto been paid to Archelaus, were now paid to Augustus ; and this change was in the highest degree disagreeable to the Jews ; for the Mosaic law had directed that they were “not to set a stranger, which was not one of their brethren, to be king over them” (Deut. xvii. 16). Now to pay taxes to a stranger, was to acknowledge him as their king. With respect to Herod, they

seem to have, in some degree, quieted their scruples of conscience by forging for him an imaginary genealogy, deriving his descent from a Jewish stock; but, in the case of Augustus, this delusion was impossible; and they were now reduced to the odious condition of being compelled to violate the law at the very time when (as explained, or rather deformed, by the traditions) they held it in a reverence unknown to their ancestors. Indignant at this disgrace, they made the publicans (or collectors of taxes) responsible for their own shame:—they held them up to general odium and detestation, as belonging to the class of “sinners,” with whom, according to the notions of the Pharisees (themselves the greatest of sinners), it was not lawful to hold any voluntary communication. There can be no doubt that the Publicans, by their extortions, afforded some pretext for the hatred in which they were held; but when the doctrines of Christ were preached among them, they shewed that, whether they were justly or unjustly accused, they were in moral feeling superior to the Pharisees.

IV. The immediate government of Judæa, subject, as before, to the superintendence of the prefects of Syria, was committed to officers named imperial procurators, who made the city of Cæsarea the seat of their government. The first of these procurators was Coponius who was appointed in the 8th year of the æra, and was succeeded by Marcus Ambivius in the year 10. The latter was succeeded, in the year 13, by Annius Rufus. For Rufus was substituted, in the year 16, Valerius Gratus; and to Gratus succeeded, in the year 26, the celebrated name of Pontius Pilatus, or, as we usually term him, Pontius Pilate.

V. Under the Roman governors, the dignity of high priest reached its lowest pitch of degradation. They became the puppets of the prefects of Syria, and the procurators of Judæa; and the title of religious chief of the Jews seems (like the empire itself, in the days of Didius Julianus) to have been set up to auction for the highest bidder.

Joazar, who was high priest in the year of the birth of Christ, was deposed by Archelaus, in the year 1 of the æra, and his brother Eleazar was substituted in his place. In the year 6, Jesus the son of Siah succeeded Eleazar; and in the year 7 Joazar was restored. This high priest was a second time deposed in the year 8, by the prefect Quirinius, and Annas, the son of Seth, was appointed to succeed him. This was perhaps a prudent political change, as the increased civil degradation of the Jews might require a class of more subservient high priests.

But, during the four last years of the procuratorship of Valerius Gratus, the changes in the high priesthood became

annual occurrences. This profligate officer, in the year 23, appointed Ismael, the son of Fabus, in the place of Annas; in the next year, Eleazar, the son of Annas, in the place of Ismael; in the year following, Simon, the son of Camith, in the place of Eleazar; and, in the subsequent year, Joseph surnamed Caiphas (the son-in-law of Annas) in the place of Simon.

VI. In the meantime, the government of Galilee and the Peræa, and that of Ituræa and Trachonitis, remained unchanged. Herod Antipas still remained tetrarch of the former province; and his brother Philip of the latter. It was, of course, to the government of Herod Antipas, that Joseph and his family became subject on their return to Nazareth. Under this prince, the city of Sepphoris, called by the Romans Diocæsarea, became the capital of Galilee. Here he held his court; and here occurred one of the most important of those events which are recorded in the Evangelic history, the death of John the Baptist.

SECTION IV. *History of Christ continued to the fifteenth year of Tiberius.*

I. On the return of Joseph and his wife to Galilee, the infant Messiah passed as the legitimate son of Joseph. The supernatural circumstances attending his birth were carefully concealed both by Mary and her husband; and Jesus was educated in his early childhood, in the same manner as the other children of Nazareth of his own apparent station in life.

II. The well-meaning, but perhaps mistaken, piety of some whole sects of Christians, and of a large portion even of the critics and commentators of the Reformed Church, has induced them to contend, that Jesus was the *only* child of Mary; and that, notwithstanding her marriage, she remained till her death *ἀεὶ παρθένος*. With this opinion, the terms used by the Evangelists will scarcely be found to concur. Matthew tells us expressly that Joseph knew not his wife *until* she had brought forth her *first-born* son (chap. i. 25); and St. Luke calls Jesus the *first-born* son of Mary. From this it seems a necessary inference, that the ordinary marital intercourse took place *after* the birth of our Saviour; and, as Jesus was the *first-born* son of Mary, it seems evident that she must have had other sons.* Both

* The divines who believe in the perpetual virginity of Mary, have their own explanations of this passage. That given by Glassius may suffice as a specimen. "Matt. i. 25: *Sed non cognovit eam, quousque peperisset τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον, filium illum suum primogenitum.* Articuli emphatici vis h. l. est ἀναφορικῇ, non διακριτικῇ; id est, de eo agi filio significat, cujus antè facta est ab angelo mentio: non autem, ut filius hic ab aliis Mariæ filiis distinguatur (ut Helvidius olim SOMNIAVIT) quos nullos fuisse PIE credimus. De Mariâ enim virgine, ut selectissimo organo, sanctissime sentiendum." (*Philolog. Sac.*, t. ii., p. 168.) Yet

St. Matthew (xiii. 55) and St. Mark (vi. 3) speak of the "brothers and sisters" of Jesus. The names of his four brothers are particularly mentioned. According to the proper Hebrew pronunciation, they were Ya'akôb (Jacob, or James), Yôsêh (Josès), Shim'ôn (Simon), and Yehûdah (Judas); and the way in which the mention of them is introduced, seems to prove satisfactorily that they were the uterine brothers of Jesus, and not his cousins, as many writers, even Protestants, assert. When the people of Nazareth refused him the title of a prophet, they alleged, as a reason, his humble birth and occupation: they pretended that any claims to a divine origin were ridiculous, in a person who was the son of a carpenter, and who had himself practised the same mechanic art, and with whose family, viz., his father Joseph, his mother Mary, and his *brothers and sisters*, they were perfectly acquainted. Here the words "brothers and sisters" seem evidently used to express, like those of "father and mother" the nearest grade of relationship. The argument of the Nazarenes was evidently this: "Thy brothers and sisters make no pretension to be the children of the Divinity, how then canst thou be the Son of God?"

It is true that "Mary, the mother of Jesus," had a sister also called Mary, who seems to have had two sons of the same names, (James and Josès) as two of the brothers of Christ. (John xix. 25; Mark xv. 40; xvi. 1; Luke xxiv. 10). But it is well known that the Jews of the time of Christ were tenacious in preserving family names (Luke i. 59—61); and as two sisters, in the case of the wives of Joseph and Cleophas, were called by the same names, it was naturally to be expected that their children would preserve the favourite names of the family. The argument, therefore, which from the similarity of names, would assume that James and Josès, called (Mark vi. 3), the brethren of Christ, were in reality his cousins, and were the children of Cleophas, seems to have no weight whatever, when compared with the positive words of St. Matthew and St. Luke, terming Jesus the *first-born* of Mary, and the inference to be deduced from the words of St. Matthew, that Joseph knew not of his wife, *until* she had brought forth her *first-born* son.

Considering the vast importance which the Jews of all classes attached to the perpetuation of their families; and how heaven itself had interfered in some distinguished instances, to remove the affliction of being childless from persons of eminent virtue

the oracle of Saxe-Gotha was a steady opponent of the Mariolatry of the Roman Catholics, and composed a disputation to confute some of the more extravagant of their divines. He has a reasonable quantity of abuse, however, for those who chose to diverge still further from Mariolatry than himself.

and piety; it would seem a harsh return for the noble humanity and delicacy of Joseph's conduct, who, while believing his espoused to be unchaste, yet was anxious to save her from shame, that he, the lineal descendant of David, and married to a woman of birth equally illustrious,^p should be deprived of all hopes of being blessed with issue, and should see his family limited to a child by adoption. Nor can it, rationally speaking, be deemed the slightest imputation on the spotless purity of the mother of Jesus, that she, who previous to her marriage, had shone pre-eminent among the virgins of Israel, should, when married to a man of the noblest virtue and most eminent piety, occupy a rank equally illustrious among the matrons of her country.

With respect to our Saviour himself, it also seems in strict analogy with all we know of his human history, that the opportunity should have been afforded him of being tried in all the relations of domestic life; and that, as he was incomparable in the performance of all the duties of a son to his mother, and of an adopted son to her husband, he should also experience the kindred ties and duties of a brother, and be submitted to the fiery trial of family dissension. We learn from the Evangelists that his brothers did not believe in his mission, at least, till after his death;^q and it even appears, that when he began to teach the people at Capernaum, they declared he was *beside himself*, and went out to lay hands on him.^r Even his mother seems to have been moved by their representations, and to have accompanied them, a circumstance which brought upon her a remarkable rebuke. When our Lord was told that his *mother and brothers*, (let the strict manner in which these words are

^p We assume that Mary was descended from David; because we think that without this, the language of Scripture would receive no *adequate* completion. Le Clerc attempted, in a most ingenious manner, to reconcile the two genealogies; and his solution of the difficulty has been adopted, with an important variation, in a vigorous article in the last October number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*. From the views of this writer, however, as well as from the whole theory upon which they are founded, we are compelled to dissent.

^q Compare John vii. 3—5, with Acts i. 14. After the death of Jesus, the incredulity of his brothers appears to have ceased. They were probably convinced by the evidence of his resurrection. It is observable, that wherever they are mentioned in connexion with Jesus, they are invariably termed his *brothers*. If they had been merely *cousins*, no language would have expressed that relation more accurately than the Greek.

^r The words *οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ*, in Mark iii. 21, are translated in our national version, "*his friends*;" in the German translation of Luther "*die um ihn waren*:" and by Alt. (*Gram. Lingue Græcæ, qua N. T. Scriptores uti sunt*. p. 196); "*adseclæ*." It appears to us, that the correct interpretation, is, "*those of, or from, his house*," i. e. his household, or family. It seems clear that our Saviour had a house at Capher Nachum, (or Capernaum) in which he resided with his mother and the rest of his family.

The whole passage in the third chapter of Mark, from the middle of the

joined, he observed) were seeking him without; he exclaimed in bitterness of grief at their error, "Who are my mother or my brothers? Whoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and my sister, and my mother."

We may be justified in believing, that without this trial, all the rest would have been imperfect; and that the bitterest taunts and persecutions of his great enemies and final murderers (the execrable sect of the heretical Pharisees), fell perfectly harmless and unbarbed, compared to the grief of finding that *that* mother, who had suffered so much at his birth, and who had pondered so carefully in her heart all the presages of his future greatness, should be led finally to doubt of his mission, and *that* by the representations of his own brothers. It was no doubt to secure her from that pernicious influence, that when dying upon the Cross, he commended her to the care of the most beloved of his disciples. Upon the whole, we appear entitled to conclude, that the reserve of Joseph with respect to his wife, continued only till the birth of her first-born, and the period of her purification; and that after that time they lived together, in the ordinary manner as husband and wife, and that several children were the fruit of their intercourse. In picturing, therefore, to ourselves the infancy and youth of Jesus, we must complete the canvass by adding around him a numerous family of uterine relations.

nineteenth verse to the conclusion of the chapter, must be taken together. The celebrity of the teaching and miracles of Jesus had attracted a deputation of the scribes from Jerusalem to examine into his doctrines. (Mark iii. 22).

While these bigots were at Capernaum, Jesus entered a house in the city, to which he was invited to sup, or, in Hebrew phrase, to "*eat bread*" (ib. 19). He had no sooner entered, than a demoniac was brought to him, whom our Lord healed (Matt. xii. 22). The multitude immediately crowded into the house, in such numbers that they could not sit down to their repast (Mark iii. 20). Amazed at the cure, they proclaimed Jesus to be the expected Messiah, the son of David (Matt. xii. 23). The scribes and Pharisees hearing of the miracle, hastened to the house, where the demoniac had been cured, loudly clamouring that Jesus was an agent of Beelzebub, and cast out devils by the aid of their prince. In the meantime, the brothers of Jesus, alarmed at the disturbance, and apprehensive for his safety, went out to compel him to return home and persuaded Mary to accompany them. To disarm the implacable venom of those "*Children of Hell*," as our Lord termed the scribes and Pharisees, they exclaimed that Jesus was *beside himself* (Mark iii. 21). The Pharisees being before them, had already entered the house, and were holding a disputation with our Saviour. (Matt. xii. 24—45; Mark iii. 22—30). The crowd was now so great, that the relations of Jesus were unable to enter, and stood without, calling him. He was told by some one present, "Thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to speak with thee;" and then it was, that, to reprove their want of faith, he stretched forth his hand to his disciples, and said, "Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of my father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and my sister, and mother" (Matt. xii. 46—50; Mark iii. 31—35; Luke viii. 19—20).

III. Of the course of his education we have no information, and are left to conjecture. When he attended for the last time, the Feast of Tabernacles, the Jews, astonished at the profound knowledge of the Scriptures displayed in his teaching, enquired of each other, "How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?" (John vii. 15). From this we may infer that Joseph, his father, was a man of no learning; or the natural presumption would have been, that he had himself taught his son. Jesus replied to the interrogations of the Jews, that his doctrine was not his own, but that of God, who sent him; but this does not necessarily lead us to infer, that he might not have received by means merely human, the best education which Judæa could then afford to its children.

His divine birth and lofty destination, were perfectly well known to his kinsfolk, Zachariah the priest, and his wife Elizabeth; and Zachariah, a man "righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the law blameless," might have deemed it his duty to assist in performing the will of the Lord, with respect to the destination of the Messiah. As a priest, learned in the Scriptures, well acquainted with the law, the prophets, and the traditions, Zachariah was precisely the person most qualified to superintend the education of Jesus. The divine infant probably, therefore, spent a part of his youth in Judæa, with his aged kinsfolk and their son, the future Elijah of the Gospel; and this might be one reason of the apparent estrangement between himself and his brothers. If, however, any one prefers to believe that all the human learning of Jesus was derived from inspiration, there seems no impropriety in this more summary mode of solution. The former opinion may appear more analogical; but the question, after all, is one rather of interest, than of theological importance.

IV. The first remarkable evidence of the superiority of the youthful Messiah, occurred in the twelfth year of his age, at the feast of the Passover in Jerusalem. According to the strict letter of the Mosaic Law, all the males of Israel were to attend three times every year at the place where Jehovah should set his name. This was originally at Shiloh, and afterwards at *Nob*. (1 Sam. xxi. 1, 4), which we should identify with *the High-place of Gibeon*. (2 Chron. i. 2), and with the modern site of *Nebi Samuil*.^{*} It was finally removed to Jerusalem after the

^{*} After the death of Eli, the chief superintendence of the *ritual*, as well as the administration of the *civil* code, seems to have fallen upon Samuel. That prophet resided at Ramah, in the tribe of Benjamin; and, finding the distance to Shiloh inconvenient, he appears to have caused the sanctuary to be removed into his own immediate neighbourhood. For that purpose, he selected Nob, or Nobah, a mountain immediately to the south of Gibeon; and which derived its

building of the temple by Solomon. Here then from the time of Solomon was the gathering place of the nation at its great festivals: the appointed times were the feasts of the Passover, of Pentecost, and of Tabernacles.

But the strict observance of this law appears to have been relaxed in the time of the second temple; and a large part of the population of Jewish Palestine probably only attended at the great feast,—that of the Passover. This is peculiarly likely to have been the case with the inhabitants of Galilee, who were separated from Judæa by the hated territory of Samaria. But at the feast of the Passover, the influx of Galileans to Jerusalem was exceedingly great. The Tetrarch, Herod Antipas, could not himself, without giving offence, avoid complying with this ceremony;—and this prince, attended by his court and guards, would probably head the great caravan of his subjects, which passed through Samaria, in a sort of triumphal procession, to Jerusalem. It would be necessary that the greater part should carry their provisions with them; so that with the long train of horsemen, footmen, carriages, and beasts of burden, the journey of the Galileans to attend the Passover, would probably have formed a procession not less large, and much more brilliant, than that which yearly quits Cairo and Damascus to perform the Haj journey to Mecca. Some smaller parties might separate themselves from the great cavalcade, as appears to have been the case, in after years, with Jesus and his disciples, but the multitude, even of the poorer classes, would join it for the sake of safety, and to avoid the danger of a solitary passage through the inimical Samaria.

name from the obsolete root נָבָא (of the same meaning as the Arabic root نَبَا *eminuit*, elatus est). From this root is formed the Hebrew נָבִי *locus altus*, the proper name of a mountain on the east of Jordan. *Nob*, therefore, signifies properly “a high place,” and it was called the *High place of Gibeon* the adjoining city. It derives its modern name *Nebi Samuil* from the Prophet Samuel, in consequence probably of a tradition that the sanctuary was removed by him to this place. Gibeon was one of the cities which were allotted by Joshua to the priests; but as this city belonged to the Hivite slaves of the sanctuary (see *Journ. Sac. Lit.*, No. XX., p. 276), the priests seem to have formed a little city on the high-place, which received the name of *Nob*, from the mountain on which it stood. Here the high-priest Ahimelech incurred the vengeance of Saul; for which he was afterwards put to death with all the priests of the city. 1 Sam. xxi. xxii. The sanctuary remained on the High-place of Gibeon, till the reign of Solomon. 2 Chron. i. 3. The situation of *Nebi Samuil* exactly agrees with the mention made of *Nob*, by the prophet Isaiah, x. 32. The prophet is describing the march of the Assyrian army through the tribe of Benjamin. They pass by Ramah and Gibeon of Saul: and arrive at *Nob*. “As yet shall he remain at *Nob* that day: he shall *shake his hand against* the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem.” *Nebi Samuil* is exactly the spot, from which the Assyrian king may be supposed to have shaken his hand against Jerusalem.

We are informed that Joseph went up to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the Passover; from which we may infer that this was the only one of the three great feasts which he attended. On these occasions he was accompanied by his wife, and probably most frequently by the infant Jesus. When the Messiah was twelve years of age, they went up as usual to attend the Passover, accompanied by their kinsfolk and acquaintance, forming a portion probably of the great procession. The sacrifices were duly offered, the rites completed, the days of the festival concluded; and Joseph and his wife quitted Jerusalem, and proceeded a day's journey on their return to Galilee. The infant Jesus was not with them, but they felt no uneasiness on this account, supposing him to be among their kinsfolk and acquaintance in some distant part of the long cavalcade.

When the caravan rested at evening, they sought for the child, but not finding him anywhere, they returned the same night, or the following morning, to Jerusalem, in great anxiety for their loss. Three days they diligently sought for him in every part of the city without success. At length they discovered him in the temple, in what was termed the Court of Israel. Here the doctors of the traditional law were accustomed to frequent, and here they might be seen seated on the benches which surrounded the side next the wall of the portico of the court. Here they passed the day in disputations, delivering their oracles, and citing in support of their opinions the authority of those arch-imposters, the doctors of a former age,—the venerated fathers of the traditions. It may easily be supposed how great was the reverence with which they were listened to by such of the Jews as belonged to the great schismatic sect of the Pharisees.

Among these doctors the child Jesus was found seated, listening eagerly to their explanations of the law, and asking them questions far above the capacity of a child; and which, being grounded on a purer spirit than that of the traditions, possibly puzzled the gravest of the rabbins, as a brilliant light shining in the midst of dense darkness sometimes only renders the darkness more perplexing.

A crowd was gathered round, more astonished at the wisdom and sagacity of the child than at the learning of the traditional doctors. When Joseph and Mary beheld the manner in which their child was employed, they were (as St. Luke informs us), "amazed;" from which we may infer that they had themselves no share in the inculcation of that extraordinary knowledge beyond his years, which the child exhibited. Mary was the first to address him, and the mildness of her expostulation, under circumstances which might apparently have justified some

anger, marks the gracious temper and disposition of the most distinguished and favoured of the daughters of Adam. "Son," said the matron of Israel, "why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold! thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing."

Now (for the first time probably), Jesus repudiated the right of Joseph to the title of his *father*. "How is this that ye have sought me?" said the divine child. "Know ye not that I must be about my Father's business?"

The quiet infancy of Jesus had passed with so little remark from Joseph and Mary of anything evidencing a superior capacity to the ordinary children of his age, and so accustomed were they to hear and see him style and treat Joseph as his father, that his divine origin, and the higher destinies which awaited him, though sufficiently treasured in their more reflective memories, had vanished from their immediate recollection;—so that St. Luke informs us, "They understood not the saying which he spake unto them." To Joseph his own sons and daughters naturally appeared to have a nearer interest than his child by adoption: we are told of no especial notice which he took of the early promise of the Saviour; but St. Luke informs us that Mary his mother, "kept all these sayings in her heart."

V. He returned with them to Nazareth; and in all respects continued to pay them the duteous attention of a son. The language used by the Nazarenes (Mark vi. 3) informs us that he was taught by Joseph the mechanical art of a carpenter, and that he actively assisted his step-father in his occupation. An admirable lesson this to those worldly minds, which paying a sort of idolatrous veneration to the petty trivialities of human rank and dignities, forget how insignificant these atomic considerations are in the scale of eternity, and how contemptible they must appear to those intelligences which guide at will the countless worlds of the illimitable universe.

From this time forward, we are told that Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man. It is clear, therefore, that even among the rude inhabitants of Nazareth, the "son of Joseph the carpenter," as they called him, acquired an early reputation, and that they all looked up to him as of extraordinary promise. But, while they admitted his admirable character, and regarded him with respect, they were the last persons who ever dreamt of his assuming the rank of a prophet. They were too familiar with his person, and humble occupation, to discern anything superhuman in his qualities. At present they were well-disposed to him. How that good disposition became changed to bitter enmity, appears in the sequel of the Evangelic History.

In process of time the venerable Joseph was gathered to his fathers. We may suppose this to have happened a little before Jesus assumed the character of a prophet; and it is very probable that he delayed the commencement of the active performance of his mission till the death of Joseph; as, from that time, it would be necessary that he should proclaim himself the son of a Divine Father. After Joseph's death, Jesus became the head of the family. His mother Mary, and even his brothers and sisters, appear to have followed him in his subsequent changes of residence. Such was the state of Jesus and his family, when John commenced his baptism on the banks of the Jordan.

H. C.

* * The reader should compare the above with the first article of this volume. The writers are entirely unknown to each other, and their differing opinions are interesting.—ED.

CORRESPONDENCE.

* * The Editor begs the reader will bear in mind that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

THE PRINCE OF PERSIA; THE LAW OF THE MEDES AND
PERSIANS; AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE
JEWISH WRITER DEMETRIUS.

(SECOND LETTER).

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—In my first letter on the subject of your correspondent's remarks on scriptural chronology in the October number of this Journal, I noticed his erroneous identification of Daniel's^a prince (Sar) of the kingdom of Persia with Darius Hystaspes, who most probably was not eighteen years of age in the third year of the reign of Cyrus over Babylon, when your correspondent supposes him to have possessed very great power and influence in the administration of the Persian government.

I now wish, in this second letter, to offer a few additional remarks on the supposed historical value of the *Cyropædia*, which appears to be estimated too highly both by your correspondent and Mr. Savile. The former however has declared his perfect agreement with me in regarding "Xenophon's account of the death of Cyrus as manifestly a fiction." He does not, indeed, furnish us with the grounds of his belief, but leaves us to conjecture whether he has been led to think so from the testimony of Herodotus, Ctesias, Cicero, or from that of the Persian poet Ferdusi, who, as your correspondent informs us, "relates that Cyrus^b resigned his kingdom to Lohorasp, and went into religious retirement before his death; so that, in this view, he may have survived his representative upon the throne; especially as Lucian affirms, upon the authority of an inscription in Persia, that Cyrus lived to a great age (a hundred years), and died of grief on hearing of the atrocities of his son Cambyses." We shall not be disposed to esteem very highly the authority of Lucian, his Persian inscription, and Ferdusi, when we bear in mind that they directly contradict not only the *Cyropædia*, but Herodotus and Ctesias also. Is then your correspondent led by the statements of Herodotus or Ctesias, of Lucian or Ferdusi,^c to reject, as manifest fiction, the account which Xenophon has given us of the death of the great Cyrus?

^a Dan. x. 13.

^b *J. S. L.*, October, 1860, p. 179.

^c According to some native Mohammedan Persian writers, the end of Kai-Khosru or Cyrus (as certainly, according to Sir William Jones, to be identified with the great Cyrus of Herodotus and Xenophon, as Lewis XIV. with Louis Quartorze), was not very dissimilar to the old Latin tradition of the death of Romulus, and probably equally true. In a popular abridgment of ancient Persian history we read, "Ferdusi and

As to what Lucian has written, it is certainly not calculated to give us a very high idea of the value of supposed ancient oriental inscriptions, whether Persian, Babylonian, or Assyrian. I am not, of course, here speaking of the recently discovered cuneiform inscriptions, which we may safely believe to be genuine relics of remote antiquity, though there may be a difference of opinion how far modern scholarship and research may have satisfactorily succeeded in explaining their contents. These stand upon a very different foundation from any supposed eastern inscriptions which may possibly have been current, through popular report, in the days of Abydenus, the Jewish Demetrius, and of Alexander Polyhistor, as well as in those of Lucian, who may perhaps have yielded too much credit to such hearsay and untrustworthy sources of information. Josephus avoided falling into this kind of error, by wisely taking care not to deviate too widely from Herodotus, resembling in this respect, whether intentionally or not, the celebrated Latin historian, Trogus Pompeius, who flourished nearly a century before him.

Not a little of the information which Xenophon gathered from popular report in the camp of the younger Cyrus, may have been about as authentic as that which Lucian learned from the Persian inscription. And with regard to what this writer has related of the advanced age of Cyrus, and of his death having been hastened by the atrocious misconduct of his son, should it appear strange to us that many years must have elapsed after their perpetration, before the tidings of the atrocities of his son reached the ears of the aged centenarian, we may believe that the royal recluse succeeded in concealing himself in some very secluded retreat, while we are sure that roads were not so good, nor the means of communication so expeditious in the ancient Persian empire, as they are at this day in many European countries.

Not only does your correspondent agree with me in regarding Xenophon's account of the death of Cyrus as manifestly fictitious, but he has also expressed himself elsewhere with equal explicitness concerning events that are not only ignored, but virtually denied, in the *Cyropædia*, and which that philosophical romance may be regarded as assuming to have never occurred at all:—"I cannot," he writes, "concur with Mr. Savile in affirming that Astyages was not overthrown by Cyrus. Herodotus and Ctesias both agree on this point; and Xenophon likewise (in the *Anabasis*) has approximately fixed the very date of the event. We cannot set aside these three conjoint testimonies to the fact of the conquest of the Medes by the Persians." Your correspondent thus admits that, in the first portion of the *Cyropædia*, previous to the death of

Mirkhond say, that Kai-Khosru proceeded to some spot which he had selected for retirement, where he suddenly disappeared, and his train, among whom were some of the most renowned warriors of Persia, perished in a dreadful tempest. This would seem to confirm the account of Herodotus; for oriental writers frequently use storms to typify any great or wide-spreading calamity, such as an invasion of barbarians, or the destruction of an army;"—alluding to what Herodotus says of the death of Cyrus, and the defeat of his army by the Massagetæ. It is scarcely necessary to observe how very widely the narrative of these two comparatively modern Persian writers differs from that of Lucian's supposed ancient Persian inscription.

Astyages, there is much that is manifestly fictitious, and that the concluding part, containing an account of the death of Cyrus, is manifestly a fiction. Yet the fiction, in either case, is not such as Sir Walter Scott, that great master of historical romance would have approved, viz., an imaginative addition or embellishment, which the author carefully endeavours, as far as may be in his power, to render neither glaringly inconsistent with historical facts, nor directly at variance with the times in which the hero lived. Much of what is related in the *Cyropædia* concerning Astyages and Cyrus, previous to the decease of the former, as well as the narrative of the death of the latter, may be safely looked upon as grossly contradicting the facts of history, and as very inconsistent with the character of the times in which these two personages flourished—even though all may have been in such close accordance with certain popular legendary traditions in the camp of the younger Cyrus, that Xenophon could truthfully assert that he has recorded only “that which had been related to him by the Persians themselves.” Here, then, is no slight ground for suspecting that Xenophon, while in the main faithfully following popular camp legends, has as flagrantly departed from historical accuracy in what he has recorded of Cyaxares, as in what he has told us of Astyages and Cyrus. Will not Mr. Savile concede that some portion of the professed history of this Cyaxares may, not improbably (we shall presently cite a confirmatory extract from Rollin), be as contradictory to historical truth, as is unquestionably, much of the fictitious account given in the *Cyropædia*, of Astyages and Cyrus? This would seem to be more than probable, at least so far as this Cyaxares is represented as *inheriting* an independent Median throne, with Median supremacy to a certain extent, even over Cyrus and the Persians, and wielding for several years a sovereign and independent sceptre, which we are to suppose, descended to him without a single instance of even temporary forfeiture from the days of his ancestors Deioces and Phraortes. Indeed, the more we reflect on the subject, the less probable does the supposition appear, that the brave, enterprising, warlike and ambitious semi-barbarian Cyrus should,—compelled by no superior power, and without any conceivable adequate motive—after the conquest of the Medes, Media and Ecbatana, and the deposition and exile of their king Astyages, have voluntarily descended from the lofty elevation which he had earnestly coveted and recently won by his sword. Who can easily bring himself to believe, not only without the shadow of sound historical evidence, but against fair and candid inferences from the statements of ancient historians, that the semi-barbarian conqueror, flushed with success, should have relented and recalled the vanquished, dethroned and virtually exiled Astyages from his subordinate provincial government on the borders of Hyrcania (whither, according to Ctesias, who is at least as good an authority on this point as Xenophon, the deposed monarch had been sent by his Persian conqueror), and replaced him on the Median throne in the full possession of his former sovereignty and power? Nay, we are to believe in addition to all this, that Cyrus, with a self-denial so rare that we should not have expected it from a refined Greek philosopher, much less from a fierce and aspiring Persian

warrior in the days of Persian barbarism, retired of his own accord from the royal and stately palace of Ecbatana, to some comparatively rude and uninviting residence in the yet wild region of Persia.

The only plausible reason that can be assigned for such a scarcely credible step as the abdication of the recently won Median throne by Cyrus, is perhaps that it was brought about by the influence of Amytis, the daughter of Astyages, whom Cyrus is said to have married after the conquest of Media. If the successful exertion of this supposed conjugal influence could be accepted as fact (and we fear that it is much too unlikely for such acceptance), as such an abdication can hardly be thought to have originated with Cyrus, we must imagine that he surrendered his own judgment and inclination, to the tears, arguments, and importunate entreaties of his wife. This supposition would imply that Amytis was so deeply imbued with a spirit of filial duty and devotedness, as to be willing to quit the luxury and splendour of the Median capital, and, turning her back on Ecbatana, accompany Cyrus to his rough and uncivilized Persian home, provided her father were recalled from the borders of Hyrcania and replaced upon an independent Median throne. Patriotism may be supposed, if we will, to have been combined with a sense of filial duty in the heart of the fair pleader. At all events, there is much less difficulty (though there is some difficulty even here) in imagining that Amytis may have proposed such a plan, than in believing that Cyrus could bring himself to adopt it.

Improbable, however, as is all this, it is even yet more improbable that Cyrus should afterwards have been himself willing (or that Amytis, if she survived her father, should have wished her royal husband to be so) to have acted for some years in the subordinate capacity of commander of the Median forces to the son of the defeated, deposed, and restored Astyages, overthrowing the enemies and enlarging the territories of the supposed independent Median sovereign, Cyaxares II., who was indebted for his very Median sceptre and crown (if he ever really possessed them in independent sovereignty) to the rare self-denying favour and bounty of his illustrious Persian subordinate. Such patient deference and subordination to a weak, jealous and capricious king in the most popular, ambitious, enterprising and successful warrior and conqueror of his day, would be indeed an instance of marvellous self-subjugation, which Socrates himself might have contemplated with interest, and which was well-suited to occupy a prominent place in a political romance, composed from popular Persian traditions by one who was not ignorant of the leading facts in the history of Cyrus with which those traditions were at variance, and who had been an attached disciple of Socrates.

Unfortunately, the only authority for the supposed independent Median sovereignty of this Cyaxares II. is the philosophical romance of Xenophon, and it is to be feared that this authority is but of little historical value, unless in subordination to Herodotus and Ctesias, in which character it may be of some slight service. There appears, then, to be scarcely the shadow of reasonable evidence in favour of the notion that the supposed independent Median sovereign, "Cyaxares II., suc-

ceeded to the throne of Astyages," because there is scarcely the semblance of a reason for thinking that Cyrus ever restored to Astyages the throne of which the latter, after his utter defeat and prostration by the arms of Persia, had been deprived by his Persian conqueror. It is not enough merely to make a vague assertion, "that no one ventures to deny that Cyaxares II. succeeded to the throne of Astyages" (*J. S. L.*, October, 1860, p. 180), for how could Cyaxares succeed to a throne which his father Astyages had not to bequeath to him?

And here I would beg leave to call the attention of Mr. Savile, and your correspondent to a passage in Rollin, which may be regarded as in some measure confirmatory of the scepticism of Cicero and Niebuhr,⁴ with regard to the historical correctness of the *Cyropædia*, and of the idea that this work is a romance and not a history.

"Cyaxares," says this French writer, "*having no male issue, and but one daughter, offered her in marriage to Cyrus, with an assurance of the kingdom of Media for her portion. . . . Xenophon places this marriage after the taking of Babylon. But as Cyrus was at that time above sixty years of age, and the princess not much less, and as it is improbable that either of them should wait till that age before they thought of matrimony, I thought proper to give this fact a more early date.* Besides, at that rate, Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, would have been but seven years old, when he came to the throne, and *but fourteen or fifteen when he died,* which cannot be reconciled with the expeditions he made into Egypt and Ethiopia, nor with the rest of his history. Perhaps Xenophon might date the taking of Babylon much earlier than we do; but I follow the chronology of Archbishop Usher. I have also left out what is related in the *Cyropædia* (l. viii.), that from the time Cyrus was at the court of his grandfather Astyages,

⁴ Mr. Savile has quoted a passage from Dr. Hales, where the latter speaks of "Herodotus and Ctesias as the unintentional vouchers of the veracity of Holy Writ, and of that admirable philosophical historian" Xenophon (*J. S. L.*, Jan., 1858, p. 415). To call the author of the *Cyropædia* a truthful and accurate philosophical historian, seems to be a flat contradiction of Cicero's well known testimony in a letter to his brother Quintus—Cyrus ille a Xenophonite, *non ad fidem historiæ scriptus, sed ad effigiem justî imperiî.*" The Latin abbreviator of Trogius, Justin, by following Herodotus, shews that both himself and his guide took a view similar to that of Cicero. Niebuhr goes far beyond Cicero. "No rational man," he writes, "in our days, can look upon Xenophon's *History of Cyrus*, in any other light than that of a romance. It was not Xenophon's intention to deceive, he did not at all intend to write a history, or to give it out as a history; but it is clear as daylight that his *object* was to write a *political novel* in the form of a history of a king." Lord Macaulay, leaving undecided the disputed question, whether we are to look upon the work as a history or romance, merely says, "The life of Cyrus by Xenophon, whether we look upon it as a history or a romance, seems to us a very wretched performance" (*Miscellaneous Writings*, vol. i., p. 247). We can by no means approve M. Rollin's remark:—"As to what Cicero says in his first letter to his brother Quintus, that 'Xenophon's design in writing the history of Cyrus, was not so much to follow truth as to give a model of just government,'—this ought not to lessen the authority of that judicious historian, or make us give less credit to what he relates." I cannot just now refer to the passage, but unless my memory be at fault, Sir H. Rawlinson decidedly rejects the *Cyropædia* as a work of any historical authority.

the young princess had said she would have no other husband than Cyrus. Her father Cyaxares was then but thirteen years old."

Xenophon, having been told these things in the camp of Cyrus, and finding them far more suited to the purposes of his philosophical romance than all that which he had previously learned from the pages of Herodotus, may have inserted them in the *Cyropædia* without deeming it necessary to trouble himself with the subject of chronological accuracy, or inquiring whether these camp legends did not make Cambyzes much younger than the truth of history warranted, or the death of his father Cyrus. And he would perhaps be equally indifferent as to the point of historical correctness, whether Cyrus married the daughter of Cyaxares *after* the conquest of Babylon, or, whether he espoused, some twenty years earlier, Amytis,^e the daughter of Astyages, shortly after her father's overthrow by the Persians; in which latter case, Cambyzes would be little more than twenty-five years of age, at the decease of Cyrus, a supposition not inconsistent with what we read in Herodotus.

According to M. Rollins' conjecture, who regards the *Cyropædia* as a trustworthy historical performance, to save Xenophon's credit as an historian, we must think that he may possibly have dated the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus much earlier than Archbishop Usher, who believes this event to have occurred cir. B.C. 538. Now as Cyrus died cir. B.C. 530, and his son and successor Cambyzes cannot be supposed less than twenty years old at his father's death, we cannot think that Xenophon assigned a later date than cir. B.C. 552 to the capture of Babylon by the Persians. On this view, if we admit what is almost universally allowed, that the sole reign of Nebuchadnezzar after the death of his father extended to about forty-three years, we shall have the chronology of Xenophon apparently much at variance with that of the Jewish writer Demetrius, who, we are told, held that the commencement of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign is to be dated cir. B.C. 578. It would thus follow that only *twenty-six* years intervened between Demetrius's first year of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign, and Xenophon's supposed date (cir. B.C. 552) of the final overthrow of the Chaldean dynasty. This would be even far more objectionable than the very objectionable notion that *only forty years* elapsed between the Jewish writer's first year of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign in 578, and the downfall of the Chaldean dynasty in B.C. 538.

Again, Rollin, in comparing Herodotus with Xenophon, with regard

^e While Herodotus speaks of Cyrus as the grandson of Astyages, Ctesias appears to describe the Persian conqueror as not at all related to the Median king. At first sight, it might seem that if Cyrus really married Amytis, a daughter of Astyages, Ctesias must be right and Herodotus wrong. Amytis and Mandane, however, may have been the daughters of Astyages by different mothers; and the former so many years younger than Mandane, as not to have been much older than Cyrus, who may never have seen Amytis until his successful invasion of Media. These considerations might induce the Medes to tolerate, without serious disapproval, as a measure of political expediency, the marriage of Cyrus with one who was only the half-sister of his mother; and thus it may be at least possible, if not wholly to reconcile these two historians, yet to lessen the difference between them.

to the point of historical accuracy, says, "But what decides this point unanswerably in favour of Xenophon, is the conformity we find between him and the Holy Scripture." This French writer of course identifies Cyaxares II. with Darius the Mede. How, then, does he get over the serious difficulty caused by the almost certain inference from the narrative of Daniel, that the Median Darius, on taking the Chaldean kingdom after the death of Belshazzar, fixed his royal residence at Babylon, where he continued to hold his court, and exercise the regal power? By a gratuitous and somewhat bold assumption. Having stated from Xenophon, that Cyrus "on his way from Babylon to Persia, visited his uncle Cyaxares, telling him at the same time, that he would find a noble palace at Babylon already prepared for his reception, whenever he would please to go thither," M. Rollin proceeds to add, chiefly from his own imagination, "It appears that Cyrus, when he returned from Persia, carried Cyaxares with him from Babylon. When they arrived there, *they concerted together a scheme of government for the whole empire. They divided it into one hundred and twenty provinces.*" Thus M. Rollin gratuitously assumes that what Daniel tells us was done by the Median Darius, was in reality the joint work of Cyrus and Cyaxares II. Such a style of assumption as this, doubtless makes the task of reconciling the *Cyropædia* with the Book of Daniel much easier than it would otherwise be.

Both Mr. Savile^s and your correspondent appear to be of opinion that Xenophon's account of his Cyaxares II., receives no slight degree of confirmation from the inscriptions at Behistun, in which it is stated by Darius Hystaspes, that the unsuccessful Median rebel Phraortes, declared himself to be a descendant of Cyaxares. They at once take for granted that this was Xenophon's Cyaxares II. Yet this would seem to be by no means certain. For Xenophon tells us that his Cyaxares *had no male issue, and only one daughter*, who became the wife of Cyrus. This might rather incline us to think that the rebel Phraortes claimed to be descended from the great Cyaxares, the father of Astyages. It is, therefore, very uncertain how far we are justified in regarding the Behistun inscription as confirmatory of the *Cyropædia*.

Mr. Savile has said, that "the only possible way to reconcile the difference between Herodotus and Xenophon on this point of history is, to suppose that Astyages did leave a son, according to the testimony of the latter, and that this son was known to the Jews as Darius the Mede, and to the Greeks, as Josephus expresses it, by another name." It is not, indeed surprising, that it should be found a difficult task to reconcile history with romance. There does not, however, appear to be any insuperable objection to Mr. Savile's method of reconciling Daniel, Herodotus, and Xenophon, provided we do not regard the Cyaxares of the latter as an independent king of Media, and superior (or even equal) in dignity to Cyrus; and provided also we allow that the Median Darius (whether we do, or do not, identify him with Cyaxares), on taking the kingdom after Belshazzar's death, fixed his

royal residence in the city of Babylon. On these points the political romance must give way to what appears to be the testimony partly of Daniel, and partly of Herodotus and Ctesias.

I still think that your correspondent, from not having duly considered the subject, deals somewhat hard measure to such writers as Mede and Archbishop Usher, Bishops Lloyd and Newton, not to mention also Faber and Jahn, when, though he does not exactly name them, he virtually considers them as upholding "extreme nonsense," because they adhered to the view which identifies the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes of Ezra iv. 6 and 7, with the Cambyzes and Pseudo-Smerdis of Herodotus. Yet surely, if the charge of having proceeded to something like nonsensical extremities on this question, must be brought either against these learned writers or their determined opponent, it is the latter who must expect to lie under the grave charge, unless he can rebut it by something stronger than mere assertion.

Perhaps it was not altogether easy for the writers of whom we are speaking to come to a conclusion different from that which they accepted. For how did they act in other not wholly dissimilar cases? Take an example. They found in Herodotus, that Cyrus had two sons, Cambyzes and *Smerdis*. But they also read in the *Cyropædia*, that this same Cyrus had two sons, Cambyzes and *Tanaoxares*. Believing, as they could not well help doing, that the Cyrus and Cambyzes (father and elder son) of Herodotus were the same as the Cyrus and Cambyzes of Xenophon, they felt that they could not do otherwise than identify the Tanaoxares of the latter, with the Smerdis of the former, though the names differ almost as much from each other, as does Ahasuerus from Cambyzes, or Artaxerxes from Gomates and Smerdis.

In like manner, these learned writers, convinced that Ezra's Cyrus and his Persian Darius were identical with the Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes of Herodotus, when they saw that each of these historians (the sacred and the secular) inserts two, and only two kings of Persia between Cyrus and Darius, they could not, on any just principles of historical criticism, avoid the inference that the two Persian kings Akhashverosh and Artaxerxes, who, in Ezra, succeed each other after Cyrus, and before the Persian Darius, are to be identified with the Cambyzes and Pseudo-Smerdis of Herodotus.

Nor must it be forgotten that these writers were not ignorant, that more than one Persian king is spoken of in ancient history as assuming a different name, on coming to the throne, from that which they had previously borne as subjects. Thus the son of Hystaspes, whose original name is said to have been Ochus, assumed the name of Darius when he became king after the death of the Magian usurper. And if we were at liberty (though I am very far from saying that we are so) to suppose that a Median of the blood-royal, a son of Astyages if you will, but at the same time one who acknowledged as his liege-lord, the great Cyrus, the conqueror of Media and deposer of Astyages, assumed the regal name of Darius, when he received the Chaldean kingdom of Belshazzar after Cyrus had overthrown the dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar, some of our difficulties in reference to the Median Darius might per-

haps be removed. Again, Artaxerxes (Longimanus) was named Cyrus before he ascended the Persian throne; and the traitor^r Bessus assumed, together with the Persian diadem, the regal designation of Artaxerxes. Accordingly, there is little or no difficulty (unless the mind be prejudiced by some previously formed theory) in believing that Cambyzes and Pseudo-Smerdis (Gomates), when raised to the royal dignity, took each a high sounding regal name (the former that of Akhashverosh, and the latter that of Artaxerxes), though Herodotus always speaks of them as Cambyzes and the magian Smerdis.

Again, carry out your correspondent's strong reluctance to admit identity of person where names are very different, and we greatly increase the difficulty of the bringing the native Mohammedan Persian writers into agreement with what the Greek historians have related of ancient Persia. On this view, we should possibly feel some objection to the identification of *Lohorasp* with *Cambyzes*, and even of Bahaman with Artaxerxes (Longimanus). It must, however, be conceded that *Lohorasp* is at least as similar to Cambyzes, as Tanaoxares to Smerdis.

The name of the second son of the great Cyrus appears to be Bardes in the cuneiform inscriptions, Mardus in Æschylus, Smerdis in Herodotus, Tanaoxares in the *Cyropædia*, and Mergis in Justin. Can it have escaped Mr. Savile's notice, how much nearer in this matter do the Smerdis of Herodotus and the Mardus of Æschylus approach to the Bardes of the recently discovered cuneiform inscriptions (undoubtedly more ancient than the times of Xenophon) than does the Tanaoxares of those Persians in the camp of the younger Cyrus, from whom Xenophon appears to have received a considerable portion of the materials for his *Cyropædia*? The approach is still nearer if we bear in mind that, in some oriental dialects, the sound of the letter *m* borders closely upon that of the letter *b*.

Your correspondent is not always equally scrupulous on this subject. He does not hesitate to identify Nabopolassar (the first king of that Babylonian dynasty of which Nebuchadnezzar was the second) "with the king of Nineveh who was called by the Greeks Sardanapalus." There are undoubtedly certain points of resemblance between these two names of *Sardanapalus* and *Nabopolassar*; and if the syllable (*sar*) formed either the first or the last of *both* names, there would be greater encouragement to embrace your correspondent's somewhat startling view of identity of person—perhaps even more startling than the late Duke

* I had remarked that, as Bessus assumed the royal title of Artaxerxes, why, therefore, may there not have been a Smerdis-Artaxerxes, as well as a Bessus-Artaxerxes? Your correspondent's reply is, "For this plain reason; the real name of the Pseudo-Smerdis was Gomates, and we know from a contemporary inscription, that he usurped the title of Smerdis or Bardes, brother of Cambyzes, not that of Artaxerxes." Not a few of your correspondent's "reasons" are of the same plain and satisfactory nature. Dr. Hales and others consider Artaxerxes to be rather a title of official dignity, than a personal name; but Smerdis has always been considered as belonging to the latter class. The fact would appear to be, that the Magian Gomates usurped (as Herodotus tells us he did) the name of Smerdis, in order that he might be the better enabled to usurp the Persian throne, and then proceed to assume the regal title of Artaxerxes (*J. S. L.*, Oct. 1860, p. 176).

of Manchester's identification of the Persian king Cambyses with Nebuchadnezzar. Yet, in order to establish satisfactorily such personal identity, we might, not unfairly, require besides the partial and irregular resemblance between the two names—of which one, as containing the name⁴ of the Chaldean idol Nebo, would seem especially suitable to a Chaldean, but not equally so to an Assyrian sovereign—strong additional reasons, like those which constrain us to identify Tanaoxares with Smerdis, and the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes of the fourth chapter of Ezra, with the younger Cambyses and Pseudo-Smerdis of the father of history. Perhaps even stronger reasons, if possible, should be required. For in the one case we have only to identify (with very good grounds for so doing) two Medo-Persian kings in sacred, with two Medo-Persian kings in secular history. In the other case, we are called to identify (on scarcely any admissible grounds at all, or rather against all reasonable historical probability) a Chaldean king named Nabopolassar (very probably the elder Labynetus of Herodotus, and confederate of the first Cyaxares in the overthrow of Nineveh), who is supposed to have been reigning at Babylon, when Saracus reigned at Nineveh, from B.C. 606 to B.C. 578, with Sardanapalus a king of Nineveh, who was expelled from the Assyrian capital cir. B.C. 608-6.

I now turn to the chronology of Demetrius. They who think that the first year of the sole reign of Nebuchadnezzar was cir. 606-4, will also think that your correspondent has made an important movement in the right direction, and very materially improved the blundering chronology¹ of Demetrius, by making his dates some *fourteen years earlier* than those of this Jewish writer. His words are—"I conceive the chronology of Demetrius must be rectified in conformity with the contents of the first chapter of the book of Ezekiel, which records that the thirtieth year, either of the reign of Nabopolassar, as Scaliger² supposes, or of the era of Scythian domination, coincided with the fifth year of Jechoniah's captivity and with the thirteenth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, thus raising the first year of that king's reign from B.C. 578 to 592, and the fall of Jerusalem from 560 to B.C.³ 574." Here we have a frank avowal that Demetrius has fallen into the

⁴ Jahn thinks that Nineveh fell B.C. 623. He writes:—"In the year B.C. 623, Nabopolassar destroyed the Assyrian and founded the Chaldæ-Babylonian empire, which also is sometimes called the Assyrian in the Bible, and frequently by the Greek writers. . . . It is said that before this he was the Assyrian governor of Babylon under Chyniladan and Saracus, and that, uniting with Astyages the son of Cyaxares the first king of Media, he revolted and overthrew the Assyrian empire. However this may be, it is certain, as his name is sufficient to prove, *that he was a Chaldean.*"

¹ Your correspondent calls this a "*rectification*," though in reality it is rather a *rejection* of the chronology of Demetrius.

² It is unfavourable to the view of the younger Scaliger, that, both in the Old and New Testaments, secular epochs are distinctly named. Thus, we have "the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar" (2 Kings xxv. 8, cir. B.C. 588), the "third of Cyrus" (Dan. x. 1, cir. B.C. 535-4), "the second of Darius" (Ezra iv. 2, cir. B.C. 521-0), "the fifteenth of Tiberius Cæsar" (Luke iii. 1). The late Duke of Manchester appears to have thought that Ezekiel (i. 1) may have dated from the preceding jubilean year.

³ *J. S. L.*, October, 1860, p. 175.

serious error of dating the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple too late by at least fourteen years. Further study and reflection may perhaps convince your correspondent that he will approximate still nearer to the truth by withdrawing to a still greater distance from Demetrius, and raising even his new date fourteen years, ascending from 574 to cir. B.C. 588.

It would seem that your correspondent, who here appears to speak of the thirtieth year of Nabopolassar as coinciding with the thirteenth of Nebuchadnezzar his son, may be of opinion that the father and son were joint or associate kings of Babylon not less than thirteen years. I doubt if this opinion have any good foundation to rest upon, and think that in the present day your correspondent will stand almost alone in holding it.

Your correspondent tells us—"I have altered many minor points of the (previous) arrangement, thereby considerably raising some of the leading dates." Why should not this "raising of leading dates" be extended yet further? Why not raise the date of the fall of Nineveh fourteen years, as well as that of Jerusalem? And as he has never held the fall of Nineveh to be later than cir. B.C. 580, why not admit that it could not have occurred later than B.C. 594? He has thus written in *J. S. L.*, Oct., p. 181—"Your correspondent G. B., who upholds the common reckoning, has contributed an article 'On the Probable date of the Fall of Nineveh,' and concludes that it is certain that the sack and overthrow of the Assyrian metropolis by the Medes and Babylonians cannot be dated later¹ than cir. 594 B.C. The one

¹ If, as your correspondent now admits, the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple did not occur later than B.C. 574, then the captivity of Jehoiachin could not have happened later than cir. 584 B.C. Whether we accept this date (probably too late by fourteen years) or think, according to the commonly received chronology, that this Jewish king was carried captive cir. B.C. 598, most readers of the scriptural history will perhaps believe that Nineveh had certainly fallen before Jehoiachin was taken to Babylon, i. e., earlier than B.C. 584, according to your correspondent's view, and earlier than 598, according to the common view. In the twenty-fifth chapter of Jeremiah, which was written in the fourth of Jehoiakim, and first of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign,—at least six years before the captivity of Jehoiachin,—we have a prophetic outline of those Gentile powers upon whom divine judgments were to be inflicted, apparently through the instrumentality of Nebuchadnezzar; no allusion, however, is made to Nineveh, one of the most cruel and oppressive enemies of the people of God, whose overthrow had been foretold by Nahum. The most obvious and reasonable explanation of this otherwise unaccountable silence is, that Nineveh had already been conquered and cast down. The thirty-first of Ezekiel is usually dated cir. 588, B.C., and it appears to have been written after the destruction of the Assyrian empire. I do not wish to lay much stress upon the *Cyropædia*, but it contains no allusion to the fall of Nineveh; we have a certain negative evidence in favour of the notion that Xenophon and his friends in the camp of the younger Cyrus, were of opinion that the conquest of Nineveh was older than the childhood of Cyrus. We must not here forget to notice the eighteenth verse of Jer. l., "Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of Assyria." The Assyrian empire had, therefore, been overthrown when the fiftieth chapter of Jeremiah was written. The almost universally received date of this chapter is cir. 595 B.C. If this date be correct, it is a fair inference from it, that Nineveh had fallen before B.C. 594, at least nine years before the eclipse of 585 B.C.

sole argument upon which this conclusion is founded, is that Cyrus died in the year B.C. 530. Will he have the goodness "to prove this fundamental point?" I here repeat what was advanced in my last letter. There is surely no difficulty in conceding that Herodotus, an Asiatic Greek, would be easily able to ascertain the precise year in which two such very important events occurred as the death of Darius Hystaspes and the accession of his son Xerxes to the Persian throne. In proportion then to his persuasion that thirty-six years and seven months (the Magian usurper not reigning more than seven or eight months after the death of Cambyses) severally represent the duration of the reigns of Darius Hystaspes and Cambyses, would be his conviction that he could approximate very closely to the year in which Cyrus died, and was succeeded by his eldest son. The death of Darius and the accession of Xerxes would be very speedily known by the Asiatic Greeks, and in Egypt, nor would it be long before the tidings reached the Greek republics in Europe, and the year in which these events occurred would be well known in the days of Herodotus.

On your correspondent's view, that Jerusalem was taken and the temple burned, B.C. 574, it will follow that the captivity of Jehoiachin did not happen later than cir. B.C. 585, and that the removal of Daniel and his friends to Babylon did not occur later than cir. B.C. 590. If then we suppose Daniel at that time not to have been less than fifteen or sixteen years of age, he would have been born about B.C. 606, and consequently (*i.e.* if we suppose him to have survived until so late a period) he would have been about one hundred and twelve years of age in B.C. 493, when, it has been hastily supposed by some, the venerable Hebrew prophet was made by that king one of the three principal ministers of a realm containing one hundred and twenty provinces. This consideration amounts to little short of a demonstration that the identification of Daniel's Median Darius with the Darius Hystaspes of Herodotus, is little better than a chimerical impossibility.

Again, let any candid and thoughtful inquirer carefully study the scriptural history of Nebuchadnezzar's career, and the notices of Assyrian and Babylonian affairs in the Medo-Persian portion of the history of Herodotus, together with the testimony of the canon, and he will find it difficult to resist the conviction that Nabopolassar died, and Nebuchadnezzar became sole king of Babylon earlier than the year of Jechoniah's captivity, and that the fall of Nineveh had occurred earlier than that date. If so, according to Herodotus, who teaches us that the war between Alyattes and Cyaxares was brought to an end before the capture of the Assyrian metropolis, the reconciliation between these two sovereigns (usually ascribed to the eclipse of Thales), must have happened earlier than 597 B.C. If then Mr. Airy be correct in thinking that the eclipse popularly known as that of Thales took place in B.C. 585, at least twelve or thirteen years later than the conclusion of a treaty between Cyaxares and Alyattes, popular tradition may have erred in connecting that treaty with the eclipse of Thales, and Herodotus may have been deceived in following that tradition.

In *J. S. L.*, October, 1860, p. 181, your correspondent, when

speaking of my paper on the Fall of Nineveh, remarks, "It is only surprising that when the principal date which governs the chronology of the period comes under consideration, . . . that your correspondent should be content to treat this insuperable obstacle" (viz., the eclipse of Thales, supposed by Mr. Airy to have happened 585 B.C.), "in the way of his conclusions, with the following insipid remarks: 'It is possible—nay, it is not beyond the limits of probability, that the Median and Lydian armies, when about to engage in battle, may have had their superstitious fears excited by a sudden thunder-storm of unusual gloom and violence.'"

I do not wish to deny the correctness of the epithet applied^m to my remark, yet must be allowed to say that it is hardly fair, by detaching a sentence from its context, to make it seem to be even more insipid than perhaps it really is. If the peace between Lydia and Media was actually caused by the eclipse of Thales, and that eclipse really occurred in B.C. 585, then it would seem that Herodotus must have fallen into serious historical and chronological errors. This I felt unwilling to admit, regarding it as unlikely, and accordingly, wrote as follows:—

"For our own part we feel somewhat reluctant to admit that the venerable Greek historian fell into such important errors, and must say that we think it less difficult to reject as a probably fictitious popular tradition (though we do not profess to find this course altogether easy and unobjectionable), the assertion that the Lydo-Median war was terminated in consequence of the occurrence of the eclipse predicted by Thales. Thales may have correctly predicted, or rather calculated, that a certain eclipse would be visible at a certain time. And it is also quite possible—nay, it is not beyond the limits of probability, that the Median and Lydian armies may have had their superstitious fears excited by a sudden thunder-storm of unusual gloom and violence. And thus, in the lapse of time, there might grow up a popular tradition (subsequently ranked among the facts of history) that, not a sudden and fierce tempest, but an eclipse predicted by Thales, had arrested the Lydian and Median armies, and enabled the two kings (already, we may believe, thoroughly tired of the profitless and vainly protracted conflict), to take advantage of an apparently divine interposition, and put an end to the war.

"It does not, however, yet appear established that we are under the necessity of rejecting, as a popular fable, the connexion of the eclipse of Thales with the termination of the Lydo-Median war, if it be true (as seems to be the case) that certain important elements in the cal-

^m Is not the following remark of your correspondent at least as liable to the charge of insipidity, as the sentence which he has specially fixed upon in my paper?—"With regard to the expression 'of the seed of the Medes,' as applied to Darius the Persian, nothing is more common, even down to the time of the Peloponnesian war, than for the Persians to be spoken of under the generic term of Medes, and, as in modern days, our king James the First may have been called the English king, though of Scottish birth, so may Darius have been called the Median king, though by birth a Persian."—*J. S. L.*, October, 1860. p. 178. Your correspondent must have felt himself somewhat hard pressed to support his improbable, not to say impossible, theory, when he had recourse to such a method of illustration.

culatation of ancient eclipses are mixed up with more or less of conjecture, and therefore with more or less of uncertainty. Should it be asked, Why not be consistent, and reject also the eclipse which is said to have happened in the seventh of Cambyzes, and the two which are said (recorded) to have occurred in the reign of Darius Hystaspes? we reply, Rejection is not so easy a task here, since these three eclipses are connected with certain (regnal) years of Cambyzes and Darius in a documentary form, (that document) partaking partly of the nature of historical record, and partly of that of a careful astronomical register; and they may thus be regarded as strongly authenticated by the manner in which they have been handed down to us. And we may still feel reasonably confident from the calculation of the eclipse in the seventh year of Cambyzes' reign, that the year B.C. 523 coincided in part with the seventh of Cambyzes, and that consequently the reign of Cambyzes over the Persian empire commenced, and the death of the great Cyrus (Coresh) occurred, cir. 530—29 B.C., even if we doubt the tradition which connects the eclipse of Thales with the termination of the Lydo-Median war. Now this almost absolutely certain secular date of the death of Cyrus is of great importance to assist us in the investigation of the Scriptural chronology." *J. S. L.*, April, 1858, p. 151.

I have now to offer a few additional observations upon the well-known formula found in Daniel, viz., "the law of the Medes and Persians." Your correspondent writes (Oct., 1860, p. 180), "The first palpable contradiction between Herodotus and Scripture, according to the common reckoning of the reign of Cyrus is, that Herodotus places the commencement of the Persian Empire under Cyrus, and the supremacy of the Persians over the Medes, long before the capture of Babylon, in B.C. 560, whereas the prophet Daniel, who was living at Babylon at the time it was taken, distinctly gives precedence to the Medes over the Persians up to the time of the fall of Babylon." This assertion is scarcely correct. Undoubtedly Herodotus teaches us that the Persian supremacy was established many years before the fall of Babylon; and Ctesias also appears as decidedly to teach the same thing. For if utterly to defeat the Median armies, to take possession of the Median capital Ecbatana, to depose the Median sovereign Astyages, and to send him thus dethroned and deposed, to be the comparatively insignificant governor of a remote province on the borders of Hyrcania;—if all this, we say, be not equivalent to the teaching us that Persian supremacy was established over the Medes many years before the fall of Babylon, it is not easy to conceive how Ctesias could more effectually have taught such a lesson. And is it, then, true that Daniel, in palpable contradiction to Herodotus and Ctesias (and we may surely add, to Xenophon also as the writer of the *Anabasis*) "distinctly gives precedence to the Medes over the Persians, up to the time of the fall of Babylon?" Your correspondent will doubtless pause before he asserts that this is really the case. Let us see what Daniel records as bearing on this point, *before* and *after* the fall of Babylon.

In explaining the mysterious handwriting on the palace wall, only a few hours before the overthrow of the Chaldean dynasty by Cyrus,

Daniel says, "Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians." In the miraculously written words MENE (numbered), MENE TEKEL (weighed), UPHARSIN (and divisions), there is no mention by name, either of Medes or Persians. And if Daniel gives, as under all the circumstances of the case we might not unreasonably expect him to do, precedence to the ancient and imperial Median name in the presence of the Chaldean king, who was well aware that Persian independence and claim to imperial dignity were at the time scarcely twenty years old—are we warranted to conclude that this arrangement of names in Daniel is a sufficient proof of the existence of a distinct and palpable contradiction between the record of Daniel, and the statements of Herodotus, Ctesias, and Xenophon's *Anabasis*? All who receive the Book of Daniel as a true portion of the Sacred Canon, will necessarily believe that, whatever tends to confirm the testimony of Herodotus, Ctesias, and Xenophon's *Anabasis* to the great historical fact of the overthrow of Median, and the establishment of Persian supremacy, many years before the fall of Babylon, must also tend to incline us to reject the notion that Daniel's arrangement of the names, Medes and Persians, is to be interpreted as tantamount to a distinct contradiction of the historical fact supported by that threefold secular testimony.

Again, Daniel's vision in the third year of Belshazzar, when he was at Shushan, employed in the service of the king, doubtless preceded the siege of Babylon by the Persians. In that vision the prophet saw the Medo-Persian ram, with two horns,—“the two horns being the kings of Media and Persia.” We are told that the *higher* horn came up last; therefore the higher was plainly the Persian horn. The obvious interpretation of the vision would seem to be, that the Persian had become the higher horn before the ram began to push westward, northward, and southward, *i.e.*, before the conquest of Lydia and Babylon. Can we imagine any other more probable way in which the Persian horn sprang into imperial existence and pre-eminence, than by the sword? And do we conclude that because the heavenly messenger, in explaining the vision (which is almost universally allowed to have been received by the prophet a *few years subsequently*^a to the triumph of the Persian horn over the Median) speaks of the kings of Media and Persia, giving apparent precedence to the former, that therefore the Persian was not yet really the higher horn, and that Median supremacy still continued to exist? (Dan. viii. 20).

We now come to the apparent testimony to the continuance of Median supremacy for some time *after* the fall of Babylon, implied in the language used by the courtiers of Darius, when they speak of the law of the Medes and Persians. Mr. Savile also, I believe, is inclined

^a The vision of the great image was given *subsequently* to the commencement of Nebuchadnezzar's victorious career, as the head of gold; there is therefore no difficulty in supposing the vision of the Medo-Persian ram and Macedonian he-goat to have been received after the conquest of Media and dethronement of Astyages, when Cyrus, as sovereign of the Medo-Persian empire, had already made some progress in his victorious career.

to accept this testimony, considering it to be the legitimate inference from the formula in question. In taking leave of this discussion, as it is my wish to do in the present paper, I would request Mr. Savile to weigh carefully the real bearing on this controversy of the formula of which we are speaking, as it occurs in the Book of Daniel. Surely there is nothing strange in the fact that the Median takes precedence of the Persian name in such a formula, when we bear in mind that chronological priority was on the side of the Medes, and that courtiers and ministers, the majority of whom were probably Medes, are addressing their Median sovereign in a Medo-Chaldean court. Indeed, the real difficulty would seem to be how it came to pass that the Persian name came to be found in the formula at all, at the court of the Median Darius? How was it that the Persians then obtained this apparently high distinction of being placed on the footing of a seemingly fraternal equality with the Medes? The Mede stands first, as we might expect, the Persian second. But the relation of the former to the latter, as set forth in this formula, does not appear to be that of superior to inferior, or of the dominant to the subject tribe. It is rather that of *primus inter pares*; where the elder brother's name stands, as a matter of course, before that of the younger.

It would be an easy, but not very probable conjecture, to say that this quasi-legal formula was amicably agreed upon when the Persians first came under the Median sceptre. This view receives but little countenance either from Ctesias or Herodotus. The latter rather leads us to think that the Persians were one of several barbarous tribes, whom the fierce and warlike Median king Phraortes subdued by force of arms. It is not likely that this ambitious soldier and conqueror should voluntarily raise to an almost fraternal equality with his dominant and victorious Medes, the rude barbarians whom he had vanquished with the sword and bow. And if the concession was not made by Phraortes, still less may we suppose it to have been made by those who succeeded him—by his son Cyaxares, or by his grandson Astyages, at least during the independent sovereignty of the latter, while the ram of the prophetic vision was still under the single Median horn. Was then the distasteful concession part of the price paid by the defeated and dethroned Astyages to his relenting Persian conqueror, for the restoration of his lost crown and sovereignty? There are not even plausible, much less valid, reasons for believing that Cyrus ever made, or seriously entertained the idea of making, any such restoration to the captive and humbled grandson of Phraortes. Is it not then at once more probable and reasonable to think, that the victorious Cyrus, when he had subdued the Medes and Media, (when the higher Persian horn of the vision had sprung up into imperial supremacy) enjoined that this mode of speaking should be introduced, and become the fixed usage? He would, however, be satisfied with elevating his victorious fellow-Persians to a level with their former masters; and after dismissing Astyages into the obscurity of a remote province, he would be too politic^o to irritate the still power-

^o This consideration renders it probable that Cyrus may have prevailed upon his Persian followers to assume the Median dress, as he is said to have done.

ful Median nation by imposing upon them any unnecessary national humiliation. They would not deny that Cyrus, in his triumphant position, could scarcely be expected to do less than insist upon the establishment of a political equality between his own countrymen and those who had been recently conquered by them. This would not prevent him from consenting that at least during the period of his own life (whatever usage he might see fit to establish in Persia), in Media, and therefore also the *Medo-Chaldean* court of the *Median* Darius, in the legal formula in question, the Mede should appear as the elder, and the Persian as the younger brother. On this neither unreasonable nor improbable view, the habitual use of such a formula as that of "the law of the Medes and Persians" (in which the latter are placed on a footing of equality with the former) at the *Medo-Babylonian* court, by Median courtiers, and before the Median monarch of Chaldaea, may not unfairly seem to indicate that *the Persian supremacy had already been virtually established throughout the Medo-Persian empire*. And such a formula, habitually used at what may be really regarded as a Median, rather than a Chaldean court, may assist us to form a correct view of the true position of the Median Darius of the prophet Daniel. For it may lead us to think it very probable that Cyrus, acknowledging neither earthly superior nor equal (Isaiah xlv. 1, 3), having previously conducted, as their common leader and sovereign, the forces of Persia, Elam and Media (Isaiah xxi. 2) against Babylon, and having, after the conquest of the city and death of Belshazzar, received the submission of Nabonnedus, proceeded first of all, according to his own good pleasure, to assign to this captive and deposed Chaldean king (treating him somewhat after the fashion in which, about twenty years before, he had treated the captive and deposed Astyages) a place of residence in the province of Carmania during the remainder of his days—and then, in the exercise of the same sovereign supremacy, to bestow the vacant Chaldean throne upon Darius, a native Mede of royal blood. Cyrus might naturally be expected to select, for such a position, a person from whose age and character there would be no reasonable cause to suspect ambitious and dangerous aspirations after independence and enlargement of territory—taking perhaps into account also, that from the fact of this Darius being a Mede and a foreigner, the Chaldeans would not be likely to support him against his Persian benefactor and their powerful conqueror. Accordingly, we find that the Median Darius was sixty-two years of age when Cyrus gave him the Chaldean kingdom, and that neither Herodotus nor Ptolemy has mentioned his name. It is also tolerably certain that all which Josephus knew of him, beyond the record of Daniel, was mere conjecture. His reign was, therefore, most probably but of short duration, and it is likely that he possessed little ability or energy.

Ctesias tells us that Cyrus, having released the vanquished Astyages, from imprisonment and fetters, made him governor of a province on the borders of Hyrcania. In this little provincial court of Astyages the formula in use would probably be, "according to the law of the Medes," from regard to the feelings of the deposed and exiled monarch. And

even if it should have been deemed politic and proper to recognize there the imperial position of Cyrus and his victorious Persians, the formula would probably be from the same motives of respect to the royal exile, as it was in the Medo-Chaldean court of the Median Darius,—“according to the law of the Medes and Persians”—and not as at the court of Esther’s Ahasuerus (Artaxerxes Longimanus), “according to the law of the Persians and Medes.” The more we consider this point, the less perhaps shall we feel justified in asserting that, when Daniel records the precedence given to the more ancient and time honoured Median name, first by the celestial messenger in the interpretation of the Medo-Persian ram and Macedonian he-goat, by Daniel himself in explaining to Belshazzar the handwriting upon the palace wall, and lastly, by the ministers of the Median Darius in addressing their Median sovereign—the Hebrew prophet is to be understood as upholding a view directly contrary, not only to the narrative of Herodotus, but also to the statements of Ctesias and the *Anabasis* of Xenophon.

We are now to notice what Ezra has recorded concerning the succession of the kings of Persia from Cyrus to Darius (Hystaspes). Mr. Savile thus comments on an interpretation of Ezra iv. 5, given by your correspondent in an earlier communication—“I am,” says Mr. S., “most surprised at his interpretation of Ezra iv. 5, which he considers to imply that there were no intermediate kings between Cyrus and Darius king of Persia, when we find that the names of two other kings (Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes) are mentioned in the same chapter, during whose reigns it is clear that the work of building the temple ceased.

When the mind can bring itself to conclude that Ezra teaches, in his fourth chapter, that there were no intermediate kings of Persia between Cyrus and the Darius in whose reign the building of the second temple was completed, we almost cease to be surprised that the same mind can also bring itself to identify the Median Daniel of Darius with the Darius Hystaspes of Herodotus. Your correspondent, however, would appear from his last letter (though it may be hardly safe to speak too decidedly), while retaining the latter error, to have at least partially renounced the former, as he there writes—“When we observe that the father of Darius, of the seed of the Medes, was called Ahasuerus, and that *the predecessor of Darius king of Persia* was also called Ahasuerus (Ezra iv. 6), our surprise begins to assume the form of incredulity at the idea that Darius the Median and Darius king of Persia should be distinguished one from the other.” The plural “*our*” ought perhaps here to be changed into the singular “*my*,” as your correspondent most probably stands alone in his surprise and incredulity on this point. And it may be doubted how far in his own case the incredulity was of very long continuance; and this strange incredulity once dismissed, the surprise would soon disappear. And as your correspondent here allows that the Ahasuerus of Ezra iv. 6 was the predecessor of Darius, he concedes that there was at least one intermediate Persian king between Cyrus and Darius. And perhaps, when he has read a little more of

the fourth chapter of Ezra, especially verses 17—24, he will think that, while the Ahasuerus of verse 6 was the successor of Cyrus and the predecessor of the Artaxerxes of verse 11, on the throne of Persia, the latter was the immediate predecessor of Darius on the same throne. Your correspondent's unintentional oversight, by leading him very incorrectly to suppose that Ezra places only one king of Persia between Cyrus and Darius, sets the sacred historian at unnecessary variance with Herodotus on this point. Herodotus teaches us that two kings of Persia, Cambyses and the Magian Pseudo-Smerdis, intervened between Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes, and not a few learned writers, from Mede and Sir Isaac Newton to Jahn and Faber, have believed that Ezra also informs us, that between these two illustrious sovereigns, two kings of Persia intervened, Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes. Thus we have seen that of three erroneous opinions, viz., that the Jewish author Demetrius was correct in assigning the date of cir. 560 to the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple by the Chaldeans—that in Ezra's fourth chapter there were no intermediate Persian kings between Cyrus and Darius—and that Darius the Mede was Darius Hystaspes—the first and second have been very properly renounced. It is, however, but fair to add, that a fourth error seems to have been introduced as a necessary inference from the identification of Darius Hystaspes with Darius the Mede, viz., that the Ahasuerus of Dan. ix. 1, is to be identified with the Ahasuerus of Ezra iv. 6.

In the following extract, your correspondent may seem to have reason and probability very far more on his side than in many other parts of his letter. "With regard to the idea that Ahasuerus, the husband of Esther, was Artaxerxes Longimanus, as suggested originally by Josephus, no reasonable person, on reflection, I am sure can believe, that the Jewish writer of the Book of Esther should have known this king, either personally or from authentic records, by the title of Ahasuerus in his seventh year, while Ezra in the same seventh year should have undertaken a direct commission from him under the title Artaxerxes; and again, that a bloody decree should have been issued in his thirteenth year under the seal of Ahasuerus, while Nehemiah, who was his cup-bearer, should again have known him face to face, as Artaxerxes, in his twentieth and thirty-second years (Neh. ii. 1; xiii. 6). Such misidentifications appear to me so inconceivable, that the bare statement of them should be sufficient to dissipate the idea of entertaining them."

It was probably such apparently strong objections as these which caused the late duke of Manchester to deliberate a long time before he finally came to the conclusion that the Ahasuerus of Esther was the Artaxerxes (Longimanus) of Nehemiah, and Esther, the queen who was sitting by his side. But he did not deem them sufficiently strong to prevent him from at last accepting that conclusion, and this not hastily, but on mature reflection. Dean Prideaux also, and the Jewish writer Josephus, accepting the book of Esther as an authentic historical document, believed the Ahasuerus of that book to be identical with Artaxerxes Longimanus.

Perhaps all thoughtful and candid students of scriptural and secular chronology will allow that, if we are to receive the book of Esther as an authentic document, Ahasuerus must be looked upon as one of the Perso-Median kings, who reigned after Shushan had been taken from Babylon, and also after the reign of Cambyses the son of Cyrus. It has been attempted to prove in this Journal, that we cannot possibly identify the royal husband of Esther either with Darius Hystaspes, or with his son Xerxes; and that, if an authentic historical personage, he can only be identified with Artaxerxes Longimanus.

Your correspondent assumes too much, or expresses himself incautiously, when he takes for granted "that Josephus originally suggested the idea that Esther's Ahasuerus was Artaxerxes Longimanus." He is indeed the first extant Jewish writer who does so; but it is not at all improbable that in doing so, he was stating not only his own personal conviction, but also the prevalent historical tradition of his nation, and that he was one of many Jews who did not see any insuperable objection to the identification of the Ahasuerus of Esther with the Artaxerxes of Nehemiah, and the Longimanus of secular history. Josephus would most likely have regarded the notion of identifying the Ahasuerus of Esther with the Cyaxares of Xenophon's *Cyropædeia*, as at once absurd and impossible.

According to your correspondent, the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther began to reign at Shushan, cir. B.C. 537. The universally received date of the death of Xerxes, and the commencement of the sole reign of his son Artaxerxes Longimanus, is cir. B.C. 464; and no one will refuse to admit that in the first chapter of Esther, the writer is speaking of the third year of the sole reign of Ahasuerus. Between B.C. 464 and B.C. 537 is an interval of not less than *seventy-three years*. It is surely paying very little respect to the judgment of Josephus to suppose that he dated the history of Esther later by seventy-three years than he should have done. How is it that your correspondent could bring himself to defer to the authority of Demetrius (which he has since renounced) and so entirely set aside that of Josephus?

The reader, however, must not imagine that the case before us is as gross a violation of *possibility* as well as of probability, as it would be to suppose that an English king in his royal signature used almost indiscriminately the names of George and Charles, or of Edward and Henry. These are personal names, whereas we have fair reasons for thinking that, in Persia, Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes (not altogether unlike the Augustus and Cæsar of imperial Rome) were names of royal office and dignity.

Now we learn from a comparison of the fourth chapter of Ezra with the Persian history of Herodotus, that Cambyses and Pseudo-Smerdis⁷ severally assumed the regal names or titles of Ahasuerus and

⁷ Jahn notices that Pseudo-Smerdis is named by Ctesias, Spendadates, by Justin, "Oropastes, and in the Bible (Ezra iv. 7), Artahshasta (Artaxerxes)." This and information of a similar kind in Dr. W. Smith's *Greek and Roman Biography*, might almost lead us to think that some of the ancient oriental monarchs had not only two, but even three different names.

Artaxerxes. And elsewhere we are told that Ochus, the son of Hystaspes, took, as king of Persia, the royal name of Darius; and the kingly patron of Nehemiah, whose original name was Cyrus, the son of Xerxes, assumed, on ascending the throne, the title of Artaxerxes, as did afterwards the traitor Bessus when he had murdered Darius Codomannus. Nothing like this has occurred in the history of English sovereigns, from the days of the Norman William to the present time. But although it might have been quite according to the Persian usage for this younger Cyrus the son and successor of Xerxes, in imitation either of Cambyses or Pseudo-Smerdis, to take the title of Ahasuerus, or Artaxerxes, yet we have certainly no secular historical authority to shew that he claimed both these regal titles, sometimes using the one and sometimes the other, a thing which, had he wished, he had an unquestionable right to do. At all events, we seem warranted to say, that what would be summarily rejected in an English history as impossible, is to be rejected in Persian history not as impossible, but as not sufficiently probable to be believed.

In the meantime, as we cannot for a moment venture to suppose that the name of Artaxerxes was found in the original MS. of the book of Esther, and that careless transcribers exchanged this title for Ahasuerus, the case would seem to stand thus. If the book of Esther really is an authentic history, there appears to be very strong presumptive evidence (little short of demonstration) for thinking that the royal husband of Vashti could not have begun to reign at Shushan earlier than the death of Cambyses; that he can be identified neither with Darius Hystaspes nor his son Xerxes, and that there remains only Artaxerxes (Longimanus), the Artaxerxes of Nehemiah, with whom he can be identified, and with whom the Jewish historian Josephus identifies him, who was well acquainted with the prevailing traditions at Jerusalem and Babylon, and who had access to historical works which are no longer in existence. Accordingly, with not a few minds, the question will most likely assume somewhat of the following form. Of two improbabilities, viz., that the Book of Esther is *not* an authentic history, or that Cyrus the son of Xerxes assumed two different royal titles, Artaxerxes and Ahasuerus, and that he was more generally known by the former, using it also in his communications with Ezra and Nehemiah, while he employed the latter in the decrees which he commanded Haman and Mordecai to promulgate; which is to be considered as the more improbable? I confess that I am not so confident as your correspondent appears to be, that "every reasonable person, on reflection," will consider the second as the graver of these two improbabilities, and thus virtually condemn Dean Prideaux and the late duke of Manchester for having, after mature consideration, followed the example of the Jewish historian Josephus.

There yet remains one passage in your correspondent's letter which requires to be noticed. He writes, "With regard to the age of Daniel there is no real difficulty. He was carried captive to Babylon, when Jehoiakim fell into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, and when part of the vessels were carried away (Dan. i. 2), that is to say, after Jehoiakim

kim^r had served the king of Babylon three years, and had revolted (2 Kings xxiv. 1; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7). The second year of Nebuchadnezzar, spoken of in Dan ii. 1, is the second after his father's death, that is to say, his fourteenth year. This is set down by Scaliger amongst 'epochs bearing the character of certainty' in Scripture."

When I began to study more carefully the Book of Daniel, it did not appear to be an easy task to reconcile the idea of Daniel's interpreting the vision of Nebuchadnezzar's image in the *second* year of that monarch's reign (Dan. ii. 1), with what we read in the introductory portion (Dan. i. 5) of the first chapter, where it is said, that the young Jews who were selected for the purpose of being trained in the learning of the Chaldeans, were to pursue a course of three years' study, before they were introduced into the presence of Nebuchadnezzar; not to add that the concluding part of the first chapter makes it appear not improbable that some time elapsed between their introduction to the king, and the interpretation of the vision of the image. As the Hebrew and Chaldee express the ordinal number 'twelfth,' when used as the epithet of a regnal year, in a manner which may be represented in English by the plain ordinals "ten and two," and the ordinal number "second" by the cardinal "two," it appeared possible that the original reading of the passage might have been, "*in the twelfth year*," the "ten" having perhaps disappeared through the carelessness of transcribers, who would thus change the "twelfth year" into the "second year." Something not unlike this seems to have occurred in the history of Jehoiachin. For we read in 2 Kings xxiv. 8, "Jehoiachin was *eighteen* (eight-ten) years old (יָרֵסָה שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר שָׁנָה) when he began to reign." But in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, we have, "Jehoiachin was *eight* years old when he began to reign." It is utterly improbable that any further light should be thrown on this difficulty by the discovery of hitherto unknown MSS. or versions.

* In a recent number of Murray's *Quarterly Review*, is a paper on the life of the younger Scaliger, which gives us a high idea of his brilliant talents, and vast range of his reading. If your correspondent has borrowed from Scaliger the notion, that Dan. i. 1, describes what occurred after the three years' service of Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiv. 1), very few will agree with him, the general opinion being, that Daniel and his friends, with certain of the vessels of the temple, were removed to Babylon about the third year of Jehoiakim, who in his sixth year "turned and rebelled" against his Chaldean liege-lord.

* *J. S. L.*, October, 1860, p. 182.

* This view appeared at the time to be less probable, as I thought it to be most likely that Daniel and his three friends were raised to their high official stations before the removal of Jehoiachin to Babylon, cir. b.c. 599-8. If Jeremiah's letter (chap. xxix), had been merely the production of his own uninspired human judgment, we might have imagined his silence on the subject of Daniel's remarkable elevation to be not altogether unfavourable to the notion that this elevation had not yet taken place. But reason and reverential feeling unite in warning us not to dictate what should be mentioned or what passed over in silence, in an inspired communication from the Most High. At all events, whether the dream of the great image was interpreted in the second, twelfth, or fourteenth of Nebuchadnezzar, Daniel was taken to Babylon in the third of Jehoiakim, three years before the revolt of the latter from his Chaldean liege-lord.

There is, indeed, no real difficulty in regard to the age of Daniel, if, while we associate the prophet with Darius the Mede, we keep him at a due distance from Darius Hystaspes; the former being, according to Daniel, about sixty-two years of age, when the latter was, according to Herodotus, about fourteen or fifteen years old. We must be careful not to make Daniel, when his life would have already extended beyond one hundred and five years, become the prime minister of Darius Hystaspes, in B.C. 493. Nor is it according to the received rules of historical criticism, to make Darius Hystaspes (cir. B.C. 535), when not yet nineteen years old, to be the prince (sar) of the kingdom of Persia, who is mentioned Dan x. 13.

G.

December 28, 1860.

ON ST. MARK THE EVANGELIST.

DEAR Sir,—Permit me to offer a few remarks upon a singular passage which occurs in the work of Hippolytus, "*On the Refutation of Heresies*," p. 252, concerning St. Mark the evangelist, in which a most extraordinary epithet is applied to him, viz., "Mark with the mutilated fingers." The passage is as follows:—

Επειδαν ουκ Μαρκιων η των εκεινου κυνων τις υλακτη κατα του δημιουργου, τους εκ της αντιπαραθεσεως αγαθου και καλου προφερων λογουν, δει αυτοις λεγειν οτι τουτους ουτε Παυλος ο αποστολος ουτε Μαρκος ο κολοβοδακτυλος απηγγειλαν. Τουτων γαρ ουδεν εν τω κατα Μαρκον ευαγγελιω γεγραπται· αλλα Εμπεδοκλης Ακραγαντινος, κ.τ.λ.

The subject here treated of is the heresy of the Marcionists. And I must first observe, that instead of αγαθου και καλου, we must unquestionably read αγαθου και κακου: a correction which it is surprising neither the editor, Miller, nor Bunsen (who cites the passage at length, p. 89), should have made. For so we read a little farther on (l. 19), φερε γαρ, ω Μαρκιων, καθαπερ την αντιπαραθεσιν πεποιηκας αγαθου και κακου, κ.τ.λ.

Having corrected this error, let us consider the passage.—We see that Hippolytus charges Marcion with having stolen his principal opinions without acknowledgment from Empedocles of Agrigentum, and even given them in that author's very words (αυταις λεξεσι), as if they were a part of the Gospel truth—"whereas it is certain," says Hippolytus, "that neither Paul the apostle, nor Mark with the mutilated fingers (Μαρκος ο κολοβοδακτυλος), have ever promulgated any such opinions. Not any of these things is written in the gospel of Mark."

The opinion which Bunsen formed of this passage, was that the text was entirely corrupted, and that instead of Μαρκος ο κολοβοδακτυλος, we should read Μαρκος ο καλων λογων διδασκαλος.^v

^v Published at first as *Origenis Philosophumena*. Oxford, 1851.

^v He says, p. 89, "Pray correct the words in p. 252, where Mark the evangelist is called, etc., etc. The true text may easily be restored," etc., etc.

But it seems to me that this is a violent alteration of the text, and recedes too far from the reading in the MS. A more plausible conjecture would be, to omit *λογων*, and read *Μαρκος ὁ καλοδιδασκαλος* "Mark the giver of good advice." But even this correction is not very satisfactory. The word *καλοδιδασκαλος* only occurs once in the New Testament, where it is applied to old women, who are exhorted to be "givers of good advice" to the younger women.—Now in the present passage there is no question of "giving advice" to any one.

It is probable that Marcion professed some particular reverence for the gospel of Mark (from the similar name he bore), and that may be the chief reason why Hippolytus, wishing to refute Marcion, refers to that evangelist rather than the others. "Neither Paul nor Mark have said these things, nor are any of them to be found in Mark's gospel."

Nevertheless it appears to me, that the reading of the text, *Μαρκος ὁ κολοβοδακτυλος*, however singular it may seem, may admit of an explanation.

We may reasonably suppose that many epithets now forgotten, may have been applied in the first two centuries, to the evangelists and other holy persons. Thus for instance it appears that St. Matthew was called Matthew the elect, or the separated, in the earliest Syriac gospel: for which epithet a very sufficient reason may be given, namely the especial call which Matthew received and which at once separated him from his former worldly occupations. Yet this epithet was subsequently entirely forgotten, and has only lately been re-discovered. But the epithet here applied to Mark, if genuine (which we will suppose it for the moment to be), alludes to some apparent defect or mutilation. Can this have been some bodily defect? Certainly not: for even if such had existed, it would have been beneath the dignity of history to have made any record of it. There remains however the supposition of some metaphor having been intended, and this I think is by no means impossible.

There is strong evidence to shew that St. Mark's gospel originally terminated at the eighth verse of the sixteenth chapter, with the words *εφοβουντο γαρ*—and that the remaining twelve verses are the addition of a later writer who thought it necessary to complete the narrative, or at least to give it a more dignified conclusion. These verses are absent from the *Codex Vaticanus* (B). Of this celebrated MS. there is a very interesting account by the Rev. J. W. Burgon in the last number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature* (p. 221), from which we learn that at the end of the gospel of St. Mark a column occurs completely blank (see p. 230), and that this is the only blank column in the whole MS., a circumstance which shews plainly that the amanuensis was in doubt whether the MS. he was employed in copying were not defective at the end. From the very abrupt conclusion of the gospel he probably judged that some part of it might be missing, and therefore he left a blank column to receive the remainder if he should find anything more contained in other MSS.—But this blank he never supplied.

Quite recently another MS. of similar value for age and antiquity has been discovered in the convent of Mount Sinai by Tischendorf; and

for an account of this we are also indebted to *The Journal of Sacred Literature* (Oct. number, p. 186): and we find that the last twelve verses of Mark's gospel are wanting in this ancient MS. also.* Surely therefore many of the readers of the first and second centuries who read the gospel of Mark in MSS. agreeing with the Vatican and Sinai MS., and not extending further than verse 8 of chapter 16, must have been struck with its abrupt ending—*εφοβουντο γαρ*—"for they were greatly frightened"—and with Mark's total omission of all the subsequent important events, and may have named it the mutilated or incomplete gospel, and given to Mark the metaphorical epithet of *κολοβοδακτυλος*, "the writer with the mutilated hand," meaning that his narrative was truncated and incomplete. Should the epithet however appear unsuitable in the mouth of Hippolytus (a bishop and martyr, who must have venerated all the evangelists), yet the Marcionists may have used it, and Hippolytus was speaking to them. The sense would then be, "Neither Paul nor Mark (whom you call the writer of the unfinished gospel), ever said these things," etc., etc. If we follow Bunsen in expunging the passage, and substituting for it a mere common place epithet, is there not some danger of destroying a piece of valuable evidence? I think that it is a question which deserves reconsideration before his decision is finally acquiesced in.

The very summary manner in which Bunsen rejects the reading of the MS. (*κολοβοδακτυλος*) as absurd, led me to suppose that no other evidence existed in corroboration of that reading. But the fact is that Bunsen has been very hasty in this matter. I find in the *Journal of the German Asiatic Society* (vol. viii. 586 and xiii. p. 474), the following curious statements.

In the first of these passages, Professor Fleischer describes an ancient Arabic MS. brought by Tischendorf from the east in 1853, which contains among other matters an account of St. Mark the evangelist.—This account says that St. Mark was originally a Levite, and that when he became a convert to Christianity, *he cut off his right thumb* in order that he might thus become for ever incapable of officiating in the Jewish temple service.

In the second passage, Professor Gildemeister informs us, that this story was not altogether unknown in western Europe, being mentioned by Ordericus Vitalis in the twelfth century (see *Duchesne Script. Norm.* 426), and by Peter de Natalibus about the year 1370. But the Roman Catholic critics reject the tale with contempt. "*Vulgi potius decantata, quam majorum auctoritate asserta fabella*," says Baronius.—"*Irrepta fabella nec refutatione digna*," says Henschenius, *Acta Sanctorum*, 25th Apr., III., 346 D.

It does not seem to have occurred to these writers that a metaphor may have been mistaken for a fact.

Dec. 3rd, 1860.

H. F. TALBOT.

* It may be added that Eusebius says that the best codices of the gospels omit these twelve verses (*J. S. L.*, p. 222).—On the other hand, the early Syriac gospel discovered by Mr. Cureton contains them.

* *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

THE EUCHARISTIC BLESSING.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR—May I crave permission to make a few remarks on the communication which appears in your January number, from the Rev. W. Tait, of Rugby, on the "Eucharistic Blessing."

Your correspondent reminds us that "the change effected on the bread and wine in the Holy Communion by the words of consecration is a subject of much controversy." He particularly refers to the views of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, the Lutherans, and the Church of Rome, remarking that, according to both the Lutheran and Romish view—he does not expressly mention whether he intends to include that of the Scottish (Episcopal) Church or not—"a most wonderful efficacy is ascribed to the blessing of Christ in the beginning, and to the blessing of his ministers now." He then goes on to ask, "What comes of this controversy if it shall turn out that our Lord and Master never blessed the bread and wine at all?" Now in that case it must of course be at once admitted that "there was no act for which to claim efficacy (and we may add no *form of words* either), and unless the minister is above his Lord, there is no act now (and no form of words by which the *elements* were blessed), the whole question is laid to rest for ever." To this issue, then, your correspondent seeks to bring this important question, and so proceeds to compare the accounts of the institution of the Last Supper given by the three Evangelists. To this comparison I shall, with your permission, briefly refer your readers, and particularly direct their attention to Mr. Tait's remarks, that the insertion of the pronoun "*it*" by our translators, after the expression "and blessed," has done the "whole mischief;" and again, that St. Matthew's and St. Mark's "blessed" is evidently synonymous with St. Luke's "gave thanks," that it was "*God*" He blessed, "*not the bread*."

1. Now, in the first place, it may be observed that the insertion alluded to can hardly be supposed to have led to the Romish view at least, since it does not occur in the version of the New Testament authorized by Romish prelates in this country. This seems clearly to indicate that the insertion or non-insertion of the pronoun "*it*" has either nothing to do with the matter, or else has the very opposite effect of that attributed to it by your correspondent. For we thus find, in point of fact, that the greatest eucharistic error regarding the change effected on the elements by consecration prevails in that Communion in whose English version of the Gospels the obnoxious insertion does *not* exist. How the matter stands in the Lutheran translation I have not at hand the means of ascertaining. But,

2. In the second place, your correspondent's attention may be respectfully directed to 1 Cor. x. 16, where St. Paul distinctly calls the eucharistic cup the "cup of blessing *which we bless*." For this is the very form of expression of which Mr. Tait complains in consequence of the insertion of the pronoun "*it*" in our English version, but it will probably be regarded by many as a sufficient vindication of our trans-

lators for having inserted the pronoun, or even as a direct indication that they should most effectually exhibit the true meaning of the Gospel accounts by that very insertion. It may indeed be argued that St. Paul's expression in that passage is a mere Hebraism, or that it is elliptical, and means nothing more than if he had said "the cup for which we bless God, or give God thanks." But surely there is no sufficient authority, and no adequate reason in the nature of things, for such an assertion. And here let me refer to the Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament by Dr. Robinson, not as being in itself a final authority more than other Lexicons, but still a sufficiently competent and unexceptionable one in a question of this kind, and simply as stating, without any purposes of controversy in view, what seems to be the true import of the word "εὐλογία" as used in that passage:—

"(b) From men towards men and things, *blessing, i.e. benediction*, invocation of good, etc., from God upon persons. . . . Also upon things, 1 Cor. x. 16, το ποτήριον εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, the cup of *blessing*, i.e., of benediction, consecration, in allusion to the πρᾶξις ὡς drunk at the Paschal Supper.—Comp. Lightfoot, Hor. Heb. ad Matt. xxvi. 27, Jahn § 354."

Now, supposing for a moment that the expression "cup of blessing, which we bless," were a mere Hebraism, or involved an ellipsis—a mere supposition, perhaps, at the best—still we may ask, How does it appear that our blessed Lord, on the solemn occasion to which we are referring, really did nothing more than offer up thanks to God? or again, in what form of words He did so? Whether He adopted the precise formula which was used by the person presiding at the Passover on ordinary occasions, or to what extent He may have altered that formula, if He adopted it at all? We certainly do not find in the New Testament any record of the precise words which our Saviour made use of in "giving thanks" to God; and, therefore, for anything that *appears* to the contrary, He may possibly have included in His own formula some such direct invocation as that to which Mr. Tait so strongly objects. But be this as it may, it does not follow that such an invocation may not be lawfully used by us so long as we do not insist upon our own form being *essential* to the consecration of the Elements. In accordance with this view, the author of the note in the Pictorial Bible on St. Luke xxii. 13, remarks, "Whether He (Christ) did and said all that other persons filling His office were accustomed to do, there is no evidence to shew. If He did, He also added other things which certainly no other person ever did or could say" (or do).

Without, therefore, going further into the subject than we have done, we are surely justified in declining to accept Mr. Tait's inference "that our Lord and Master never blessed the bread and wine at all."

But, in point of fact, we seem to find that St. Paul, in another place (1 Cor. xiv. 16), uses the very word *εὐχαριστία* as descriptive of the Liturgy itself, strictly so called, just as the same term has been applied both to the service and to the consecrated elements, by Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and others. This has been noticed, among others, by Mr. Palmer in his

Origines Liturgicæ, where also he replies to the objections of Estius, as referred to by Waterland, and upon the whole, concludes that St. Paul directly referred, in these passages, to the Liturgy or Eucharistic Service.

Besides, it appears that in all ancient Liturgies of which any traces remain, we find either an express or an implied blessing on the bread and wine, and this remark applies also to the present English office itself, for as Mr. Palmer observes, "Consecration must take place before bread and wine are the communion of Christ's body and blood; and as we pray that we may sacramentally partake of Christ's body and blood by receiving the bread and wine, we do, in effect, *pray* that the elements may first be consecrated."

A verbal invocation of the Holy Spirit to bless the elements occurs in many of the ancient Liturgies, as well as in that of the Episcopal Church of Scotland; in others, as that of Rome and Italy, there was no direct invocation of the Holy Spirit, but only a prayer that God would bless the elements, while in the English office there is an implied, though no direct prayer for consecration; thus in substance they all agree, though differing circumstantially. So that not only is God thanked, but the elements of bread and wine are universally regarded as blessed or consecrated to a sacramental use, though an express invocation may not be considered as *essential* for the purpose, at least not by the Western Churches now, whatever may have been the case in more primitive days, a point upon which I do not enter. Extreme views are no doubt only too prevalent on both sides of the Tweed, and in England at least, *on opposite sides of the question*, but for the reasons now stated, and for others which will probably occur to those who have carefully considered the subject, we can hardly agree to accept the solution of the difficulty suggested by your correspondent, that the insertion of the pronoun "*it*" by our translators has "led to the whole mischief," or indeed admit that in inserting it, our translators have erred at all, so as in any sense to obscure or alter the scriptural and truly catholic view of the change effected on the elements by consecration; a change, namely, in use and efficacy, in mystery, and in grace.

One word in conclusion. Mr. Tait's reference to the miracle of the five loaves as narrated by St. Matthew, is, for his own view, perhaps the least fortunate argument which he has advanced. For, if your readers turn to the parallel passage of St. Luke, they will find that the word "*αὐτοῖς*" ("*them,*" not God), actually occurs there in the Greek, as the object of the verb rendered "*blessed*" (*εὐλόγησε*), and this seems decisive, if anything can be so, against the whole of your correspondent's reasoning. Still the point certainly deserved consideration, and I, for one, do not feel the less indebted to Mr. Tait for having directed attention to it, that I have arrived at a very different conclusion from his upon the subject.

W. F.

January 17, 1861.

THE EUCHARISTIC BLESSING.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—Allow me a few words on the subject of the Eucharistic blessing, as treated by your correspondent from Rugby in your last number. It is so important as to be worthy of all the consideration which can be given to it.

Doubtless there is no slight satisfaction in the idea of having discovered some oversight in the deductions of a theological system not in accordance with our own views, and the more delightful perhaps if those views do not harmonize with the dogmatic teaching of the majority. But however fascinating these supposed discoveries may be, they are rarely successful when put to the test.

I pass over the various modifications and differences of opinion on the subject of the Eucharist, which prevail among the different Christian communities. All agree at least in teaching that our Lord "took the bread and blessed it." This view of the subject your correspondent repudiates altogether, and makes a supposition which, as he is induced to think, is decisive of the whole controversy. "What," he remarks "if it shall turn out that our Lord and Master *never blessed the bread and wine at all?*" Only that the Eucharist would be utterly deprived of its great and essential characteristic. It might be a rite very proper to keep up, but it would cease to be intrinsically a sacrament.

There will be no necessity for repeating the exact words of each of the three evangelists, as they agree so very closely. I will leave out the obnoxious pronoun which is imagined to give occasion to so much superstition, and simply give the words as they are common to all,—"Jesus took bread, gave thanks and blessed, and gave to his disciples." "It must be evident," says your correspondent, "to every mind not blinded by traditional theory, that the object of blessing at that solemn hour was not the inanimate bread, but the living Father of blessing."

To this, I think, there is no difficulty in replying, that God, as the object of blessing, is expressly named as such, both in the Old and New Testament, and any one who will take the trouble of consulting a concordance, may satisfy himself that such is the fact. The omission is so opposed to the *usus loquendi*, that it would be a vain endeavour to ground anything upon it. A single instance may be in point. When the aged Simeon took the holy child Jesus in his arms, he blessed God (εὐλόγησε τὸν Θεόν). If the omission of the substantive had ever been usual, we should certainly have met with it here, and more especially as the subsequent direct address leaves no doubt upon the matter. Much more would the evangelists have inserted τὸν Θεόν when there is not the slightest reference to God the Father in narrating the institution of the Eucharist.

We can then come to no other conclusion, than that our Lord took bread and *blessed it*. But for what purpose, but that it might be made to us "the spiritual food" of his most precious body and blood? "If Jesus *merely* thanked God," as your correspondent supposes, "because he was about to break for man the bread of everlasting life," the *whole*

significance and import of this most solemn action would not have been brought out. Our divine Redeemer took the bread, *blessed* and *sanctified* it, and gave it to his disciples, and to his church for after ages, that by it we may be nourished unto life eternal. Here is all sufficiency for the growth of the Christian life.

But we read that our Lord not only brake the bread and blessed it, but that he also "gave thanks," as mentioned by St. Mark, and perhaps by St. Matthew also, as the weight of critical authority would lead us to infer. But for what reason did our Lord do so? Your correspondent says, "For the things which should come upon him—the betrayal, the condemnation, the agonies of a lingering death." It is true that for the suffering of death he was crowned with glory and honour, but it is likewise true we never read that he gave thanks to his Father for the prospect of those sufferings. On the contrary, in prospect of them he says, "But I have a baptism to be baptised with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished." And the earnest prayer that "the cup might pass from him" shews that even the God-Man felt most tryingly in his human nature the near approach of his sufferings for "us men and for our salvation." Our Redeemer had said, "I have earnestly desired (*ἐπιθυμία ἐπιθύμησα*) to eat this Passover with you before I suffer." And why? Because in the language of Krummacher, "He cordially rejoiced in anticipation of this peaceful evening, as the point of time when he should be permitted in his intended and mysterious institution to make his will, so to speak, in favour of his beloved followers, and with the consent of his heavenly Father to bequeath to them the fruits of his atoning life, sufferings, and death. In a word, it was *for the sake of the Sacrament* to be *then* instituted, that he longed so ardently and earnestly for the approach of this his last passover feast." Surely this is a statement which approves itself much more to our feelings and our reason than the suggestion of your correspondent, which *divorces* from one another the *words* and the *action* at the Last Supper.

Nor again can we fail to perceive how perfectly this reasoning is borne out at the meeting of our Lord and the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, when they constrained him to abide with them because the day was far spent. "And it came to pass as he sat at meat with them, he took bread, and blessed it and brake, and gave to them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him, and he vanished out of their sight." The manner undoubtedly in which our Lord broke the bread, and probably the form of words in which the thanksgiving was pronounced, reminded them of that used by him at the institution of the Last Supper. Their recognition of him was *then* complete. But on your correspondent's supposition, that *no* blessing of the bread took place, and that our Redeemer gave *thanks* for his *sufferings*, the whole action is devoid of meaning, and that most perfect and delightful of all the sacred narratives is in that portion utterly inexplicable.

Providentially there is another part of Holy Writ which speaks to us in language so decisive that there can be no mistake. In the

account of the institution of the Eucharist, by the three evangelists, we find *no mention* of the blessing of the cup. The great apostle of the Gentiles will supply this omission. The *cup of blessing* which *we bless*, is it not the communion, or participation of the blood of Christ? Who then can doubt but that to him who received not the Gospel from man, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ himself, this, among other things, was communicated, "when he was three days without sight, and did neither eat nor drink." To this revelation the apostle could make no addition. If the cup was blessed, so likewise was the bread. All controversy on this point is therefore at an end.

I cannot conclude more appropriately than in the admirable and impressive language of Krummacher. "The Saviour, however, *pronounced his benediction* not only upon the *cup*, but also upon the *bread*. And wherefore? Was it in order to separate the elements from a common and profane use to one that was higher, spiritual, and holy? Doubtless he had this also in view. And O, what superabundant richness and fulness of blessing have rested on the bread and wine of the communion from the *benediction* which our Lord pronounced upon them. Since that festal evening, how many thousands have received heavenly refreshment, invigoration, and encouragement, by their means! How many a wounded heart, in the course of eighteen centuries, has been healed, how many fainting spirits revived, and the passage through the dark vale illumined, alleviated, and sweetened. Such is the blessing of the Prince of Peace, which extends even to the bliss of the eternal hills."

I remain, etc.,

H. P.

February, 19th, 1861.

TERMS USED IN SPEAKING OF THE ATONEMENT.

SIR,—It is acknowledged universally, that nothing can be of greater importance, than to employ accurately the different words used in Scripture, in connexion with the Atonement. Their various shades of meaning, and peculiar emphasis, are so often destroyed by a promiscuous use of any of them indifferently, that it would be a great boon to the theology of the day, if something was done to make a clear chain of thought formed of all the words used, and linking them together with due regard to their bearing on the various steps and effects of the Atonement, on whose efficacy all our hopes depend. The following is an attempt at such an outline, submitted to the consideration of those interested in the point, and divided so as to afford ready reference for comment on any part.

SALVATION TO ETERNAL LIFE IS OBTAINED

1. *By the Sacrifice*—This being the rationale of the plan of salvation.
2. *Of a life*—Which is the kind of sacrifice required for the lives that are at stake.
3. *Given*—For the value of this sacrifice depends on its being voluntary on the giver's part.

4. *By Christ, the "Son of God" by nature, the "Son of Man" by incarnation*—For he only as such, had a divine life which was worth giving, and which could be freely given in a sinless humanity.

5. *To God the Father*—Who is the holder of judicial right over all men as their lawgiver.

6. *As a ransom*—Human happiness and peace being a kind of forfeited possession redeemable only by "a near kinsman," satisfying the required conditions.

7. *In order to make*—As Christ only could do acceptably, being God, and appropriately, being man.

8. *Vicarious*—God's justice requiring distinct proof of his determination not to let any sin pass unnoticed, and requiring the honouring of his law, broken by sinners, in the substituted submission of the Redeemer to "taste of death for every man."

9. *Atonement for human sin*—God's mercy allowing the sinner, whose death "he wouldeth not," thus to escape personal condemnation through faith in his son.

10. *Thereby redeeming from the law's curse*—Due on account of its being broken, whose penalty is declared to be death and the curse of God, on soul and body.

11. *And propitiating the lawgiver*—Staying his wrath, by a sufficient exhibition of submission to his law, in the obedience and death of man's representative; which staying of his wrath, may be called the *negative* effect of the atonement.

12. *Procuring further*—As the positive effects of the Atonement.

13. *Pardon or justification*—In an outward *judicial* point of view.

14. *Remission*—In an outward *punitive* point of view.

15. *Forgiveness*—In an inward *Fatherly* point of view.

16. *Absolution*—In an inward *spiritual* point of view.

17. *These all resulting in the mutual reconciliation of God and man*—God's favour being regained, man's enmity laid aside.

18. *Which will be perfected*—Being here incomplete and liable to relapse through man's frailty.

19. *When the Christian is brought to the eternal joy which Christ is preparing for him*—This being the Redeemer's part and care.

20. *In hope of which the Christian through the Holy Spirit's help purifieth himself, and so by sanctification, prepares himself for Christ's eternal joy*—This being the redeemed sinner's part and care.

I am, etc.,

C. H. R.

EMENDATIONS IN THE AUTHORIZED VERSION OF SCRIPTURE.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—As you were pleased to insert my first paper of proposed emendations in our Authorized Version, I now send you another.

EXODUS.

II.—15 He sat down by *the* well.

III.—16 I have surely *looked upon you, and upon that* which is done, etc.

22 But every woman *shall require* from her neighbour, etc.

IV.—20 Set them upon *the ass*.

VIII.—9 And Moses said unto Pharaoh, *Let thine honour be greater than mine*, etc.

IX.—24 So there was hail, and a *continuous stream of fire in the midst* of the hail, etc.

XI.—2 Let every man *require* from his neighbour, etc.

XII.—6 Shall kill it *between the two evenings*.

9 Eat not of it *partially boiled*, etc.

23 And will not suffer the *destruction*, etc.

35 And they *required* from the Egyptians, etc.

XIII.—18 And the children of Israel went up *in ordered ranks* out of the land of Egypt.

XIV.—7 And his *ablest captains over all that host*.

XV.—2 He is my God, and *I will glorify him*, etc.

XXII.—2 If a thief be found *in the act of breaking into a house*, etc.

XXIII.—21 My name is *in his heart*.

XXXIII.—16 And whereby shall it be known that I, etc. "*Here*" is not in the Hebrew.

21 *The rock*.

D. E.

DÜSTERDIECK AND OTHERS ON THE APOCALYPSE.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—I have read the above article in your Journal for October. I have been in no small degree perplexed to find out the author's meaning in a portion of it, and would feel obliged by his kindly clearing up my perplexity. It refers to the question of the inspiration of the writer of the Apocalypse.

The author has shewn that the "ground idea only" of this mysterious work can be fulfilled—namely, "What Christ predicted, the establishment of the kingdom of God in some way, the triumph of Christian principles, and the blessedness which will be their result to society, and to individuals on earth and in heaven"—(p. 19). This, our author tells us, the writer of the Apocalypse gathered, as any one of us may this day gather, from the predictions of Christ contained in other Scriptures.

With respect to "*all the rest*" of the book, our author informs us that "having reference to contingent events, it is to be referred to opinions of the writer and his contemporaries, which, in his opinion, *time has proved to be unfounded*"—(p. 19).

Our author does not, however, deny some peculiar "religious inspiration" to the writer of the Apocalypse. He expressly calls him "an inspired man, having the aid of the Spirit of God."—(p. 29).

Hence arises my perplexity. The writer of the Apocalypse, our author tells us, is right only while he follows what was already said by

Christ, and the moment he ventures farther, and indulges in any original vaticination, he falls hopelessly into mistake and error, not so much as one of his predictions being correct.

May I ask in what consisted the inspiration which our author is pleased to attribute to the writer of the Apocalypse? According to his theory, I cannot discover that he had any, unless indeed "poetic fancy" be all that our author means by "inspiration."

I remain, etc.,

P. Y.

JEWISH ORTHODOXY.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—I do not consider that Mr. Crossley's reply to my letter on the above subject has in any measure established his theory, that the Sadducees were the orthodox party among the Jews. Permit me to reply to his observations as briefly as I can.

It was not my intention in my first letter to hold up the Pharisees as parties who could be safely followed as religious guides. I should have read the New Testament to little purpose, if this had been my object. I only meant to say, that along with numerous and fatal errors in faith, they also taught a great deal that was true, and thus I maintain that the texts I advanced plainly prove.

"The scribes and the Pharisees," said our Lord to his disciples, "sit in Moses' seat. All, therefore, whatsoever they bid you, observe, and do; but do not after their works, for they say and do not" (Matt. xxiii. 2). I am sure that any one reading these words with unprejudiced mind, would understand them to mean that Christ directed his disciples to follow, as true and conformable to the precepts of Moses, a great deal of what was taught by the Pharisees, but not to imitate them in their conduct, because they themselves did not follow the good directions they inculcated on others. But according to Mr. Crossley, the text should run somewhat thus; "The scribes and Pharisees sit where they ought not, in Moses' seat, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, be careful not to observe and do." Whether mine or Mr. Crossley's comment be conformable to our Lord's words, your readers must decide.

Again. Paul stands before the Jewish council, composed of Pharisees and Sadducees (Acts xxiii. 6). The question against him concerned the great doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. He saw that he could fairly take advantage of the opposition on this point of the rival sects, and he cried out in the council, "*Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee; of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question.*" Can we interpret these words in any other sense, than that the Apostle proclaimed that on a great and fundamental point of faith, *his views and those of the Pharisees were one*? Can we for a moment take them to mean, with Mr. Crossley, that "St. Paul alluded only to *his education among the Pharisees, and his hereditary alliance to that sect*?" This indeed might

explain his calling himself "the son of a Pharisee;" but it does not explain his assertion, that he was at the time "a Pharisee" himself.

But, whatever be our opinion of the Pharisees, the Sadducees certainly cannot be called an orthodox Jewish sect.

In the first place, they are mentioned in several places in the Gospels and Acts. (See Cruden's *Concordance*). Invariably they are branded by some term of condemnation, for wickedness of life, or crafty opposition to Christ, or falsehood of doctrine. But Mr. Crossley says, the terms in which they are condemned by Christ are not so severe as those in which he condemns the Pharisees. They are severe enough, if you will only examine them. But we may easily see why the denunciations against the Pharisees are more frequent and sterner than against the Sadducees. It was with the Pharisees chiefly that our Lord came into collision. They were the popular leaders, a post which the Sadducees made no pretension to. Christ was winning the favour of the people, and, therefore, the Pharisees especially hated, opposed, and maligned him, and, consequently, came into most frequent collision with him, and drew forth his denunciations more frequently than the party of the Sadducees.

Again, if we suppose, as seems most probable, that the Sadducees rejected all the Old Testament Scriptures, with the exception of the Pentateuch, we cannot hold them to have been an orthodox Jewish sect. They who rejected far the greater portion of the revelation which God made to the Jewish people could have no claim to the name of orthodox.

But Mr. Crossley seems to think it probable, that the Sadducees received the authority of the prophets as well as of Moses. Let us suppose they did, and still it will follow from this admission that they were not an orthodox Jewish sect.

To accept the Jewish Scriptures as authoritative, and yet to deny the doctrines which they teach, is not, I suppose, a sign of orthodoxy. Mr. Crossley will allow that the prophetic writings, at least, teach the doctrine of a resurrection and a future life. The Sadducees denied both; how are they orthodox?

But it is on their "adherence to the law, pure and unadulterated," as found in the Pentateuch, that Mr. Crossley especially relies for his theory of Sadduceean orthodoxy. Tried even by this test their orthodoxy fails. The doctrine of a resurrection was taught by Moses. So our Lord tells us, "As touching the dead that they rise, have ye not read in the book of Moses, how in the bush God spake unto him, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? He is not the God of the dead, but the God of the living: ye therefore do greatly err" (Mark xii. 26). Such were the words of Christ to the Sadducees of his day. He did not think they adhered faithfully even to the Pentateuch. Perhaps some of their defenders now may prefer their interpretation of Moses' words to that of Christ, but they themselves could not answer his charge. (Matt. xii. 34). Again, in John v. 46, our Lord in a very few words

convicts them of not adhering to Moses' teaching. "Had ye believed Moses," he said to them as to other unbelievers, "ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me."

Again, the Pentateuch taught the existence of angels, or an order of spiritual beings superior to man. The Sadducees denied that there were any such beings. (Acts xxxiii. 8). Mr. Crossley indeed tries to save their reputation by supposing that the angels whom St. Luke speaks of here were a "mythic hierarchy," invented by the Pharisees. No doubt the Pharisees had many false and foolish traditions about angels, but it is just as certain that in the above passage St. Luke speaks of angels as they were believed in, in common by the Pharisees and the Christian Church. He wrote for parties, far the greater number of whom had never heard of the "mythic hierarchy" of the Pharisees, but who believed in an order of angels, and to them St. Luke is telling in what respects the Pharisees agreed, and the Sadducees disagreed from some of the doctrines of the Christian church. Mr. Crossley's only reason for his view of the above passage is, that as the Sadducees implicitly believed in the Pentateuch which taught the existence of angels, that therefore they could not have rejected them. One would think that but a passing glance at the opinions of religious teachers in the present day would shew us the weakness of such a plea. When Mr. Maurice and others do not see the atonement or the resurrection in the New Testament, the Sadducees might fail to see angels in the Pentateuch. Or, might they not with so many now, suppose that an inspired teacher might sometimes make a mistake as well as another man, and so get rid of Moses' teaching about angels by saying, that on this particular subject he was wrong, though in general, and upon matters of importance, he was right.

No, sir, the Sadducees were not orthodox, unless the denial of every thing that a believing Christian or Jew values, is a proof of orthodoxy. The sect that are never mentioned, except to be condemned by our Lord and his apostles; the sect which in word accepted as authoritative a part of God's word, while they rejected "the prophet" whom that word commanded the Jewish people to hear, and that future life without which God's dealings with mankind at any time are wholly inexplicable, ought not by us to be called orthodox. They allowed indeed that there was a God. With that their orthodoxy began and ended. But of what use was such an allowance, when they denied his providence in this life, and taught that for us there was no future life? They allowed a God, but a God, forsooth, who had no connexion with man, or man with him. Sadduceism, as Neander truly says, presented in its irreligious, atheistic, sensual system no point of contact for the Gospel. The sect of the Pharisees educated and gave to Christ his great apostle, —the man who felt, even before his conversion, that between God and man there was a deep and eternal relation. So far as we know, the Sadducees did not afford one solitary believer to Christ.

I remain, etc.,

HENRY CONSTABLE.

5th October, 1860.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in the Original Greek: with Introductions and Notes. By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster, etc. The General Epistles and Book of Revelation. London: Rivingtons. 1860. Small folio, pp. 284.

THIS is the concluding portion of Canon Wordsworth's commentary on the Greek Testament. The whole work occupies a place of its own in Biblical literature, both as to what it teaches, and as a sign of the times in which we live. The positive information conveyed is very great, especially in the department of patristical exposition, and what may be called the antiquities of Biblical comment. Compared with other works of a similar kind, this feature is very observable, for very many writers are here quoted who have been either ignored or undervalued in the present age. For instance, how seldom do we find quoted such exegetes as Andreas, Bishop of Crete, of the sixth or seventh century, Ambrosius Ansbertus, of the eighth, or Haymo, of the ninth: yet these are only three of the twenty-three ancient expositors of the Apocalypse cited by Dr. Wordsworth. Everywhere, in these volumes, our thoughts are turned to times gone by, and we are reminded that what is old in Christianity cannot be superseded by any modern opinions. The use of the work must have a healthy influence on the theological student, if it only lead him to remember the great minds of old, who have been neglected or forgotten.

But the work is a sign of the times, a designed protest against the more free and unlicensed temper by which Biblical exposition is now marked in many quarters. Dean Alford's commentary may be considered as standing at the head of the free school of interpretation on its orthodox side, while that of Dr. Wordsworth is the type of the orthodox school in its most conservative development. Each has its faults, but each has distinctive excellences, and they may profitably be used together. The time may come when we may have commentaries on the Bible which shall not reflect the spirit of any party in the Church; but till that is the case, the eclectic mode must be employed, and different systems recognized as having their respective advantages. We could not put Alford into the hands of a student of theology without a caveat; but we should think a warning needed quite as much in the case of Wordsworth. In fact, we can scarcely say on which side there is the greatest danger, on that of too much speculation or too much credulity. We beg to be understood as using these terms in the best sense, as the signs of contrary mental tendencies in the field of criticism and exegesis. Alford, for example, would not be deterred from giving a reasonable interpretation, because it was contrary to a traditionary one, however venerable; while Wordsworth would shut his eyes to a logical deduction, if contrary to a plain patristic testi-

mony. It is clear that these tendencies of mind are very liable to be abused, and we think they have not been rightly employed, in every case, by the writers we have ventured thus to place together.

Dr. Wordsworth has the highest possible conception of the Bible as an organic whole, all whose parts are fitly framed and joined together by the consummate art of the great Artificer. There can be no doubt that if we concede, in the lowest sense, that all Scripture is divinely intended for the instruction of the Church, there must be this wisdom pervading all its separate particles, and putting its broad stamp upon the whole. But this admission of a great principle will not always justify our own subjective applications of it. We may think we see such applications, and use them for our own private benefit, and yet they may not have any scientific value so as to take their place as canons of criticism, or legitimate and authoritative interpretations. We have before noticed this subjective exuberance in the writings of Dr. Wordsworth, and we are again struck with its prominence in this concluding part of his labours. In the general and special introductions to the general epistles, there is a constant effort to make these writings dovetail in, as it were, with the other New Testament letters, and to discover *designed* intentions on the part of their authors in relation to each other and those who preceded them; and this style of thought is carried also into the Book of Revelation. Now we cannot *prove* that such intentions were absent from the minds of the sacred writers: still less can we affirm that they were not contemplated by the Author of all wisdom; but a commentator should be able to do more than merely to make statements of his own feelings and opinions—he should be ready with some *proof* of what he advances. But in many of Dr. Wordsworth's opinions we lack this proof—we have plenty of hypotheses, but proofs are painfully wanting.

It will not be denied by any one that the Epistle to the Romans and that of St. James are capable of complementing each other. Dr. Wordsworth properly says of these:—

“The Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians and Romans cannot be duly understood unless they are viewed in connexion with the General Epistle of St. James; and on the other hand the Epistle of St. James may, perhaps, be liable to misapprehension, unless set in juxtaposition with the Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians and to the Romans. But when the Epistles of the two holy Apostles are placed together, they will be found to be adjusted to each other, and to fit in to each other with *nice accuracy and exact precision*; and, when thus combined, they form *a complete body* of Apostolic doctrine on the great article of Justification; and they afford a sufficient safeguard against erroneous teaching from two opposite sides, by which that doctrine has been assailed.”

This is true, in substance, yet our readers will remark the exaggerations, which we have placed in italics. The Church has always noticed the *general* mutual bearing of the Epistles mentioned, but few readers will be able to find the *nice accuracy and exact precision* with which they fit in to each other. As to being *a complete body* of Apostolic Doctrine on Justification, they are so, certainly, in that they form all the information given us on the question; but that more could

profitably be used is plain from the varied opinions and confessed difficulties which surround the doctrine of Justification. But, in relation to the Epistles, Dr. Wordsworth's opinions are still more subjective, and, may we say, fanciful.

"In like manner, the two General Epistles of St. Peter have a near relation to the Epistles of St. Paul. They add strength and support to them, and are strengthened and supported by them. St. Peter's first General Epistle bears a remarkable resemblance to St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians; and his second Epistle occupies a similar place to that which is filled by St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians. In the doctrinal substance of his teaching, and in the practical application of the great principle of the Christian faith to moral and social duty, St. Peter, in his first Epistle to the Jewish Christians, exhibits his perfect agreement with the Apostle of the Gentiles in his exhortation to the great Gentile Church of Ephesus. In his second General Epistle, St. Peter adds force and solemnity to the warnings of St. Paul to the Churches of Phrygia, concerning the immoral consequences arising from heretical denials or perversions of those Christian doctrines which were propounded by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians, and by Saint Peter himself in his first General Epistle."

Of these asserted relations, the author attempts to furnish proofs when he treats of the separate Epistles, but we confess they do not satisfy us. They are more often assertions than proofs. But a notable instance of this tendency of Dr. Wordsworth's subjectivities occurs at the close of the Book of Revelation. On the last verse he says—

"*The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Here is the Apostolic Benediction which concludes all the Epistles of St. Paul, and was the token of his Epistles, and therefore was not used by any other Apostle, as far as we know, in any Epistle written during the Apostle's lifetime (see above, in 1 Thess. v. 28) but was reserved for St. Paul's use, as the badge of his Epistles, to assure the Church of their genuineness. *That Benediction ends the Apocalypse, written long after St. Paul's death.* It closes the canon of Holy Scripture, and is, as it were, the Seal of the Bible. It is thus commended to the reverent use of the Church Universal, which, having received the Benediction from the Holy Ghost, writing by St. Paul and St. John, has ever used it in her Liturgies. Thus she proclaims to all, that her strength is derived from the free grace of God in Christ, etc., etc."

It would be difficult, we think, to find a greater number of unsupported propositions in any passage of equal length with the above. In the first place, St. Paul does *not* use this benediction in all his Epistles, as our readers may soon ascertain for themselves. Then, what proof is there that this benediction was the badge of his Epistles, to assure the Church of their genuineness? How could it do this, when it could be written by any impostor? Dr. Wordsworth, no doubt, refers to Saint Paul saying *twice*, "The salutation of me Paul with my own hand," etc.; but this remarkable expression occurs in the Epistle to the Colossians without the benediction. There can be no doubt, we think, that the Apostle's *own autograph*, and not the benediction, was the proof he speaks of. Then again, the late date of the Apocalypse is taken for granted. To mention no more objections, how can it be shewn that this Benediction, occurring here, closes the canon and is the seal of the Bible? It *may* be so, but surely a reverent use of Holy Scripture, and a full admission of its inspiration, are quite consistent with the belief that the position of the Apocalypse is accidental. We do not

deny these positions of our author, but we say they are mere *gratis dicta*, and must fail to carry conviction to men who are not afraid to think for themselves, even in the arena of the Holy Scriptures.

We have spoken on this feature of Dr. Wordsworth's Commentary plainly and fully, because we think it is a blemish. But we do not, on this account, undervalue his labours. On the contrary, we highly appreciate them, and we regret that the size and price of the work will stand in the way of its general circulation. Dr. Wordsworth's style is most diffuse, and his paragraphs are often single sentences. He also uses pronouns far less than is common. If these defects were corrected, the same matter could be condensed into much less compass, not only to the advantage of making it less in price, but also of rendering it far more pleasant in the reading.

Introduction to the Pentateuch: an Enquiry, Critical and Doctrinal, into the Genuineness, Authority, and Design of the Mosaic Writings.
By the REV. DONALD MACDONALD, M.A., Author of "Creation and the Fall." Two Vols. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1861.
8vo, pp. 488, 490.

THESE volumes appear very seasonably at the present time, when the old faith of Christendom is so much opposed, and when efforts are made to deprive Divine Revelation of all that is supernatural. We could have wished that the late Professor Baden Powell had lived to read Mr. Macdonald's contribution to orthodox and conservative criticism in the department of Old Testament literature, which found in him so latitudinarian an exponent. No opinions on the same subject could be more diametrically opposite than those of these writers; for while Mr. Powell laboured hard to bring down the Pentateuch from its high position in the Christian world, Mr. Macdonald exalts it as containing everywhere the marks of Divine wisdom. Strange is it that Christian men *can* arrive at such opposite conclusions from the same premises! That the same documents can be viewed with such contrary subjective tendencies! But while we admit that truth must prevail in human opinions, we cannot but rejoice that its claims in this case do not require that millions of Christians in the past and present should be shown to be credulous and misled, in having treated the Books of Moses as given by inspiration of God. In our opinion, Mr. Macdonald has accomplished what the title of his work promises, and has proved that the Pentateuch is the genuine production of Moses—that it has Divine authority—that its design is in perfect harmony with that system of revealed truth which began with the Fall—was perfected in Jesus Christ, and is destined to exert a mighty influence upon this world to the end of time.

Mr. Macdonald observes, that he was led to investigate the claims and character of the Pentateuch from the fact that much of the theological literature of modern times has endeavoured to discredit the records of Divine Revelation, and more particularly the Hebrew Scriptures. He alludes to passing events, when he says that the Books of Moses

have been assailed more than any other portions of Scripture, by all manner of weapons, "and even by men, and that too in Protestant England, who by their office have been 'set for the defence of the Gospel.'" In another place he is more explicit, for he says:—"Many who profess a firm belief in the New Testament Scriptures do not hesitate to speak contemptuously of the Old Testament, as the record of an imperfect and now antiquated dispensation. For example, Baden Powell, all whose energies were untiringly directed to the disparagement of the Old Testament, and especially the Mosaic Dispensation." Our author's aim is therefore to maintain the old canons of Old Testament exegesis against modern impugnors, and the plan he lays out for the accomplishment of his object is thus sketched in the preface:—

"First, the critico-historical argument is applied to establish the genuineness of the Pentateuch, in an examination of its Unity, Antiquity, and Authorship. This is succeeded by a vindication of its Authenticity and Divine Authority. As this, however, can be more conclusively argued from the internal evidence contained in the work itself, and the adaptation between the means and the purpose therein contemplated, special attention has been devoted to an inquiry into the Theology of the Pentateuch, or its design as a Revelation of God, and the basis of a national constitution and polity, fitted to carry out the purposes indicated from the very commencement of the Mosaic writings, and completed in the New Testament. To this argument, derived from what may be termed the genesis of Revelation, the author himself would attach importance; and to which due attention, he conceives, has not been given in treatises of this kind, or, indeed, in connexion with the study of Biblical Theology, on which it is fitted to shed a most powerful light wherein to contemplate the harmonious development of the Divine plan revealed in creation and redemption. Few matters of consequence have, it is believed, been overlooked; and wherever the limits prevented a more complete examination of any particular topic, reference has been made to the most recent or authoritative sources of information. In every case, indeed, considerable attention has been given to the literature of the subject—a feature of the work which, it is trusted, will add to its utility, and conduce to the ends which the author aimed at."

The whole work is divided into three books. The first book treats, after a preliminary chapter, of the names, divisions and contents of the Pentateuch—its exegetical literature. The second book comprises the genuineness, authenticity, and authority of the Pentateuch—its literary unity, its antiquity, its authorship, its credibility. Book the third, which occupies the whole of the second volume, has six chapters on the following subjects: The Chief End of the Pentateuch, the Revelation of God; Man the Object and chief Medium of Divine Revelation, his Condition and Prospects; God's remedy for Fallen Man; the Training of a People for being the Medium of Redemption; the Relation of the Pentateuch and the Mosaic Institutions to the New Testament. The field is thus very extensive, but not more so than the subject demands; but it is of more importance to notice that Mr. Macdonald has occupied it in a learned, and logical, and reverent manner, and that the results he has reached are highly satisfactory to all who attach any importance to the *stare in antiquas vias*. We have been much gratified with the way in which the marks of a special design are pointed out—the principle of selection, so to speak—in what is fully and what is

briefly noticed in the Pentateuch. For instance, how little is said about the heavens and the earth, but how much about *man*; how slight are the notices of the great nations spoken of in the Book of Genesis, yet how explicit and full are the records of the Patriarchs. All seems to point and converge to one object, and that is the revelation of Jesus Christ in the flesh, as the "Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." In thus viewing the Bible as an organic whole, all whose parts are arranged and harmonized by an infinite mind, Mr. Macdonald shews great skill, and in this the peculiarity of his work consists, as contrasted with modern sceptical theories. What he means is compendiously stated in the following passage:—

"It is, accordingly, as a revelation of God, and of man as related to God, his Creator and Redeemer, that Genesis presents itself, and that its importance is to be estimated. Considered more particularly, this record was intended to serve as an introduction to the Theocracy, or the peculiar arrangement into which God entered with the Israelitish nation, in accordance with the covenant which He made with Abraham; the Theocracy again being, in effect, directly preparatory to the Gospel dispensation. And, as the Old Testament Scriptures thus begin with an historical narration, so also does the New Testament. Indeed the two volumes commence with a *Βίβλος γενέσεως* (Matt. i. 1); while, further, the account of the creation of 'the heavens and the earth' in the first page of Genesis has its counterpart in the notice of 'the new heavens and the new earth' with which the Apocalypse and the Canon of Scripture conclude; the first creation having for its object the first Adam, the new creation taking its rise from the second Adam, according to the scheme which it is the great purpose of Scripture from its very commencement to set forth and establish. This in truth is the great principle which gives coherence, not only to Genesis, but to the whole Biblical history and doctrine, constituting them one complete whole. It were entirely to mistake the character of the history of Genesis, or indeed of the Bible at large, to regard it as having any other than a sacred purpose. It is in no sense a civil history, or record of general revolutions in human affairs, or even of intellectual and social progress."

For the opposition to the Pentateuch, considered as of Divine origin, the author gives four reasons. First, a disposition to deny the supernatural, a disbelief in a personal God and any direct communication from Him to mankind, such as are presented in the history of primæval man, of the Patriarchs, and of the Israelites in general. An unbelief of this kind strikes, of course, at the root of all Divine revelation. Secondly, the absence of true convictions of sin is said to contribute to the opposition to the claims of the Pentateuch, and to Scripture in general; as, when the nature and reality of sin are denied, or the power of it is unfelt. The teaching of the Pentateuch, and all its institutions, give testimony against sin; and therefore when sin is unfelt or unacknowledged, all such rites and ceremonies appear childish or without meaning, "and so not only lacking all evidence of a Divine institution, but utterly opposed to the conceptions entertained in such cases of the relation in which man stands to God, just as by many the great sacrifice typified by these Pentateuchal rites is deemed 'foolishness.'" Thirdly, closely associated with this disbelief in the reality of sin, and indeed arising from it, is an aversion to the holiness and righteousness which mark the character of God given in the Old Testament. Hengsten-

berg says : "To an eye which views sin as a necessary dowry of human nature, as a negative sort of good, as the condition of virtue, the holiness and righteousness of God must be an object of aversion. Men must try, at any rate, to get rid of a history in which these qualities are conspicuous." Fourthly, Mr. Macdonald mentions a very prevalent ignorance regarding the character of the older dispensation, and its relation to the new.

"It is easy to see to what results all such prejudices must conduct, and to estimate the value to be attached to conclusions so reached. They cannot obviously be regarded as the free conclusions of an earnest and honest inquiry after truth, but rather as the forced utterances of a perverted criticism, led by a prejudiced imagination. To dignify with the name of criticism, or any other science, this mode of dealing with Scripture and its evidence, would be an utter abuse of the term, seeing that all scientific principles are made to yield unhesitatingly to the exigencies of the theory whenever an arbitrary supposition affords an easy escape from the difficulties of the case. This can be at once satisfactorily established by an examination of the works of any of the great rationalistic authorities who have occupied themselves with the question of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, and various examples in confirmation will be adduced when discussing the question of its unity."

We should like to enter more fully on the details of these interesting volumes, but our space will not allow of this. We cordially recommend Mr. Macdonald's work to our readers, as a most important contribution to theological literature at any time, but especially at the present time.

The Lost Tribes and the Saxons of the East and of the West, with new views of Buddhism, and Translations of Rock-records in India. By GEORGE MOORE, M.D. London: Longmans. 1861. 8vo.

THE plan of this book is comprehensive, and the subjects of which it treats are curious and important. To carry out his plan, the author has had to investigate obscure branches of learning, and to collect an immense number of critical and historical facts. He has not been deterred by the great labour, and even those who dissent from some of his arguments and inferences, will readily praise him for the zeal, ability, and earnestness with which he has executed his task. It happens rather unfortunately that few will be able to speak with confidence on many of the topics discussed, because of the vastness of the field, and the variety of learning which is required to cover it. We may safely say, that this is a remarkably interesting and instructive work, and one which ought on no account to be lightly and superficially passed over. Subsequent explorers will find it useful for the facts which it records, and for many of the suggestions which it makes. But at the same time, we do not feel it to be conclusive on any one of the topics of the title page, and we shall feel constrained to express our dissent from some of its details.

With regard to the ten tribes of Israel, carried into captivity by Shalmanezzer about 721 B.C., it is highly probable that many of them never returned to their native land. The record of this event is in 2 Kings xvii. 3—23, where we are informed that Israel was carried

away into Assyria, and placed "in Halah and in Habor, by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes." There is great uncertainty as to the meaning of these names. Assyria and Media are plain enough of course. The Hebrew is, "and he led Israel captive to Assyria, and settled them in Hallah, and in Habor, a river of Gozan, and cities of Media." For the different explanations of this verse, the reader should consult Professor Keil's commentary upon it. An earlier deportation of part of Israel to Assyria, took place some years before under Tiglath Pileser (2 Kings xv. 29); and it should be noted that according to 1 Chron. v. 26, they were taken to Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river Gozan. There is no reason to question the historic accuracy of these two narratives, for it was a common practice with the Assyrians and others to remove the population of conquered cities and provinces, and to settle them elsewhere. Several questions may be asked of the Ten Tribes. Did they ever return to their own land? Did they remain in the places to which they were carried? Did they continue their separate existence, or were they mixed up with the Gentiles? If they did not return, did they retain their language and religion? If they emigrated from their new settlements, where did they go?

These and similar questions have been often discussed, and answered in various ways, but it is commonly believed that the Ten Tribes did at most only partially return to their own land. What became of the remainder is a mystery. There is no quarter of the globe in which they have not been sought for and found, as Dr. Moore says, "in Mexico and in Malabar, in England, and in Japan." They have been traced, or supposed to be traced, in central Africa and Abyssinia, in China, Afghanistan, and Burmah. Dr. Moore takes peculiar ground, and believes that the rebellious Israelites and Jews were scattered through the wide world, and leavened, at least, not a few of its nations. He finds this view supported by various prophecies in Ezekiel, Hosea, etc., and confirmed by historical records and actual facts. He attaches importance to what is said in the spurious second (or fourth) book of Esdras, chap. xiii. 39—50, where God is said to have wrought a miracle in their favour, when they resolved to go "into a further country, where never mankind dwelt, that they might there keep their statutes." It is added, that this country was a year and a half's journey, and called Arzareth. We regard all this as utterly without proof, and the book which contains it as of no authority whatever. It is only extant in Latin, certainly is unknown in Greek, and abounds in evidently false assertions. And yet it may be true that the ten tribes left Assyria, and that some of them made their way to the north and north-east, or even to the east. We have no evidence that they were sufficiently numerous to affect the character of the nations among whom they settled, and it is quite gratuitous of Dr. Moore to say of the Scythians, who overran Asia for twenty-eight years (about 635 B.C.), that they may have been led by the Israelites, "if, indeed, the great body of them were not of Hebrew origin." It is not only not probable, it is impossible, that such

should have been the case, seeing that Shalmanezzer only took them away about eighty-five years before. The same inference is to be drawn from 2 Kings xvii. 23, where we read that "Israel was carried away out of their own land to Assyria *unto this day*." Now, if the book were written about the time of the last event recorded in it, "this day" would be near 562 B.C., or more than seventy years after the Scythian invasion, named by Dr. Moore. A similar statement is made in 1 Chron. v. 26, and it is admitted that these books were not written till after the captivity of Babylon, or a hundred years after the Scythian invasion. If the Ten Tribes were then in Assyria, Dr. Moore's theory falls to the ground, and with it all that he has built upon it. This is very important, for he traces the origin of the name Sacæ to *Isaac*, and explains it to mean *sons of Isaac*, or descendants of the Ten Tribes. Now, when do these Sacæ first appear? According to Herodotus (iii. 93) the Sacæ were tributaries of Darius Hystaspes (say B.C. 510): he calls them Amyrgian Scythians (vii. 64), describes their habiliments and weapons, says that the Persians called all Scythians Sacæ, and intimates that they formed part of the army of Xerxes, under the command of Hystaspes, son of Darius. If, in the time of Herodotus (450 B.C.), the Sacæ were known as a Scythian tribe, resident in the district of Amyrgium, and if the Sacæ were descended from the Ten Tribes, in a few years they must have undergone a complete transformation, and, indeed, have lost nearly all traces of their origin. But surely, if the Sacæ had so recently emigrated from Assyria to the modern Bokhara, so remarkable a circumstance would have been noticed. Once more, the Sacæ were ranged with the Bactrians in the army of Xerxes, from which we gather that they spoke a similar language, an opinion which is confirmed by the arrangements of the army in general. Every circumstance connected with the Sacæ leads to the conclusion that they were no new comers among the Scythian tribes to the north-east of Persia, at the period in question. Perhaps Dr. Moore will not feel the force of this, and the less so, as he believes that "certain classes of the people of Bokhara and Afghanistan are of Israelitish origin;" and we have admitted that the Sacæ lived in Bokhara. With regard to Afghanistan, it is well known that more than one respectable authority places the remnants of the Ten Tribes in that country. We cannot go into the reasons for this opinion, but may say, once for all, that we believe it the most probable of any we have met with; although we by no means feel the force of all the arguments adduced by Dr. Moore.

As to the efforts of our author to establish the affinity of the Sacæ with the Goths and Saxons of the west, and numerous other families of the human race, they fail to carry conviction. Not that we doubt the Oriental origin of many of the European nations. Far from it, this is proved by their language and various other circumstances. But admitting this, and even admitting that the Sacæ of Scythia are from the same source as the Saxons, it does not follow that both or either are derived from the Israelites. The migration of the Indo-Germanic race must have been very ancient, far more so than Dr. Moore's theory sup-

poses; and, under any circumstance, must have been from an older and more widely diffused stock than that theory allows. But when all other difficulties are removed, the philological one remains, and we do not understand how it is to be overcome. It is quite certain that the Israelites spoke Hebrew, which is a Shemitic language, like Arabic and Chaldee; and it is equally certain that the nations whose origin is here traced to the Israelites, employed the Indo-European and Turanian languages, chiefly the former. This fact alone will be conclusive against Dr. Moore's system, to those who have made comparative philology their study. In the face of facts, the assertion of our author that the Arian, a branch of the Indo-Germanic or Indo-European, was a Hebrew—that is Shemitic language, must fall to the ground, and with its fall, his entire hypothesis of the origin of the Sacæ, &c., from a Hebrew race, collapses. We should reach the same result by means of the argument from ethnology, which draws an equally broad line between the Shemitic and the Japhetic nations.

Perhaps it will be pleaded that words resembling Hebrew are to be found in Indo-European languages, and that the Pushtoo or Afghan is full of Shemitic words. But this does not reach the requirements of the case, and as it respects the Afghans, we have already admitted that some of the lost tribes may have settled among them.

But what shall we say to Dr. Moore's inscriptions in the Arian and Maghada characters, from countries in and about the north-west of India? Has he not written them out in Hebrew characters, and translated his Hebrew into English? and has he not thus proved that these inscriptions are Hebrew? Our reply is, that the so-called evidence amounts to nothing. Some of the inscriptions are written from left to right, and not like Hebrew, from right to left. In all of them the division into Hebrew words is arbitrary, and usually quite different from the *verbal* arrangement of the original. Besides, Dr. Moore's Hebrew is not Hebrew at all, in any broken sense of the word. It violates all the principles of the idiom and structure of the language. The order of the words is unnatural, and a strange sense is forced upon them, frequently at least. They have been devised without a due regard to, and proper use of grammatical inflexions. The meaning extracted or extorted from them is inconsistent with the laws of language and of thought. We are prepared to stand or fall by this decision. We have tested the examples in every way, and they have failed to stand. We have even tried the same experiment on some of Dr. Moore's own English sentences, and have got as good Hebrew out of them, and Hebrew as readily turned into English—of course very different from the original.

If we are asked whether Dr. Moore's versions do not accord with the principles of Buddhism, we answer yes; and with any other principles that may be suggested. To us they read like incoherent rhapsody, without order or connexion. To shew what they are is but fair to the author, and we therefore give a specimen or two of the shorter ones:—

"(1) Strangers bore rule; their oppression, the calamity of my chosen ones, was their rejoicing, their speech was *Pritha* [Parthian (?)]. The bringing forth of *Badh* was as the violent severance of the Remnant occupying Kash, the abode of the Jews, their own people. (2) We were put to silence; they decreed destruction to us; a strife of blood brought them to an end; the Euler obeyed. He whom my soul seeks, whom we worship, is an overflowing sea, Jehovah is Light. . . . (3) his distinguishing religious ordinance produced union, and the mere humiliation of the inhabitants of Kash . . . causing equality became my splendour; for their calamity produced union. (4) . . . thou waitest in silence, O submissive one. The decree of their mouth was baldness; moreover the bowing down extended my research, the calamity was equality; surely their setting at liberty was here becoming. (5) Thou wast made comfortable; the infliction of our calamity, even the necessity of the injury, became my fruit. The Feast of the Covenant was neglected, my house had obeyed; the calamity caused it to be neglected; behold, there was great affliction within us."

Again :—

"(1) There was destruction for the people, the Magadhim, the name of my father's nation; but it decided their cause, O brother; yea, *Badh* is thy perfection, a life of calamity and pain is thy perfection; (2) and that which is the token of the high-place [*damath*], shall be thy mark, even the wrath of *Buddha*. *Damma* is the name I have devised for the revelation thereof; the place of the spreading of thy hand is surely that of a high-place. (3) At the elevation of *Budhen*, at the setting up of the alabaster [image] of *Su* [calamity], at it there shall be the sign; surely it is as a high-place. My hotness [wrath] shall be that which is O God [*Jah*], whose worship [*damma*] is the wall of defence; (4) for to him I have set up, I have set up what is strong; the God of my wrath is wise, mark the sign thereof. Why are the portions [*mani*] of the high-place those of utter destruction? O God, my ruin and lamentation are a memorial of *Kash*. (5) The years of the suffering of *Gath*, with the oppression of the times of *Gomatta*, were mine [or are upon me]; behold they are set up, and the breaking of my speech is appropriate for the going up, (6) as to the hand alike of Moses and yourselves. I will greatly multiply you by the exaltation of *Budhen*, by setting up the gifts of the high-place. The worship is wonderful, O God of my oppression; these are as the waters of (7) the affliction of thy proving; the ruin is a propitiation with me; thy ruin is become my possession. O my father, the lamentation is the calamity the woe of which was thine, but the praise of Jehovah redeemeth; (8) he hath made known the wall of defence, even the doctrine of thy *Saka*, even the doctrine that is thine own; the high-place is my might. [Dan. vii. 7.] Why? Because my sea is my rock [or protection]. O my father I have dismayed them in the name appointed [or, I have made my nation their dread].

[The last three words are nearly obliterated.]"

Again :—

"Contrary [to custom], but unblamed, I caused a vessel of blood^a to be enclosed. A fire of wood consumed a hundred and twenty [CXX.] in it; the dead body was raised on high by them. Trembling because I also deposited the sackcloth of his mourning . . . sackcloth and blood complete; what was unintentionally wrong therein that the exalted deceased exonerates; my trouble was that of a leader when the heathen people of *Ram*^b smote *Aphen* [the wheel (?)]; *Nago-Anoi* punished *Ram*; he smote their stores [baskets] with want, and adjudged *Tovan* to pay a tax that was large for it and oppressive, and their power [hand] was certainly thus subverted.

"My teaching shall smite, shall guide even them; and thus there shall be nothing but praise; the uncleanness of the rebellious is folly, yea even the love

^a Literally "blood a vessel."

^b Ram is worshipped by the Hindoos.

thereof, for it shall smite, it shall smite them; let us abide at peace, O people my sacred ordinance shall be yours, even smiting of hands;^c the *Damma* [worship] of Dan shall be as exalted,^d the love of Ram remaining with it; and the conqueror of *Magogia* [Scythia (?)]. My beloved was like the pomegranate [or like *Rimon*] that is cut off, even my beloved."

If these fail to satisfy the reader, he can find many others, both longer and shorter, in the work before us.

Now, supposing all these inscriptions to relate to Buddhism, as they probably do, we affirm that the so-called English versions are not in harmony with the known forms of thought and expression in Buddhist documents. We need only refer for illustration to the *Manual of Buddhism*, by Mr. Spence Hardy, where this, at least, of our arguments finds sufficient confirmation.

Dr. Moore is of opinion that Buddhism is of Israelitish origin, and he goes into an elaborate proof of this position. But even here we are not convinced, and while we admire the extent of his information, and the ingenuity of his reasoning, we decidedly object to his conclusions. In fact if his theory of the Hebrew origin of the *Sacæ*, and if the Hebrew character of the inscriptions is erroneous, his account of the origin of Buddhism cannot stand. Again, however, we will permit him to speak for himself:—

"The people to whom our inscriptions pertain certainly established a mighty religious system, which even now prevails over nearly a third of the inhabitants of the earth. The inhabitation of a divine person in the form of Buddha seems like a fulfilment of the Israelitish hope concerning the Messiah; but the remarkable declaration of Godama, as preserved in the sacred books, should not be overlooked, for he stated that the ultimate *Buddha* was yet to come, namely, the *Bagava-Mettyo*. The meaning of those words is not known, but the resemblance of *Mettyo* to *Messiah* is worthy of note, and certainly the term is meant to designate a divine messenger. The sound of these words would be most nearly conveyed by מֶטְיֹוֹ signifying, In the excellency or victory of his Branch or Plant, reminding us of the language addressed by Ezekiel to the elders of Israel, when, having predicted their defections, he foretells the restoration of blessings to the shattered flock. 'They shall no more be a prey to the heathen, neither shall the beasts devour them; but they shall dwell safely, and none shall make them afraid. I will raise up a *Plant* of renown [מֶטְיֹוֹ *Mettyo* (?)], and they shall no more be consumed of hunger in the land, neither bear the shame of the heathen any more.' (Ezek. xxxiv. 29.) A similar prediction is found in Isaiah xi. 'There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a *Branch* out of his roots.' Sakya planted a branch as a symbol and a prophecy. This Godama, or Sakya, who is the Buddha worshipped in Ceylon and Burmah, was King of Kash, and the same Godama, or Jaudama, to whom is attributed the founding of the rock chambers of Jenoor (or Joonur), according to our first inscription; we, therefore possess presumptive evidence that he was a Hebrew. There is enough of the sublime and beautiful in the doctrines of this Buddha to account for their rapid diffusion amongst a people to whom self-negation, equality, patience, benevolence, and reverence for life came recommended by the high pretensions to direct inspiration and the possession of divine virtues, by the contemplation of which the human soul might be divested of all its earthliness and lose itself as if by absorption into the eternal. But still the highest teacher and most glorious deliverer was yet to come in the *Bagava-Mettyo*, which, as Hebrew, means precisely what

^c The line here passes round to the right side of the inscription.

^d Or, like that of Ram.

the prophets of the Old Testament predicted in relation to the Messiah. It is not improbable that the *Bodhi*-tree (*bodhi*, branch [?]), under which Sakya is said to have meditated, and also the *branch* planted by the relic chambers and memorial tumuli of Buddha, and sent from Central India to Ceylon on the establishment of Buddhism there, all had a prophetic significance in reference to the incarnation of divinity yet to be expected. This branch of renown in the Buddhist soil, planted as it amidst the divisions of the people, is associated with the one wheel, the fourfold wheel, the wheel of teaching or penitence, the monogram of Godama, signifying Godlikeness, the fourfold sign of power around the wheel, the sacred tau, the winged bull, and the sacred mount; for all these symbols are seen together in an ancient Buddhist medal, and the Branch there, as seen at the end of our introduction, takes the form of a mystic cross, the most sacred of symbols amongst the Buddhists."

There are many other points to which we might have called attention, but we must reluctantly pass them over, only intimating some of them. We object then to the principles of prophetic interpretation here laid down, and worked out by Dr. Moore. We object to his philological principles as a whole, and to many of his interpretations in particular. The etymologies of proper names are frequently without any foundation but a superficial resemblance of form, or a fancied similarity of meaning. We object strongly to the ethnological principles of the book, which we cannot harmonize with the statements of the Bible on that broad question, nor with the researches of modern science. Now, believing that the work is thus wrong in its fundamental principles, we are bound to dissent from its essential theory, for which we can find no solid basis, either in reason or in fact. Dr. Moore is inconsistent with himself, as when he says that the Scythian invaders of Assyria included perhaps a strong infusion of Israelites, and argues upon the presumption that they had then emigrated to the north and north-east: and yet further on, he tells us that in the time of Nebuchadnezzar the Israelites were *all* in Assyria and Media. Elsewhere he confounds the Budii and the Budini, and identifies both with the *name* at least of Buddhism. He mistakes the female figure of the goddess Nanæa on a coin for a male divinity, and fancies her name is another epithet of Godama. The time would fail us to correct all these things, and to shew how from a false assumption, numbers of errors continually flow. Thus, whether he misread ἥλιος, the sun, as *Elias*, or the letters *us* (of *Βασιλεως*) as *SU*, or mistake the meaning of a symbol, they are at once made the basis of a concatenation of arguments in support of his hypothesis. Our readers will find the book very interesting, and notwithstanding our dissent from its principles and theories, we recommend them on this account to look into it.

Scripture Lands in connexion with their History. With an Appendix, and Extracts from a Journal kept during an Eastern Tour in 1856-7. By G. S. DREW, M.A., Incumbent of St. Barnabas, South Kensington, author of "Scripture Studies, etc., etc. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1860. 12mo, pp. 470."

THIS is not an ordinary book of travels in Palestine, but rather a series

of essays and meditations suggested by a tour in Scripture lands. The extracts from the journal kept during the author's visit do not amount to fifty pages, and are only slightly connected with the body of the book. The plan Mr. Drew has adopted is to select certain eras and localities, important in the history of the Israelites, and then to arrange around them whatever, in the Bible or in modern research, can throw light upon them. These leading topics are—Land of the Patriarchs; Goshen and the Valley of the Nile; Sinai and the Wilderness of Paran; Central Palestine; Land and Heritage of Israel; Ephraim and Judah; Land of Nehemiah and the Maccabees; Roman Palestine; Jerusalem in the Apostolic Age; Palestine in Modern History; Palestine in the Future. To enable him to write with confidence on these subjects, Mr. Drew had the benefit of close, personal observation. He ascended the Nile as far as Philæ, and, after spending some days at Thebes, went through the desert in a more leisurely and careful journey than is possible in the large parties of twelve or fifteen who are hurried on in what are called the Dragoman's Excursions from Cairo to Jerusalem. His companions were the Rev. W. Arthur and his lady, of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and W. Clay, Esq., of New York, and they took the long route by Bissateen to Suez, and stayed to ascend the chief mountains in the peninsula, as well as to explore the neighbourhood of Sinai. They went across the Paran highlands, by Beer-sheba, to Jerusalem; and subsequently made the journey from Jerusalem to Petra, remaining there two days, with every opportunity for a deliberate examination of the rock city. From Jerusalem the path homeward was along the usual route, through North Palestine and Damascus. The spirit in which he made his observations may be gathered from what he says the Christian traveller should do.

"Ever being mindful, as he journeys in company with the ancient men of Scripture, that he is amongst them as a Christian—that, in virtue of his privilege of living in an advanced stage of the Divine government, he is conscious of a Presence they did not always see, of purposes they were unconsciously fulfilling, and of an advancing cause, the momentousness whereof they did not understand—he will thus endeavour to picture before his readers livingly, substantially, as they stand before him, the successive stages of the history which was made the vehicle of such instruction, the agent of such ends."

By the aid of these advantages, and by a devout application of his competent knowledge of Holy Scripture, Mr. Drew has given us a volume of more than common interest. He takes the reader to the scenes he describes, and while he expatiates on their beauty, or on the historical facts with which they are associated, he makes all his observations to bear on the Bible, its facts, its doctrines, and its precepts. But we must find room for Mr. Drew's own account of what is aimed at by him.

"For personal knowledge of the country, and exact intimacy with its characteristic features, with its shape, its products, its climate, and its skies, and, as influenced by these, with the social usages of its occupants, we here claim more than is generally assigned to this part of historical interpretation. We speak of it not as furnishing advantageous and interesting illustrations of the history, but as furnishing portions of the original history itself, of the form it was cast in, of

the aspect it assumed. We have already alluded to it as the source of verbal illustrations, so that the traveller's observations are absolutely essential to the success of the labours of the philologist, who must turn to him for the equivalents of terms that are otherwise inexplicable. We have alluded also to that emphasis of the narrative, those disclosures of its tone and spirit, that can be given only from this source, even when the terms of it are accurately understood. And to these two uses of travel this also may be added, that, by means of it, the course and order of the occurrences, as given in any record, can alone be harmonized and understood.

"The use of travel in illustrating narratives—in other words, the dependence of history on geography—may be definitely stated under these three heads. And it is remarkably exemplified in the case of the sacred record. It is, indeed, essential, if the history is fully to serve its purpose, of acquainting us with the circumstances and events through and amidst which the Divine cause has been carried forward during the period over which the inspired history extends. For what has been called the emphasis communicated to them from the above-named sources often represents and determines that personal character of the agents in it which is, in this case, necessary to be apprehended. The Divine cause, at certain epochs in its progress, is represented to us by the conceptions respecting it in the minds of those who are thus brought forward, and by their personal demeanour. Hence the framework of the narrative here stands blended, or rather is identical, with its very substance. And so it is that those who by travel or study have vividly realised that framework, have felt that hereby another aspect has been cast over the sacred volume, in a degree not experienced in the case of any other record; it has become a new book to them after this vivid realisation has been affected."

As a specimen of the *thoughtfulness* of this volume, we may refer to Mr. Drew's observations on the adaptation of the scene of Abraham's sojourn to the Divine purposes which were to be accomplished by it.

"Nor may we hesitate to say that it had been Divinely reserved as the first of the Hebrew Church lands; for the more we learn of its relative position in regard to surrounding countries, and of its own distinctive characteristics, of the social relations of the community which was settled on it, and of the local influences that wrought upon its occupants, the more clearly is the wisdom of Heaven recognized in its special adaptation to the purposes for which it was chosen and consecrated. . . . In no part of the prospect was there any loveliness, or any features of greatness and sublimity. None of the luxuries of landscape scenery met the eye on any side. Every aspect of the country that might be called beautiful is seen in the narrow section of the mountain district immediately on the south of Hebron. No lakes or rivers, or masses of foliage, or deep ravines, or any lofty towering heights, are within range of sight to one in the centre of the territory. The mountains which have just been spoken of come near enough in sight to break the monotony of the view on approaching the southern and eastern boundaries; and verdant recesses are occasionally met with, especially in the passes leading down through the Judean hills. For a few weeks late in spring-time a smiling aspect is thrown over the broad downs, when the ground is reddened with the anemone, in contrast with the soft white of the daisy and deep yellow of the tulip and marigold. But this flush of beauty soon passes, and the permanent aspect of the country is—not wild indeed, or hideous, or frightfully desolate, but, as we may say, austere plain—a tame, unpleasing aspect, not causing absolute discomfort while one is in it, but left without one lingering reminiscence of anything lovely, or awful, or sublime."

We may here observe that Mr. Drew's "Scripture Studies" were noticed in this Journal some years ago; but we cannot refrain from recommending them to our readers again, as very suggestive contributions to Biblical commentary.

The Decalogue viewed as the Christian Law; with special reference to the questions and wants of the Times. By RICHARD TUDOR, B.A., Curate of Helston. London: Macmillans. 1680. 12mo. pp. 614.

This elaborate Treatise originated in a series of discourses, delivered in the first place to a congregation in the country, and afterwards, with considerable changes to a larger congregation. But when preparing these lectures for the press, the author thought that a consecutive treatise on the Ten Commandments might prove more acceptable, "especially as it appeared, upon enquiry, that there was no work before the country which filled the ground attempted to be occupied; namely, the Christian sense of the Decalogue in its application to existing needs and questions." Mr. Tudor properly says, that "many questions of the highest importance are here treated in an earnest and reverent spirit," such as the Christian doctrine of "God in Christ," the law of Marriage, and the Lord's-day. We will turn to the latter subject, and endeavour to put the reader in possession of the author's opinions upon it. To it are given two Lectures, one entitled, "The Jewish Sabbath the Rest of a day;" the other "The Christian Sabbath the Rest in the Lord." Under the first, the author expresses his belief that the Jewish Sabbath was not a patriarchal institution, but was revealed first to the Israelites in the Wilderness, at the time the manna was given;—an opinion which has since been warmly defended in the Bampton Lectures of Dr. Hessey. The objections to this view are discussed, and we will give, *in extenso*, Mr. Tudor's reasons for his own opinion.

"1st. After this mention of the sabbath, in the second chapter of Geneses, we never again read of it; nor do we find the seventh day in any way distinguished in the sacred narrative from the other days until the children of Israel had arrived in the wilderness of mount Sinai.

"2nd. Had the sabbath been given to the old world, as it was to the Israelites, we should certainly expect to hear the men who lived before the flood accused of its profanation.

"3rd. We should also expect to find God giving directions to Noah concerning its observance when He entered into covenant with mankind, through him, not to destroy the world again by a flood, and to send summer and winter, seed-time and harvest, in their appointed course. If God, at that time revealed to Noah His ordinance as to abstaining from blood, can we believe that He would have omitted all mention of His sabbath; especially when we remember how frequently the commandment is reiterated to the Jews?

"4th. Again; had the sabbath been known by or revealed to Noah, we should expect to find some tradition of that institution existing among heathen nations. Go where you will, you find a tradition of a deluge, and I cannot conceive it to be at all probable that the tradition of such a striking institution as that of the sabbath could have been entirely obliterated; for whatever scattered notices the learned may fancy they have traced of a period of seven days in ancient monuments, &c., are too far-fetched and too uncertain in their character to merit much attention.

"5th. The sabbath is also said to be a sign between God and the people of Israel; "Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their generations for a perpetual covenant: it is a sign between Me and the children of Israel for ever." Again; it is written, "And I gave them My statutes and showed them My judgments, which if a man do he shall even live in them: moreover also, I gave them my sabbaths to be a

sign between Me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord that sanctify them."

"Mark, it is not said that the *keeping* of the sabbath should be a sign between God's people and himself, but that God *gave* the sabbath to be a sign; therefore the institution itself of the sabbath was the sign. Now this *institution* of the sabbath, as a sign, and to be a perpetual covenant, is inconsistent with the notion that the sabbath was, in fact, already binding upon the Israelites, through their forefathers.

"6th. Had the sabbath been a patriarchal institution, it would have been equally binding upon the heathen nations; and the heathen nations, at the time of Moses, had either forgotten it, or, on the other hand, they then observed it; if they then observed it, as some argue, how could it be a sign between the God of Israel and his covenant people? If, on the other hand, they had entirely lost the tradition, which seems a most improbable supposition, can we account for the fact, that not a word is said either about this being a renewal of an ancient command or of the apostasy of the heathen world in this particular?

"7th. But, it will be objected, "Is it not expressly said in the second chapter of Genesis, that God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it?" Yes; but then it is not said that God communicated this truth as yet to man. Christ is called "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," yet it was only in the "fulness of time" that He was revealed "made of a woman, made under the law;" and John the Baptist said, "*Behold* the Lamb of God." "Known unto God," saith the Apostle, "are all his works from the beginning of the world," and he "callethe those things which be not as though they were." From the foundation of the world the Lamb of God was slain in the divine counsels; so, in like manner was the sabbath sanctified; but we maintain that it was not revealed to man as a divine institution until the time when it was given *as a sign* to the children of Israel.

"8th. And observe, that it does not in the least follow from the words of this text that God *commanded men* to sanctify the seventh day in the times before the flood; there is no intimation whatever that he had, at that time, revealed this sanctity of the seventh day, but it is simply asserted, that God himself "blessed it and sanctified it." Now remember, that this history contained in the book of Genesis was written *after* the giving of the law to the Jews, and it will then, I think, be at once apparent that God, in this text after revealing the creation of the world more fully than he did at Sinai, explains the clause in the fourth commandment, already well known to the Israelites: "In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and rested on the seventh day."

"If this is a correct interpretation, we may thus paraphrase this text: "You have already received in the fourth commandment, from the very lips of Jehovah himself, the account of the creation of the world in six days, and the sanctification of the seventh day. You have now, by the revelation of the Spirit, been furnished with a more detailed account of the creation, and here I repeat to you the reason why the Lord selected the seventh day for your sabbath. God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, as you have heard from his own lips, *because* that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made.

We think much may be advanced in defence of the Sabbath being an ordinance from the beginning, but our object now is not a controversial one. We wish to convey some adequate idea of Mr. Tudor's design and its execution. We will, therefore, quote the summary of his opinions as to what the Christian Sabbath is.

"To sum up. The meaning of the Christian sabbath we hold to find its expression in that saying of St. John, "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day." To sabbathise then is to cleve to the mere "Touch not, taste not, handle not." of a ceremonial rest day. To observe the Lord's day is to offer to Christ the willing service of a loving heart. Every day is Christ's, every work, every word, every thought is his. Our Lord's day we observe to testify to this. To witness

to ourselves, to the brethren, and to the world, that He who on this day rose from the dead, and sent the other Comforter to unite us to himself and the Father, is our Lord and our God for *all* time and eternity. It is not to raise one day above another, but, under the guidance of our God, to choose out one day in seven to embody and represent what every other day ought to become,—*REST IN THE LORD*. On the Lord's day, we come to him as members of his church, "with joy to draw water out of the wells of salvation;" in order that it may descend in fertilizing showers in our week-day life. And, in this sense it is, that the sabbath was made for man to find therein his refreshment and rest.

"This is the Christian sabbath, and, although we as Christians observe this day because it is the Lord's day, yet, in so doing, we reverence not the *day* but the *Person*. The Son of man is the Lord of our sabbath. Our religion must not centre in the observance of days, and months, and years, but in the living Person, Christ Jesus, who is "head over all things to the church;" "For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things."

"The Jewish hallowing of a *day* is only the shadow of which the body is Christ. And let no one imagine that this is an unimportant distinction; it is not so. People will, in these days of general enlightenment, seek for principles, they will know "the why" and the "wherefore" and we may rest assured that if we put the "new wine" of the gospel grace into the "old bottles" of Jewish ordinances, the bottles will be broken and the wine will be spilt; but let us put the "new wine into new bottles," that both may be preserved. If we will persist in offering to men an institution based upon untenable grounds, the result must be, first, that we shall fail to convince their understandings, and, as a consequence we shall revolt their wills, and all our exhortations to Sunday observance will be answered by a *successful* sneer at Judaism."

The Contrasts of Christianity with Heathen and Jewish Systems: or, Nine Sermons preached before the University of Oxford on various occasions. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College; Bampton Lecturer in 1859. London: Longman. 1861. 8vo. pp. 286.

SERMONS are not the most effective form in which to exhibit a close theological argument; but existing arrangements at the Universities cause it to be generally adopted. The delivering of a Thesis in a lecture-room would better enable a scholar to do justice to his subject, without the technical arrangements and frequent breaks which are made necessary by a sermon. In this volume, only the three first sermons directly belong to the subject enounced in the title page. "These sermons, preached on various occasions, and, in many cases, at considerable intervals, are not parts of a single scheme, nor even written with direct reference to one another. Yet it was thought they possessed sufficient unity—if not of plan, at any rate of tone and treatment—to make it desirable that if they appeared at all they should appear together." We shall confine our notice to the three first discourses, which are on the following topics:—Sermon 1 is on the Incarnation, or Christian and Heathen views of Matter. The mode of treatment may be gathered from the sketch of the contents given in the volume, such as the effect of the Incarnation on matter—effects produced upon it by the fall—the Incarnation and potential purification of all matter; an actual purification of large portions of matter—contrast of Christian and heathen views, etc., etc. Sermon 2 is on a Future Life, the Christian doctrine compared with the chief heathen

views. Sermon III. treats of the superiority of Christian over Heathen morals, as an evidence of the truth of Christianity. These subjects are all treated in a scholarly and thoughtful manner, but they will not equally gain the assent of Mr. Rawlinson's readers; as, for instance, what he says about matter acquiring moral qualities. The Incarnation of our Lord, has, he says, wrought a change on external nature, apprehended by faith, if not by our senses.

"Faith sees that *all* matter was by that marvellous junction at least potentially cleansed and purified, hallowed, filled with glory and infused with life. Frith sees in that act the commencement of a process of purification which only terminates with the "new heaven and the new earth" of the Apocalyptic vision. As leaven is spread in three measures of meal slowly but surely spreads itself through the whole till the lump is leavened, so from our Lord's pure and glorious body does purity and glory proceed onward to the extremest limits of the material universe. All that came in contact with that blessed body on earth was by the very contact in a measure purified. As His baptism with water in the river Jordan "sanctified" and cleansed that element "to the mystical washing away of sins" (as our Church, following St. Ignatius, witnesses), so the heavens to which He looked up, the ground on which He walked, the air He breathed, must have derived a holiness, previously strange to them, from such connection with His perfect purity."

The second lecture will probably be more generally valued. Much that is excellent is advanced respecting that great peculiarity of the Gospel, its revelations of immortality. How affectingly he describes the state of the Heathen without it, and then contrasts that of Christians:—

"One more defect in heathenism remains to be noticed; and it is perhaps, of all the most considerable. The light which they had, continually from age to age burnt feebler; less and less of truth was "retained by them in their knowledge;" corruptions prevailed more and more widely; belief grew weaker; scepticism advanced with rapid strides, and but for Christianity an universal Pyrrhonism might eventually have overspread the world. When we go far back into the recesses of heathen antiquity we find notions comparatively pure, and faith unswerving; undoubtedly, because the real source of the heathen's knowledge was primeval revelation, and so the stream is clearer the closer we approach the fountain! For a while certain philosophies, whose principle it was to pay the utmost deference to old traditions, the Pythagorean in part, but especially the Platonic and Peripatetic, continued to propagate notions in the main correct. Plato especially, who loves to speak of the world to come in the words of the ancient myths, taught and maintained a doctrine very nearly approaching to the truth. But with the great bulk of philosophies it was otherwise. These, throwing themselves in a proud and self-trusting spirit upon abstract reasoning to the exclusion of authority, darkened by degrees the previously existing light, weakened men's faith, and departed more and more from the true doctrine. And these became the popular systems, against which those purer philosophies struggled all in vain. . . . Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept," is proof sufficient that "they that are Christ's shall rise afterwards at His coming." The Manhood joined *for ever* inseparably to the Eternal Godhead, declares, with a voice as of a trumpet, that man, for whose sake alone that union subsists, shall ever live to profit by it. Thus then have "life and immortality" been by the Gospel "brought to light;" that which of old was feebly advocated in a few schools of philosophy, or whispered occasionally as a conjecture in the mourner's ear, is now proclaimed openly through all Christian lands, and as a topic of consolation is almost too trite to be effectual. . . . The consequence is, that the humblest and most ignorant of

Christians possesses a confidence and assurance on these points to which the wisest philosopher never attained, and which was unknown even to the Patriarchs. . . . No doubt, then, mingles with the Christian's faith, no fear beditts that "lively hope" to which "the resurrection of Christ Jesus from the dead has begotten him." He is not more certain of his present being than of his coming immortality. He "knows in whom he has believed," and that his life depends on one who is "a quickening Spirit," and "hath life in Himself."

Night Scenes of the Bible, and their Teachings. By the REV. CHARLES D. BELL, M.A., Minister of St. John's Chapel, Hampstead. London: Wertheim and Co. 1861. 12mo, pp. 558.

"EVENTS," says the author, "bearing not alone on the fate and fortunes of individuals, but on the destinies of the world and of the Church, are related in the Bible as having taken place during the still and solemn hours of the night. Truths of the deepest importance are revealed through the visions vouchsafed to holy men of old, when their eyes were sealed in slumber, and they lay wrapt in heavenly trance or prophetic dream. Of many a patriarch, and priest, and seer, it may be said—

"In night's starry shade
Of dim and solitary loveliness
They learned the language of another world."

This idea is a happy one, and the author has made it the connecting link of some excellent discourses on passages of Scripture, and has shewn himself to be a devout, and earnest, and imaginative preacher, and we have no doubt that, both as heard and read, the sermons will prove useful. There are twenty-three subjects, such as the Night of Promise, (Gen. xv. 5, 6); the Night of Weeping (2 Sam. xii. 16); the Night of the Nativity, etc. The Night of Revelry, from Daniel vi., will afford us a fair specimen of Mr. Bell's style.—

"There was the sound of revelry in the royal palace at Babylon. Belshazzar, in the presence of a thousand of his lords, holds high festival. The night is to be devoted to gaiety and gladness. With the ruby wine at his lips, he commands his servants to bring the vessels of silver and gold which his father, Nebuchadnezzar, had taken from the temple at Jerusalem, that he and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, may drink therein. The order is obeyed, and the sacrilege committed. In the holy vessels which had been consecrated to the service of the Most High, the king makes libations to his vain idols, in his heart bidding defiance to the God of Israel. The lamps shine brightly upon the festal throng, while the glowing hours pass rapidly away in mirth and music, in pleasure and in joy. Everything that can minister to the indulgence of the voluptuous monarch and his sensual court is there. Nothing is wanted to contribute to their gratification. So "all goes merry as a marriage-bell." But what stops the mirth? Why does the laughter cease when at its loudest? Why does the half-uttered jest die away from pallid lips? Look to yonder wall for the answer! See how the fingers of a man's hand traced thereon a mystic scroll! No wonder that the king's countenance changes, and his thoughts trouble him, so that the joints of his loins are loosed, and his knees smite one against another. In the horror of his sudden fear he cries aloud, and calls for the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers. He promises to the wise man who shall read the writing on the wall, and shew him the interpretation, that he will clothe him in scarlet, and place a chain of gold about his neck, and make him the third ruler in his kingdom. In the midst of the general dismay, the queen hurries into the

banquet-house and informs the king that there is a man in the kingdom in whom is the spirit of the holy gods, etc."

Biblical Commentary on the Epistles of St. John, in continuation of the work of Olshausen: with an Appendix on the Catholic Epistles, and an Introductory Essay on the Life and Writings of St. John. By Dr. JOHN H. A. EBRARD. Translated by the Rev. W. B. Pope, Manchester. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1860. 8vo, pp. 456.

THIS and the following work are contributions to the Foreign Theological Library, which continues to deserve the support of British Biblical scholars. Dr. Ebrard is already known among us as the continuator of Olshausen's labours on the New Testament, when that great man was removed by death. Perhaps no work has yet appeared which so fully discusses all the questions which belong to St. John's Epistles, and the author has availed himself of the labours of his predecessors both for the purpose of refuting their errors, and adopting some of their conclusions. Without being tied down to any system, and while, in some particulars, he will be thought too free by English theologians, he is yet eminently conservative in the main, and may be safely read by the student. On the disputed claims of the First Epistle (ch. v. 7, 8), a very lucid account is given, with the following conclusion:—

"The internal arguments, therefore, would never be sufficient of themselves to determine any one in favour of, or against the genuineness of the words in question. If indeed some old unlooked-for Greek codex should be discovered containing the passage, the critical question would take another aspect. However, as we do not make an appeal to codices which are not in our hands, but to those which we have and are acquainted with, nothing remains but to make the unambiguous confession, that, according to all the sources at present in our hands, the claim in dispute is spurious."

We can only find room for one other quotation,—on the Second and Third Epistles. We may add that the work is well supplied with indices—an important consideration often overlooked.

"On the whole, it is the most probable hypothesis that the Second and Third Epistles sprang from the Presbyter John (not the evangelist). While, then, these two Epistles contain very ancient testimony to the genuineness of the First Epistle and Gospel (compare 3 John 12 with John xix. 35), the *Appendix of the Gospel* (John xxi.) furnishes the same kind of demonstration. This chapter was composed, according to verse 24 and the whole style and treatment, by the Apostle himself, who did not, however, at once and in the beginning attach it to his Gospel. Nor till he had been honoured by beholding the Apocalypse, and this had made it plain what the Lord meant by His mysterious words, "He should tarry till He come" (that is, till He should come in vision and appear to him, so that John, still living on earth, should behold with prophetic eye Christ's coming to judgment, Rev. xxii. 20), was this independent record appended. Doubtless it was the Presbyter John who added it (compare John xxi. 24 with 3 John 12); scarcely the Apostle himself (in which case the addition *καὶ οὕτως ἐτι λέγει* *ἔστιν ἡ μαρτυρία αὐτοῦ* would not have been supplementarily inserted). He who added it attested the authorship of St. John; and as chap. xxi. is wanting in no manuscript, the appendix must have been added a very short time after the composition of the Gospel. It must certainly have been added before the Gospel itself was circulated beyond the neighbourhood of Ephesus."

Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount. By DR. A. THOLUCK.
Translated from the fourth Revised and Enlarged Edition by the
Rev. R. Lundin Brown, M.A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
1860. 8vo, pp. 452.

DR. THOLUCK, in his preface to the last edition of this Commentary, is able to inform the reader that his labours on this portion of the New Testament have been very useful, not only by the instruction furnished by him in relation to the Sermon on the Mount, but especially by having directed the studies of others in the same direction. He says:—

“When this work first made its appearance, it gave rise to a movement of a practical character in the church, out of which have grown practical commentaries, commentaries for the use of schools, and sermons on the whole or on particular parts of the Sermon on the Mount. May the present edition also find its way to practical theologians, and, in these days of the revival of controversy on dogmas and creeds, help to draw the mind to a deeper study of Scripture, and (as this portion of the New Testament is peculiarly adapted to do), quicken and develope that practical spirit, which can alone furnish living stones for the church, and preserve the plans of the builders of the church from being castles in the air.”

A careful examination of this volume enables us to say that Dr. Tholuck has not exaggerated his own merits in this passage. His Commentary is exhaustive, considering every objection and difficulty; it is suggestive in an eminent degree; and it exhibits everywhere a devout admiration of that Redeemer whose words he illustrates. We may on some future occasion enter fully into the subject, but for the present we must be satisfied with introducing this translation to our readers.

Thoughts on Preaching, specially in Relation to the Requirements of the Age. By DANIEL MOORE, M.A., Incumbent of Camden Church, Camberwell. London: Hatchard. 1861. 12mo, pp. 386.

Hints on Preaching; designed for the use of the younger Clergy, and of Candidates for Holy Orders. By J. JONES, M.A., Archdeacon of Liverpool. Published at the suggestion of the Archbishop of Canterbury. London: Hatchard. 1861. 18mo, pp. 146.

MR. MOORE is himself a popular preacher, and he has succeeded in advancing many principles and suggestions by which success may be obtained in various degrees by those who desire to excel in pulpit exercises. A work of the kind was wanted; indeed the spirit of the day in which we live requires that those who address others on Christian topics should do so with some degree of life, and earnestness, and skill. We do not fall in with the depreciatory tone of many who write on the subject of the present state of pulpit eloquence, for they generally raise the standard too high, and expect more than is reasonable; but, at the same time, there is manifestly much room for improvement. Mr. Moore has been influenced by this general complaint against preaching—without admitting its justice—to do something to improve its character and increase its efficiency. The various topics included

in the idea of a good sermon are fully discussed, and many admirable hints are furnished on the parts and arrangement of a sermon—on style in relation to preaching—the delivery of a sermon—on extemporal preaching, etc. In reference to the fault found with preachers, we find the following passage:—

“Many and grievous have been the faults charged upon our modern preaching. On all sides is the complaint heard, of its want of adaptation to the conditions of an advanced and advancing age. Even by those who would gladly have thrown their shield over us, if they could—who, as bearing rule among us, would be likely to look with tolerant and forbearing eye on the failures of those who serve—charges of pulpit inefficiency have been put forth with the most undisguised and unsparing plainness.

“These last, however, were but the faithful wounds of a friend, and we could have borne them. More painful to read, were the racy and caustic strictures on English preaching, put forth some time ago, by the most influential organ of public opinion of which the age can boast; supported, as these have been, by similar statements in other departments of our periodical literature. The assumption seems to be made constantly, that the pulpit is losing its hold on the popular mind; that it has come down from its high vantage ground, as a first-rate power in the state; in fact, that, as an agency for influencing the will or guiding the thoughts of men, the day of preaching is gone by.

“By laymen, it is possible, these remarks have been made with too little consideration for the various and incessant demands which are made upon a clergyman's time; as well as with too little sympathy towards those mental and physical conditions, which, as the author of the *Rambler* so feelingly tells us, must greatly affect the intellectual productions of any ‘writer, who condemns himself to compose on a stated day.’ Still this has not the less disposed the clergy to meet the charges of pulpit failure with unshrinking fairness; or made them unwilling, whenever they have had opportunity of meeting together for mutual conference, to give to the consideration of the subject a distinguished prominence.”

On extempore preaching Mr. Moore remarks:—

“We now come to a branch of our subject, upon which, if any absolute decision is to be pronounced, it may seem that much of what has been said, in some of the preceding chapters, might have been spared. To what purpose, it may be said, is a preacher exhorted to study the graces and proprieties of style—the structure of sentences, or the choice of words—if, after having duly considered the argument of his intended sermon, he is to trust to the inspirations of the moment, to present it in proper verbal form? On the other hand, how little scope can there be for those bodily accessories to an animated delivery—the ‘*vividus vultus, vividi oculi, vivide manus, denique omnia vivida*,’ of the great German Reformer—if the eyes are scarcely lifted from the manuscript, and the hands have enough to do to turn over the leaves? A little consideration, however, will shew that the two modes of address referred to, are not so entirely different from each other, as this objection would seem to imply. On the contrary, it will be found that their leading characteristics, at least in the hands of a master, are shared, by one style and the other, in common; and that a good extemporaneous preacher would no more trust entirely to his oratorical inspirations, than a good reader of his sermons would allow himself to be bound, eyes and hands, to his book. No doubt we expect, in the composition of the written sermon, a little more of care and correctness; and, in the delivery of the extempore sermon, are prepared for somewhat more of animation and warmth. But it does not, therefore, follow, that the extemporaneous preacher is to be slovenly in his diction, or, that the reader from the manuscript should be without force or fire.

“Two practical illustrations, each taken from a master in his way, will serve to explain our meaning. The first is from Robert Hall. When a copy, for the

press, was being submitted to him, of his celebrated sermon on 'Modern Infidelity,' and he had come to the striking apostrophe, 'Eternal God! on what are thine enemies intent? What are those enterprises of guilt and horror, that, for the safety of their performers, require to be enveloped in a darkness which the eye of heaven must not penetrate!'—he asked, 'Did I say penetrate, sir, when I preached it? Be so good as to take your pencil, and, for '*penetrate*,' put '*pierce*:'—no man who considered the force of the English language, would use a word of three syllables there, but from absolute necessity. *Pierce* is the word, sir, and the only word to be used there.' Here, at least, we have extempore preaching coupled with delicate appreciation of correct style. Of 'fire,' in connection with the written delivery, our example is taken from an anecdote in the life of Dr. Chalmers. A Fifeshire old woman had been taunted for being, in the teeth of the national prejudice, a follower of a preacher who read from *a book*. 'Ay, ay,' replied the admirer of Chalmers, 'the doctor *reads*, but O, its *fell* reading though!'"

Mr. Jones's manual is of a less solid kind than the above, but in a small compass it gives some admirable rules for efficient preaching.

* * * *A press of important matter has compelled the omission of several Notices of Books and articles of Intelligence.*

INTELLIGENCE AND CONTEMPORARY OPINIONS, BIBLICAL, EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

CONTEMPORARY OPINIONS.—*Essays and Reviews*. It is often said that the "Essays and Reviews" are *condemned*, but not *answered*. We have selected a few of the replies which have been given to their positions, in whole or in part.

Modern Sceptical Thought and its Contradictions.—It is this fixed belief in the steadfastness of the Order of Nature throughout the moral world, that is the very ground of our confidence as Christians. It is in reliance upon this principle that we read the Gospels, and that we trust ourselves to the veracity, to the congruity, to the coherence of what we there read. The ground of this confidence may need to be cleared of misapprehension; but it is in no sense obscure or uncertain, nor is it less to be thought of than is that on which we affirm the constancy of Law in the world of ponderable elements, of chemical affinities, and of animal organization. The ORDER OF NATURE IN THE MORAL WORLD is indeed "an anchor of the soul, sure and steadfast." How much soever we may at any moment have been perplexed and disheartened by the spectacle of the apparent confusions that attach to the moral world, looked at in small portions or patches, we do not, if sound-minded, lose our hold of great principles. We may have been baffled for an hour; but, after a time, we return to our ground of confidence in truths which are the stay of virtue and the aliment of hope. So it is, that as often as we are so happy as to see these truths—these unchanging elements of reason and goodness—coming forth embodied in their proper force, even though it be imperfectly, we exult in the sight; we recognise the reality of this sample with a vivid and profound emotion. It is a peace-giving satisfaction that we feel. This pleasure is so much the more intense if it confronts us suddenly in times of perplexity or doubt. But if it be indeed an instance of *pure* intelligence—if it be *faultless* wisdom—if it be *spotless* virtue—if it be *boundless* goodness—then these perfections so realized are not merely powers or qualities which we admire, for beyond this, or beside it, they are welcomed as SIMPLIFICATIONS which, as by a charm, restore order and confidence to our troubled spirits. The sight avails to dissipate comfortless confusions, it restores our shaken faith in the order of the world, it re-animates our hopes of a bright future, and it serves as a demonstration of Truth in Human Nature, opposed alike to anarchy, to fortuity, and to despair.

It is thus, and it is at such moments, and it is in this plenitude of moral force, that the CHRIST of the Evangelists comes into prospect; and what we there see heals the spirit, and raises the fallen, and dispels confusion. It does so because the Moral System is real, and because human nature is indissolubly related to that system—a system as wide as all worlds; and because the laws of this moral scheme, itself eternal, shall follow man into a future life. It is for these reasons, that, at the instant when there comes into view the Evangelic Incarnation of absolute wisdom and virtue, we welcome it as real, and it receives the involuntary homage, as well of our moral instincts, as of our reason. Upon all minds, unless they be grossly sensual, or hopelessly depraved by sophistry, the CHRIST of the Gospels enters by right of His eternal fitness so to enter, and so to be honoured. The force of these impressions is so much the greater, because they come to us through the medium, not of a rotund and voluminous memoir carefully prepared, but as sparkling and burning from every point of these fragmentary records. It is thus that we gain our idea of THE MAN who, though He has no peer among men, yet is confessed to be one of ourselves by every human spirit.

And thus it is that CHRIST has hitherto ruled in the heart of Christianized communities; and thus too, of late, that He has received the homage even of those who come forward to put to Him the factious question, "Who gave thee this authority, tell us?" This question, in its modern guise, is thus worded, "Was Christ a Divinely-commissioned Teacher of Truth?" and the writer who puts the question believes that he may answer it in the negative. Nevertheless, he says (a passage often cited):—"It is difficult, without exhausting superla-

tives, even to unexpressive and wearisome satiety, to do justice to our intense love, reverence, and admiration for the character and teaching of Jesus. We regard Him not as the perfection of the intellectual or philosophic mind, but as the perfection of the spiritual character, as surpassing all men at all times in the closeness and depth of His communion with the Father. In reading His sayings, we feel that we are holding converse with the wisest, purest, noblest Being that ever clothed thought in the poor language of humanity. In studying His life, we feel that we are following the footsteps of the highest ideal yet presented to us upon earth."

Thus far, then, BELIEF and DISBELIEF are at one! To this point has Modern Thought advanced itself, or rather, thus far it has been pushed forward by the insensible progress of the intellectual tastes, and of the purified moral habitudes of these times. Several parallel and very recent testimonies might be adduced in proof of the fact that this CHRIST, such as we find Him set before us in the Gospels, lives, and must ever live, in the moral consciousness of all men, Christian and non-Christian. Thus He lives, not merely in His precepts, but in the Idea of Himself, for the perpetual rectification of confused and deranged moral principles, and for the solving of interminable perplexities. Wearied as we may have been by the spectacle of the contradictions of the human system, ever and again turning up the wrongful and the untrue, now at length THE MAN appears on earth who not only is exempt from *fault* and *sin*, but from Incoherence, from Incongruity, from interior Contradictions. In this bright Reality, although nowhere else within the circle of human experience, there is demonstrated, in the view of all men, PERFECT MORAL ORDER; it is even that perfection which human nature is ever yearning for, and which it dimly imagines, but which it has never found in itself, or elsewhere than in this One Instance.

The Order of Nature—we must not forget it—is twofold. It is constancy in the sequence of events—that is to say, Order in Time; and it is also the constancy of Congruity; or, in technical terms, Order in Space. The second of these fixed connexions is as real and as certain as the first, and is equally to be relied upon. Yet if we follow the leaders of Modern Thought whither they are themselves gone, our position will be this:—We admit, on the one hand, that CHRIST was, as they, and as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews affirms, "the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of His Person;" but, on the other hand, affirm that he claimed to be what He was not—that He played with the credulity of His followers—that He winked at and cherished the superstitions of His times—that He proclaimed Himself to be "the Light of the World," and "the Resurrection and the Life," of which Himself was to be the sample; but that, in truth, He died as other men die, and perished bodily as others perish.

Where shall we stop in giving words to the monstrous contradictions of this creed? Let the reader, and whether he be religiously-minded or not so, take his New Testament in hand, and, with the recent admissions of the writers referred to before him, make his way, as he can, through the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles. No sane mind can do this so as to bring into accordance, on any imaginable hypothesis, these repellant conceptions, which, if they offend piety, do in an equally extreme degree shock the consciousness of historic truth, violate the tastes of a well-ordered mind, and affront the irresistible dictates of Reason.

Already we have said that when the clerical promoters of this present movement shall have put away the evasions beneath which they now screen themselves, and when, like open-faced and out-spoken Englishmen, they shall set forth with distinctness what it is they believe, they will, in doing so, drive their congregations helter-skelter out of Church. This confidence we have in the force and soundness of the British mind, as to be sure that church-going habits would not outlive a year the honest announcement, in any church or chapel, that, in the preacher's opinion, there is not a word of truth in the Gospel miracles, and that CHRIST, the Saviour of the World, did not, as is affirmed by the Evangelists, rise from the dead.

If congregations are thus dispersed, what is it that shall be taking place within the saddened sanctuary of individual hearts? An answer need scarcely

be given to this question. Souls that once were glad, that once were, to all appearance, cheered by a "good hope" of the life eternal, even the life that is "hid with Christ in God"—souls, it may be years ago, that were exulting in the assurance of the forgiveness of sins—obtained for His sake who shed His blood for them "on the tree,"—such spirits, once abounding in works of mercy done "as unto Christ," and, moreover, "patient in tribulation, rejoicing in hope, and continuing instant in prayer," what are they now? The pernicious insinuations of Modern Thought have been listened to. The Saviour of sinners has been removed from His place in their view, and instead of being the supreme object of devout and humble trust, He has been summoned to the bar of a captious criticism: His cause has been heard, and judgment pronounced: the arraignment has been admitted to be proven in part; yet still He is to be thought of as "our Divine Teacher;" but no longer is He—Sacrifice, Propitiation, Mediator, Lord!—no more is He to be looked for as coming again "to judge the world in righteousness,"—no more is He to be trusted in as the Giver of immortality, for He Himself "died and was buried," and in that sepulchre, or in some unnoted grave, He underwent the destiny of all men. In that sepulchre, or elsewhere, the "Desire of all nations," the Hope of the world, mingled His dust with the dust of others! What remains to us after this destruction has had its course, is—an empty tomb, the spices that long since have spent their aroma, the grave-clothes, the folded napkin:—what remains to us is a "teaching," more pure and sublime indeed than that of the Greek philosophy; and yet it is a teaching which is so intimately commingled with delusions, if not frauds, that morality will be better honoured henceforth by consigning our Christianity to oblivion, than by conserving it as a perpetual offence to the instincts of virtue, to common honesty, and to sound reason!

A strong reaction from enormities of this magnitude will not be slow to come. The very men who have prostituted their learning and talents in bringing modern thought to its ripeness, will, some of them, after a time stand aghast at their own work: some, and the greater number, will betake themselves to the silent region of Pantheistic quiescence, and will there find, in an anticipated Nirwana, a refuge from the indignant clamours of offended public feeling. A few, it may be, will retrace their steps, and regain position as Christian men.

When we thus look forward to a reaction—and a powerful reaction it will not fail to be—from the offensive extravagancies of this now current scheme, we must not forget that it will take effect in opposite directions; or rather, upon the two parties that are opposed to each other in the most extreme degree; *first*, upon the Christianizing advocates of this form of disbelief, driving them from their false ground as professed Christians; and then upon those of the conservative party in theology whose alarms at the progress of criticism have seemed to indicate some unfixedness in their own faith. A genuine Biblical criticism, always ruled and directed by a religious temper, and animated by a thorough belief in the Divine origination of the Scriptures, and consequently in the historic reality of what is supernatural therein, is our proper defence against every midway doctrine between Christianity in its entirety, and that last stage of metaphysic insanity, of which a remarkable sample is presented in the volume named at the head of this article. Genuine Biblical criticism, in its sure progress beyond its present position, will not fail to bring with it, as a natural result—a doctrine of inspiration that shall be better defined than any which the Church has hitherto been possessed of, and which—if not by all among ourselves, yet by better instructed men who may ere long take our places, shall be assented to, and at length accepted by the religious community at large; and shall be rejoiced in as an abiding-place of safety—a munition of strength, against which nugatory sophisms, such as those of modern thought, shall cease to be hurled.

Throughout those publications of recent date in which, with more or less distinctness, the system thus designated makes its appearance, it is observable, that wherever the writer assumes a tone of confidence, as if conscious of standing upon a vantage-ground, and as if he were sure of his reader's concurrence, it is when he is assailing notions and exegetical usages that were prevalent in

times anterior to the rise of the more exact criticism of the present century. The strength of modern disbelief is that which it draws from the misapprehensions, from the groundless alarms, from the superstitious, or the rigid prejudices, and, most of all, from unwarrantable dogmatic reasonings of a time gone by. So long as this untoward antagonism is maintained between these misapprehensions on the one side, and a petulant, captious, and nugatory disbelief on the other side, there will be no definiteness, no fixedness, no agreement among Christian men on the subject of inspiration. Hitherto a skirmishing has gone on with uncertain advantages, sometimes on this side, sometimes on that—the result being, to the lookers-on, disquiet and discouragement. It shall not always be so; let modern thought more fully develop its own atheistic quality, and the reaction shall commence which shall put our Bible into our hands with a new feeling of confidence, that we are holding indeed—*THE BOOK OF GOD.*—*North British Review.*

A double sense in Holy Scripture.—Professor Jowett teaches that there is one literal sense in Holy Scripture, namely, that intended by the writer.

Now, most certainly it was not left to the nineteenth century to make such a discovery as this. But that the Professor's reading does not seem to lie in that direction, he might be supposed to have borrowed from the language of the chief among the schoolmen: '*sensus literalis est, quem auctor intendit.*' And Aquinas is here only laying down what his great master, Augustine, had evidently taught before him, and what so many commentators on Holy Scripture were to teach after him. (Thus, by way of example, we may refer to a remark of Vitringa on the passage of Isaiah already discussed. He is willing to admit the existence of a mystical sense in the prediction relative to Tyre, with this restriction: '*ut secundum primum, proprium et verum sensum, à prophetâ intentum, hic intelligatur Tyrus propriè sic dicta.*'))

And is this primary sense all? May there not sometimes be, beyond the literal sense intended by the writer, another sense which the words are capable of bearing and were meant to bear, by that Holy Spirit who inspired the thoughts that have been uttered? Nay, is it wholly impossible that even the words of uninspired men may, from time to time, be capable of a somewhat similar increase of extent or depth? We believe that they both may and do receive it. There may be many forms of this: three more especially occur to us.

Firstly, then, it happens (as even Mr. Jowett seems inclined to grant) in the case of writers of great genius. Gifted with a combination of powers which are rarely found in conjunction, with the reasoning faculty fully developed by the side of an ardent and affluent imagination, entering with a singular range of sympathy into the nature of their fellow-men, they utter words which reach beyond the accidents of their own age and country, and again and again bear reference to events of which the speakers did not dream. And thus Demosthenes seems at moments to be attacking the first Napoleon; and Cicero, through the mouth of an English peer, denounces a popular leader from Ireland; and Dante, in his bitter sarcasm against his still much-loved Florence, may be almost thought to prophesy of modern Paris; and Shakspeare, and even Horace, are every day found to point a moral in the family circle or in public assemblies; and Plato, in drawing a picture of a good man persecuted and a wicked man outwardly triumphant, unconsciously portrays, so that thousands recognize the likeness, the features of the *CHRIST* and the *Antichrist*.

But all these, it will be urged, are instances of application, not of interpretation. We by no means deny the real existence of such a distinction, but we cannot allow the possibility of its being always drawn with the sharpness and the facility which Mr. Jowett seems to believe in. What may be application on the part of one man frequently involves interpretation on the part of another. When Lord Brougham has addressed his audience (as he declares he has frequently done) in periods which were literally translated from the *Olynthiacs* or *Philippics*, he was, no doubt, making an application, but his hearers *interpreted* the words as a comment on certain events of their own day. The change from Greek to English in this instance does not affect the general question. We have

heard of a speaker introducing passages from Burke in a similar manner. And this is one way in which words may acquire a meaning beyond the intention of their author.

A *second* mode arises out of the superior enlightenment of one person's conscience as compared with that of another. Just as scenes of nature or creations of art speak very differently to different minds, even so too does it happen to the hearers of the self-same words. Among those who are addressed by any Christian teacher, it is probable that there may be several who far surpass the instructor, not, perhaps, in actual head knowledge, but in all the evangelical graces. On such hearers language often falls with a power beyond that of him who utters it. Ideas that he never conceived are imparted, vague directions turned into practical rules for life, light is shed on what was dark, consolation given to sorrows which have been borne in silence, and the knowledge about God and the soul increased and deepened in a manner that bears fruit for time and for eternity.

Nor dare we limit such divinely guided interpretation to those who may have listened to the teachers of nations placed beneath the sway of the patriarchal, or Mosaic, or Christian dispensations. Numbers there have been, in widely severed times and lands, less favoured in the degree of truth made known to them, who have yet earnestly sought to be religious according to their share of light. And who shall tell how much the words of the Vedas, or the Zendavesta, or the Koran, may have been blest by God to the illumination of those who have yearned for truth in a spirit of humility and love? Deep as are many of the thoughts enshrined in such works, the human heart has depths beyond them; and the Spirit of God has never ceased to brood over those troubled waters. What may sentences of a Pindar and a Plato, a Proclus or Cleanthes, or even of a Persius or a Seneca, have been permitted to achieve? A single treatise of Cicero leads a S. Austin forward on his road to Christ. Lofty indeed has been the privilege of those whose language was capable of being in such wise understood.

'Angel-voices may have whispered, borne—aye, even on death's chill blast,—
While they groped out towards our future, as we grope back toward their past.'

All that is pure, ennobling, elevating, as in the books revered by the Orientals, so too, in the Western classics, has indeed come from God. And wherever any have learnt from them more than the writers meant, that operation, in so far as it has been good, has been effected by the Holy Ghost.

But there is a *third* case of such extension of the meaning of men's speeches, closely connected with this last, but very different in form. There are consciences, not wholly seared, which feel the burden of past offences, if not in a spirit of Christian penitence, yet at least with shame, and with remorse for the injury wrought to self-respect. To this large class the words of their fellow-men are again and again fraught with humiliation and rebuke. At moments they can hardly believe but that the secrets of their hearts are known to those who, in utter unconsciousness, have so severely probed their wounds.

'Thus oft it haps that when within
They shrink at sense of secret sin,
A feather daunts the brave;
A fool's wild speech confounds the wise,
And proudest princes veil their eyes
Before their meanest slave.'

Now that which in occasional and exceptional ways is true of merely human speech, that we maintain to be throughout a distinguishing characteristic of God's Word. It cannot, of course, by any possibility, teach doctrines which are really contradictory; it cannot teach that there is and is not a heaven, that there is and is not a hell, that Christ our Lord is and is not very and eternal God. If any of its principles seem to be at variance—as, for example, the recognition of man's free agency with God's over-ruling sovereignty—we believe such seeming contrariety to arise from our ignorance; the more so as we observe that

is a difficulty common alike to philosophy and religion of every kind, a difficulty by no means introduced into men's minds by revelation, though confessedly, like many other mysteries, left unsolved by it. But in Holy Scripture, although there may be in general one paramount sense, the existence of other senses is not thereby excluded. On this account the Church has always shrunk from pronouncing in any authoritative manner that any one text of Scripture *must* bear a given sense, *and that alone*. It was the Arians of old, not their Catholic opponents, who placed certain interpretations of particular texts in Scripture under the sanction of an anathema. The general principle for which we are contending, though implied in numberless commentaries, both ancient and modern, has seldom, we think, been more clearly put forth than in the following passage from a recent publication:—

"It is this controlling power which constitutes the inspiration of Holy Scripture. If we recognize Scripture as really emanating from God the Holy Ghost, although written with a very inadequate appreciation of the Divine purpose, by human agency, we shall scarcely be able to avoid the acknowledgment, that there must be in all the words of Scripture a Divine purpose and meaning, over and above, not contrary to or nullifying, but underlying, pervading, spiritualizing, what the writers would have intended had they merely written as men. To us it is a matter of no concern how far they felt this control; but if we allow the divine inspiration of Scripture, we cannot limit it by the consciousness or intelligence of the writers, any more than we can limit the operation of divine grace in the sacraments by the intention or theological acumen of the minister. The spiritual intention of God, in accordance with which Holy Scripture was inspired, neither involves an habitual consciousness in the writers that more was meant than met the ear, nor does it exclude the primary intention of the writers in the record of facts, or the administration of encouragement and reproof."

We have spoken of a partial anticipation of the subject of this section. This anticipation occurs in our remarks upon types. If *any* true types exist, here is at least one evident proof that the meaning of Holy Writ cannot, in all cases, be limited to that one sense for which Professor Jowett contends.

Again, we have already made allusion to what is called the double sense of prophecy. Time was, when a head-master of Rugby gave to the world two admirable sermons upon this subject, and expressed the satisfaction which he felt at having something in common with teachers to whom he was so much opposed; and, if we mistake not, distinguished pupils of that great man have before now followed in the self-same track. Other times, other manners. The successor of Dr. Arnold, to our great regret, leads the van in a book which (implicitly at least) condemns every other than the literal sense. Deserted by those whom we might have hoped to find allies, we shall employ the description of this two-fold sense which is given by Dr. Davidson. We appeal to this most learned and candid Nonconformist because he, at any rate, will hardly be accused of showing any undue deference to the *dicta* of fathers or councils to church authority in any shape. "The prophetic character of the Book of Daniel is attested by our Lord in Matt. xxiv. 14, where we learn that the words of Daniel, in ix. 26, refer to the desecration of the temple in the Roman war. This is not contrary to their allusion to Antiochus and his desecration of the temple, which was the primary and sole sense in the view of the prophet himself; for the same prophetic utterances may and do refer to more events than one. They are partially, but not completely, fulfilled at once, having a *springing* or *germinant* sense. In this way the sense of a prophecy may not be at once exhausted; it remains in the course of history, and is gradually realized by successive events of a similar kind, prefigurative of one another. Thus the desolations of Antiochus were again enacted by the Romans. And the apostolic predictions of Antichrist lead us to expect that a persecuting blasphemer of like spirit with Antiochus, is to come at the end of days, when this prophecy of Daniel will be *exhaustively* and *perfectly* fulfilled. Each succeeding fulfilment foreshadows and prepares for the last one."

Allegorical and mystical interpretation we confess to be a very difficult subject, which would be well worthy of a separate treatise. Precise rules on this

head are indeed impossible. But how mystical interpretation can be wholly set aside, we do not see; unless we are prepared to reject the teaching of so many of the Christian, as well as Jewish doctors, respecting the meaning of the Song of Songs; how allegory can be wholly eliminated from the possible meanings of Scripture we are equally unable to imagine, so long as St. Paul's account of one of the significations of the history of the two sons of Abraham remains in the canons. (Galat. iv. 22—31.)

But whatever be the dangers of allegorization and mysticism on the part of human interpreters, the general principle that we have been engaged in laying down remains untouched. When the Spirit of Jehovah spake by men, and his word was in their tongue (2 Samuel xxiii. 2), they knew not the full force of what they spake; and that self-same Spirit in after years, condescended to inspire others to bring out the varied bearings and deeper significance of their language. Moses may issue the literal precept "neither shall ye break a bone thereof," (Exod. xii. 46), and St. John be divinely led to declare, that this Scripture is fulfilled in the treatment of the true Paschal Lamb upon Mount Calvary; Isaiah may represent our Lord as bearing our griefs and carrying our sorrows, as a part of his *personal* suffering, and yet St. Matthew have a divine warrant for applying the prediction to those cures which were wrought by his sympathy as perfect man, as well as by his authority as God (St. Matt. viii. 17); Heman the Ezrahite may utter his grievous complaint in that Psalm (the 88th) which alone, of the entire collection, breathes no joy, and yet the Church be justified in hearing in its notes the complaint of the human soul of our Saviour while detained in Hades; the doctrine of the resurrection may be unconsciously implied by Moses in the very title by which he addresses his Maker at the bush; Eliakim may, in some sense, bear on his shoulder that key of David which is assigned in the Apocalypse to him who alone can wield its awful powers; Balaam, with earth's prizes in his heart, may yet behold a star which shall rise in David, but culminate, with unimagined brightness, in David's Son; Caiaphas, the unworthy high priest, is still permitted, by virtue of his office, to utter words that come "not of himself," to prophesy, unknowing what he spake, of the atoning sacrifice for all the children of God; and the goodly choir of the righteous prophets at large, vainly sound the depths of their own minds, "searching what, or what manner of time, the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow."

But there is, we need scarcely say, one marked exception to this ignorance: there is one speaker, whose words are recorded in the Bible, who could not be unconscious of any single particular respecting the possible interpretation of his sayings. This may be one reason why "it is, perhaps, the greatest difficulty of all to enter into the meaning of the words of Christ," as Mr. Jowett observes in the beautiful passage already cited from his essay. This may be one reason why the "Five Clergymen" have found, contrary to all *à priori* surmises, that it is less difficult to revise a version of the Epistle to the Romans, than of the gospel according to St. John. Even commentators of a rationalistic bias of mind seem unable to preserve a consistent denial of the existence of more than a single meaning in the words of Christ. "De Wette" (remarks Olshausen on St. John xi. 9) "considers it contrary to the rules of exposition as well as to the spirit of the gospel, that we should attach more than one sense to a declaration of Christ, whilst in other passages he has himself maintained the very thing to which he here objects. Surely we ought not to pronounce the profound language of Christ destitute of that which is readily acknowledged in a Shakespeare or a Jean Paul."

Professor Jowett's treatment of this part of his subject appears to us remarkably inaccurate. It would, indeed, be mere hypocrisy to pretend that we reckon accuracy as one of his characteristics at any time. We all, indeed, make slips, reviewers and reviewed—

"Cædimus, inque vicem præbemus crura sagittis."

But the amount and glaring character of Mr. Jowett's errors very far exceed the average. His confusion, for instance, of two perfectly distinct and well-known parables (St. Matt. xiii. 45; St. Luke xiv. 8), in the words "we hope also at

times that we have found the pearl of great price after sweeping the house," (p. 414). is probably unequalled in the writings of any highly educated clergyman. On the matter, however, now in hand, his mistakes appear to arise from ignorance of what those whom he opposes really hold and teach. And since he is utterly incapable of anything like wilful misrepresentation, we are driven to suppose that his theological reading has not been at all co-extensive either with the reach of those high abilities, or with that religious earnestness, which we so fully recognize in him.

We cannot afford to quote more than a few fragments of Mr. Jowett's essay respecting this topic. But it is our earnest wish to cite them fairly. At page 334 we read:—

"We do not at once see the absurdity of the same words having many senses, or free our minds from the illusion that an Apostle or Evangelist must have written with a reference to the creeds, or controversies, or circumstances of other times."

So far as regards the charge of absurdity against the views that, over and above the literal sense intended by the writers, the Holy Spirit may have so guided them that their words should embrace other meanings, we are content to refer to what we have already said. But it is worth while, at this point, to ask from what quarter the Regius Professor of Greek in Oxford can obtain any countenance to his limitation of the words of Scripture to a single sense alone? Certainly not from Scripture itself, for there (as we have seen) more than one sense is again and again recognized. From what school, then, of interpreters? Not from Fathers, ante-Nicene or post-Nicene; not from Schoolmen; not from Reformers; not from the works of great preachers in any Christian community whatever; not from the hymnology of mediæval Christendom or of Lutheran Germany; not from famous commentators—on the Protestant side, as Vitringa; on the Roman Catholic side, as Cornelius à Lapide—not from our famous sixteenth or seventeenth century divines, as Hooker or Pearson, or Andrews; not from the somewhat liberalised Dr. Arnold, or from the somewhat Calvinistic Thomas Scott.

Yet there is *one* age from which Mr. Jowett may obtain some support for his view, and that is the century, or century and a half, succeeding the Revolution of 1688. And that age—what was it as a teacher concerning the supernatural? Shall we pause to characterize it? Shall we cite anything from Dean Trench, or Dr. Arnold, or Mr. Gladstone, on this head? Nay, verily; we need not go one step beyond the pages of *Essays and Reviews*. Nowhere has a more unsparring dissection of its weaknesses appeared than in the masterly survey of Mr. Pattison. "It was an age destitute of earnestness; an age whose poetry was without romance, whose philosophy was without insight, and whose public men were without character; an age of 'light without love,' whose 'very merits were of the earth, earthy.'" And is this the age to which we should look for leading principles in the interpretation of Scripture? Surely, if a given maxim in these matters was then, and then only, predominant, that very circumstance would be a sufficient ground for a *prima facie* distrust of its merits.

But besides this "absurdity" (in which some nine-tenths of the most famous Christian teachers of all ages and countries are more or less involved), there is an "illusion" about Evangelists and Apostles writing with reference to "other times;" that is to say, we presume, other times than their own.

Was St. Peter then, under an illusion, when he assured those whom he addressed, that the prophets, "not unto themselves, but unto us, did minister the things which are now reported?" (1 St. Peter i. 12). If not—if prophets, living under a more imperfect dispensation, could minister, and know that they ministered, to those who should enjoy the full light of the Gospel—why should it be an illusion to suppose that Apostles, who had seen the Lord and had been dowered with Pentecostal gifts, should be privileged to write words which God of His mercy has left abiding with us, as a test that bears upon all creeds, all controversies, all circumstances of the spiritual life alike of communities and individuals? We maintain that it is *no* illusion, but a blessed truth. St. John may not have foreseen the error of Apollinaris, nor have written with reference

to it; but his pen was moved to record expressions of his Divine Master (as, "*now is My soul troubled,*") which condemn it by anticipation; he did not predict the rise of Paulicianism or Mormonism, but provision is made in his pages for the opposition to each of these deadly evils. And so on, *mutatis mutandis*, throughout every page of the New Testament.

The belief in the types of the Mosaic law and the double meanings of prophecy is shortly, according to Mr. Jowett (p. 419), to vanish away. The following sentence forms part of the reasoning upon which this belief is based:—

"The mystical explanations of Origen or Philo were not seen to be mystical; the reasonings of Aquinas and Calvin were not supposed to go beyond the letter of the text."

We find it extremely difficult to lend any credence to what is here asserted concerning the *Christian* divines alluded to. Plato is, no doubt, in part the originator of the Alexandrian school; and no one understood better than Plato, the distinction between a literal and a symbolical meaning, a *typonola* as it is termed in the "*Republic*." Respecting the darkness asserted by Mr. Jowett to be prevailing of yore over the explanations of the Jewish divine, Philo, we are not prepared to speak with confidence; but it is hard to believe in it when we find our author in the same breath pronouncing a similar opinion about Origen. For in this last case the assertion is simply absurd. No one who had ever really studied Origen could maintain, *εἰ μὴ θέσω διαφύλακτον*, that he left his readers the slightest excuse for the non-perception of the distinction between his literal and his mystical interpretations: and so far were the Fathers of a later date from not seeing this, that Epiphanius, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine, condemn the excessive abnegation of the letter into which that great genius had let himself be carried. At a later period, Aquinas, in his well-known and most valuable *Catena Aurea*, takes the greatest pains to insert the word "*mystically*," as a warning before those explanations of Origen, St. Hilary, and others, which are of a figurative character.

With respect to the reasonings of Aquinas we are certainly most unwilling to commit ourselves to them without much reserve. They are sometimes built too much on the verbal force of the vulgate rendering; they sometimes carry refinement beyond the point which we can feel safe or sound. Yet, in stating our grounds of difference with the Angelic Doctor, as he was called of yore, we much prefer to follow the lead of Bishop Pearson to that of Professor Jowett. In one of those recovered lectures, of which we owe the possession to the editorial care of Archdeacon Churton, that great theologian points out the main sources of our differences with the schoolmen. Their appeals to the apocryphal books of Scripture, to the decrees of non-œcumenical councils, to spurious works of Fathers, to the *dictum* of any single Bishop of Rome (he might have added, in the case of Aquinas, to the teaching of Aristotle), as *final and unimpeachable authorities*—it is on these grounds, far more than on any wresting of Holy Writ, that the Bishop bases his objections to the schoolmen, while he recommends the study of their works. "*Satis quidem sunt acuti in illationibus conclusionum, satis in deductionibus assertionum perspicaces. Sed in ipsis locis ex quibus reliqua deducunt sæpissimè peccant, et in ipsis principiis unde disputant semper aliquid est reformandum.*"

We turn to Calvin. Our objection to him and to his followers as interpreters of Holy Scripture is not that which Mr. Jowett advances in this place of his Essay (p. 419), but that very different and seemingly opposite one, which he alleges in another place of his Essay (p. 366). As, however, in this last-named page, the disciples of the Genevese reformer are alternately apologized for and rebuked, it is only fair to give the passages side by side:—

<p>1. "The Calvinist is often hardly dealt with in being deprived of his real standing-ground in the third and ninth chapters of the Epistle to the Romans." —p. 366, line 14.</p>	<p>2. "The Calvinist, in fact, ignores almost the whole of the sacred volume for the sake of a few verses."—p. 366, line 26.</p>
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It is somewhat strange to meet with such declarations within the compass of

a dozen lines. Nevertheless, we are perfectly ready to admit that there is much truth, both in the apology and in the reproof, which are here put forth. But how to reconcile passages No. 1 and No. 2 with passage No. 3 (p. 419), in which it is clearly implied that Calvin "goes beyond the letter of that text," wherein (in passage No. 1) his follower, the Calvinist, was admitted to have "a real standing-ground," utterly passes our poor comprehension: though it may not, we admit, present the slightest difficulty to thorough-paced partizans of the Hegelian system of philosophy.

Our own objection to Calvin is, as we have intimated, that of Professor Jowett's second passage in page 366. It is *not* that Calvin has *no* countenance for his views in Holy Scripture, but that instead of comparing one set of facts with another, one class of texts with another, he insists on forcing on our attention those only which suit his system, and in expecting us to ignore all the rest. His error is not unlike that of those who cull out every verse which speaks of God's mercy, and pass by those which proclaim his justice; or of those who perceive all that teaches or implies that our Saviour is man, and omit those which teach or imply that he is God. But, meanwhile, the truth remains unshaken, however far removed we may be in this life from comprehending its consistency—God does foresee and overrule all things, and yet man remains a free agent; he is the all-merciful, and yet, at the same time, the all-just; Christ is perfect and glorified man, and yet ever was, and is, and is to be, Very and Eternal God.

Before we quit this branch of our subject, we must call attention to a prediction of Mr. Jowett which bears upon it. [The italics are his.]

"The time will come when educated men will no more be able to believe that the words, 'out of Egypt have I called my son' (Matt. ii. 15; Hosea xi. 1), were intended by the prophet to refer to the return of Joseph and Mary from Egypt, than they are now able to believe the Roman Catholic explanation of Gen. iii. 15. 'Ipsa conteret caput tuum.'"—p. 418.

It is very difficult for "educated men," or indeed for any class of men, to cease to believe in a position which they have never held. It may arise from our own ignorance, but we are at present utterly unconscious of the place where, or the time when, the "educated men" referred to may have existed. Commentators on Holy Scripture are, in such a case, the natural objects of our thoughts. Now we venture to say, that neither S. Chrysostom, S. Jerome, Bishop Lowth, Thomas Scott, Maldonatus, Dean Alford, Dr. Pusey, Cornelius à Lapide, Mr. Burgon, Canon Wordsworth (and it would be as easy to name more, as it would be difficult to name more variously trained interpreters), give any hint or trace of such a belief as Professor Jowett calls upon "educated men" to resign. What will be gathered from their writings is briefly this: That the prophet Hosea, being divinely inspired, wrote words which he supposed to be only applicable to God's adopted Son, the chosen nation (cf. Exod. iv. 22); that the Evangelist, being divinely inspired, was led to see in those words a truer and loftier fulfilment in the return from Egypt of him who is God's Son, not by adoption in time, but by nature from eternity.

If the persons to whom Mr. Jowett alludes do exist, or have existed, let them be named, and we (supported by such divines as we have mentioned) shall be perfectly ready to argue against them. But, if they cannot be produced, then we trust that it is not uncourteous to remark, that the gentlemen, whom the Greek Professor examines in logic, will be able to produce from his essay, a specimen not only of the fallacy known as a *petitio principii*, (in respect of the prophecy relating to Cyrus,) but likewise, from the passage last quoted, a good example of an *ignoratio elenchi*.—*Christian Remembrancer*, January, 1861.

The Theory of Development in St. Paul's Epistles.—Professor Jowett's notion of the chronological development of St. Paul's mind and theology, as exhibited in the process of his epistolary writings, involves errors which lead to fatal mischief, and which no reverent believer in the inspiration of the word of God can tolerate. The reader will find his theory in the Introduction to the Thessalonian Epistles; a theory which does not go so far as Bauer and the rest, simply because Professor Jowett cannot, and we hope will never be able to, throw off a certain restraint

which his education imposes upon him, and which gives an indescribably conflicting character to all his writings. We should quote his words, were it not that we find it impossible to do so with fairness to him and to ourselves. It is not his manner to state categorically what his convictions are; generally they are left to our inference, or glide through the current of his argument stealthily, and as it were apologetically, until the close of the whole leaves us no longer in doubt what his meaning is. It is not pleasant to deal with an adversary whose fundamental positions cannot be at once quoted from his own lips, or under the voucher of his own hand. But it is our necessity in the present case; and all we can do is to gather as faithfully as may be what the expositor really means, and to gainsay his positions in the same desultory manner as that in which we find them laid down.

Suffice, that he regards the apostle as having been the subject of a slow inward illumination, which was gradual down to the end of his life; as "knowing Christ after the flesh" at so late a period as the time of the composition of the Thessalonian Epistles; as having, during the interval between those Epistles and the Epistles to the Galatians, Corinthians and Romans, been taught to apprehend the Gospel less Judaically and more spiritually; and then, in a yet later cluster of Epistles, written during the imprisonment at Rome, to have reached a still more serene, and cloudless, and accurate knowledge of the Gospel, to the promulgation of which his life was dedicated. The proof of all this is found in the nature of the case, St. Paul being, like every other man, led step by step to the entire abandonment of prejudices and the full comprehension of the truth; in the abundant traces of change wrought in his views which the several consecutive Epistles reveal; and in the apologetic confession which he is supposed to have made in such passages as, "If we have known Christ after the flesh," "If I yet preached circumcision," and so forth.

This theory governs all the modern illuminist interpretation of the Pauline Epistles, and indeed is the key to all that is distinctive in the system of its exposition. But the theory is as fallacious in itself as it is destructive in its consequences. We shall consider the grounds on which it is based, in our own order.

The Apostle never represents himself, nor do his writings exhibit him, as being gradually taught the truth while he is teaching the Church. In reference to some minor matters he does indeed place himself in the position of a referee considering a question, speaking not by commandment, but giving the result of the reflections of one who even then "thinks he has the spirit of Christ." Those very exceptional instances, however,—if they are exceptional instances,—only confirm the absolute authority with which he always, as the very medium of the oracle of God, announces the truth as it is in Jesus, and the will of his Sovereign Master. The tone of all his Epistles, from the first opening of his epistolary commission to the Thessalonians down to the "faithful sayings" of the Pastoral Letters, is consistent only with a consciousness of being the instrument by whom the Spirit of the Lord Christ speaks to the Churches his authoritative and final will. Before we seek to establish this, let us consider the two or three passages which Professor Jowett borrows from the Apostle's own writings, as the support of the opposite conclusion;—passages in which St. Paul himself, so to speak, protests against his being supposed to have held to one authoritative doctrine through life, and thus himself pleads against the too profound respect of posterity for his words. We will take that passage first which this special pleader uses most cunningly,—that one which most faintly mentions St. Paul's confession of his gradual progress in the creed of the Gospel.

The Apostle speaks in the Philippian Epistle of the "beginning of the Gospel." Now, Professor Jowett does not—as a professed exegete—venture to say that St. Paul there meant the early, introductory, immature beginnings of his knowledge and exposition of the truth of Jesus,—the time when he used to spell out with his hearers the alphabet of Christian doctrine, and search with them what or what manner of things the perfect day of Christian revelation would declare to the Church. This he does not say: but he hints it all, and weaves the expression so gracefully into the fabric of his argument, that the unsuspecting reader must needs fall into the snare, and believe that St. Paul was looking back with his

readers to early and immature days, when he thought as a child about the way of sinners' salvation. Now, let the reader go back to the beginning of the Epistle, (that to the Philippians,) and learn from its first congratulatory paragraph what St. Paul really meant by the "beginning of the Gospel"—the "first day" when they heard for the first time the name of Jesus, when the foundation was laid of that great Macedonian cause which was always so dear to the Apostle, and of which he was so justly proud, when for the first time the continent of Europe was visited with the tidings of the Gospel, when the sons of Shem visited the tents of Japhet, and "a beginning of miracles" was wrought which was to fill the world with its results, and affect the destinies of the whole race for ever,—and he will learn to value at its proper worth the graceful fallacy of the "beginning of the Gospel."

Another argument he finds in the well-known passage of the second Corinthian Epistle, in which the Apostle speaks of his having known Christ "according to the flesh, but now knowing him no more." This is in perfect consistency interpreted as the writer's candid declaration that there was a period in his life—and in his life as an Apostle and preacher of the Gospel—when he held, and preached, and taught views concerning Christ which were rather ceremonial, Jewish and carnal, than evangelical, spiritual and saving. This saying is quoted again and again, as containing St. Paul's positive and undeniable declaration of his having changed the character of his preaching, as the result of his having attained to deeper views of the nature of the believers' relation to Christ. Connected with some other passages,—to which we shall presently refer,—this supposed disclaimer and abjuration must have "this meaning, that there was something which the Apostle had left behind him, which he had once thought, and no longer thought, to be a part of the faith of Christ."

Professor Jowett is too accurate and too honest an expositor to make the words "Christ after the flesh" signify "a Christ of the Jews only," or a Christ accommodated to the Judaizing notions of the necessity of circumcision in order to a participation of the blessings of the Gospel. He is content at first to insinuate into the passage the vague meaning of an approximation to Judaizing tenets." Afterwards it appears that, in his view, this approximation consisted in the preaching of a carnal Christ as the expected ruler of a visible kingdom, a mode of preaching which lingered still in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, but from which, "when old things had passed away, and all things became new," the Apostle was nearly, if not altogether, emancipated.

On one point the expositor is here certainly right. The preaching of Christ not after the flesh was, as he says, the preaching of "death with Christ," or, as we should prefer to say, of the fellowship of believers with Christ in his life and death, his death and life. But, was there ever a time when St. Paul preached any other doctrine of Christ than this? Had he ever, from the hour when the Son of God was "revealed in him," inculcated any other saving relation to Christ than that of being mystically related to him by a living faith? Is it true that the communion of the Lord's life and death was the leading principle of the Apostle's "later teaching only?" and that his earlier teaching was of a "knowledge of Christ according to the flesh, which could not consort with the inward witness of such things, which in modern language might be described as unmythical and unspiritual?" Was this really what he "imparted to his converts when he was not able to speak unto them as unto spiritual, but as fleshly, as babes in Christ?"

"Here," says Mr. Jowett, "the Epistle to the Thessalonians comes in to supply the deficiency," with its "absorbing thought," expounded and repeated, of "the coming of Christ." Of this absorbing thought we shall speak hereafter. For the present, it will suffice to make an appeal to that very Epistle, and let it contradict this very bold piece of sophistry. To reach that Epistle we have to pass over the Epistle to the Galatians, in which no reasonable man would deny that the Apostle's later teaching is already found in all its glory, the fellowship of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection-life being there expressed in a manner which savours, not of a recent revelation, but of a long-enjoyed and unutterably-blessed experience. A very few years, few enough to allow us to say months, take us from it to the The-

salonian Epistles, which are the links which connect the written with the missionary labours of the Apostle's life. And what is the key-note of that Epistle, what the very first words from the Apostle's inspired pen, but his fervent thanksgiving for the spirituality and inwardness of their religion, that they were "in the Lord Jesus Christ," that "our Gospel"—that Gospel which here at the very outset of his writings he speaks of as the one unchangeable Gospel, than which he knew no other—came to them "in the Holy Ghost"—as an internal self-demonstrated possession? This certainly does not sound like a "knowledge of Christ" which cannot consist with "the inward witness." And do we not find in the very heart and centre of this Epistle the same testimony which binds into one and harmonizes all his Epistles?—"Who died for us, that, whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him." Now, when he is vindicating the Apostle's meaning, in the more enlightened Epistle to the Corinthians, to be that he now preached "death with Christ," Mr. Jowett goes on to say, with an obvious insinuation, "And the rest of the chapter speaks of 'the absence from the body, which is presence with the Lord,' of 'the house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens,' of 'Christ becoming sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.'" Such was, indeed, the beautiful harmony of the Apostle's thoughts; but is it otherwise in the earlier and less developed Epistle? Let the passage which we have last quoted be the answer; and, that Mr. Jowett may be a party to his own confutation, let us read it in the light of his own pregnant note in the Commentary:—

"Ver. 10. Τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, who died for us.] There is a double allusion in this verse:—First, the more general thought so often repeated in the Epistles of St. Paul, of the identification of the Christian with the Lord, 'who died for us, that whether in life or death we may be with him;' which sometimes assumes the relation of opposition, at other times of sameness, either 'He died on our behalf that we may live,' or 'he died and rose again, that with him also we may die and rise again.' But, further, the mode of expression is coloured by what has preceded. Instead of saying, 'whether in life or death we may live with him,' the Apostle says, 'whether we wake or sleep, we may live with him.' He recalls what he had been saying before. 'If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, then also they which *sleep* through Jesus will God bring with him.' He died for us, that it might make no difference whether we live or die, or, as it is here expressed, that whether we are awake or asleep, at 'his coming we may together live with him.'—*Ἄμα* is to be taken with *ζήσωμεν*, not with *ὁὐ ἀντὶ*."

Let the reader weigh well this beautiful note, not forgetting the very important criticism on the arrangement of the words at the end of it, and he will see how much the Commentary differs from the introductory disquisition; that is to say, how much sounder Professor Jowett's exegetical learning is than his theological principles. If our space allowed, we might strengthen this assertion by reference to his expositions of the other and earlier passages in the first chapter: they also would prove that he is a much sounder interpreter of Scripture when confronting the text itself, than when dealing in speculations concerning the origin of it.

But to return for a moment to this much-abused declaration of St. Paul to the Corinthians. Accepting the preliminary exposition of it which Professor Jowett gives, we see no difficulty whatever in its proper and unforced contextual interpretation. The "henceforth" of St. Paul here marks that one great crisis which was all in all to his theology, as it was all in all to his personal experience. The whole connexion requires us to understand him as referring to the period when, as the next verse says in explanation of this verse, "man becomes a new creature, old things passing away and all things becoming new."

Before that time, Christ and man, and all things connected with Christ and man, were viewed carnally, according to the notions of the carnal mind and the feelings of the carnal heart; after that time Christ became transfigured, being apprehended by faith, and spiritually discerned—man and all things sharing also in the great transfiguration. There was a time in the Apostle's life and experience when he had regarded Christ, the Christ of the hope of Judaism, with a carnal eye, and had expected him with a carnal Jewish expectation. At that time he

had looked upon men also with unpurged and bigoted eyes: upon Jewish men as the heirs of all prerogative for time and eternity, and upon Gentile men as outcasts from the covenants of promise. When the time of Christ appeared, he had rejected him with all the abhorrence of his proud Jewish nature; and, viewing all his saints as apostates and idolaters, had persecuted them unto death. All this was now for ever past; as in himself, so in all whom he includes in the "we" of a common Christianity. The "now henceforth" of verse 16 is precisely the "now henceforth" of verse 15 (let them be compared with their slight variation); the critical period marked in the one verse is, in spite of Mr. Jowett's exposition, the same as that marked in the other. And this of itself is sufficient to refute the whole error in his application of the passage.

In a very hurried and almost furtive manner, he makes an illustrative allusion to a passage in the Epistle to the Galatians, where St. Paul, retorting their words in holy indignation upon his enemies, yet speaking to his friends, says, "And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? Then is the offence of the cross ceased." "These words," says our Essayist, and it is all he ventures to say about them, "certainly imply that St. Paul had once preached what his opponents declared to be the doctrine of the circumcision." That they certainly do not imply: but if they did, Mr. Jowett cannot consistently join these opponents. For, he has elsewhere said, that such a supposition is contradictory to all that is told us of the Apostle in the Acts, and to all that he tells us of himself in the Epistles. From the first moment of his conversion he was the Apostle of the Gentiles. He could never have taught that Christ was the Christ of the Jews only, or that without circumcision there was no entering into covenant with God. "However naturally such a meaning may be assigned to the words 'Christ according to the flesh,' it is so inconsistent with the whole tenor of the Apostle's life, as to compel us to adopt a different interpretation." Why then, after writing this sober truth, does he immediately go on to say that the Corinthian passage derives confirmation from this to the Galatians? One might be almost tempted to think that, after satisfying his conscience in the former sentence, he leaves the Apostle's words, accompanied by his own vague and equivocal comment, to give a certain fallacious strength to his argument, and then hurries on.

But we must not hurry on with him. St. Paul does not in any sense whatever leave it to be implied that he had preached a doctrine which might be capable of being interpreted as a doctrine of circumcision. He is evidently inflamed with a sacred wrath against those who perversely misapplied his words, and misinterpreted his acts (and something of that wrath would surely, were he among us, be enkindled against these modern persecutors of his doctrine.) The keen satire which follows in the "cut off" (so translated) will give any unbiased reader the key to the interpretation of the passage. "If my wise compliances in things left to my discretion are caricatured by my enemies into a preaching of the doctrine of circumcision, then why am I now, as I have always been, persecuted? Then, forsooth, the great stumbling-block in my preaching is gone. Why have I been persecuted for preaching the Cross all my days, when, as these enemies insist, I have been all along preaching circumcision?" Surely, nothing but the very blindness or wilfulness of opposition would dare to make these words imply that the Apostle *had* preached circumcision. His "yet" refers, as before, to the Saul-period of his ignorant unbelief, when he had applied the Jewish system (or we may say, as expressing the counterpart and opposite of his present life, *preached it*) with the same vigour with which he had since that time opposed it as the way of salvation.

Still less defensible is the fleeting and insinuating application which is made of other passages. The reader not acquainted with Mr. Jowett's writings, would hardly be prepared for the following piece of exegetical witchery. "That he was conscious also of a certain progress in his life, 'forgetting those things that are behind, and reaching forward to those things that are before,' is manifest from such passages as Phil. iii. 13; Eph. iv. 13, 14. That there was a difference in his mode of preaching to the Jew and Gentile—to the weak and to the strong—he himself asserts, where he says, 'To the Jew became I as a Jew,' and, 'I, brethren,

could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, as unto babes in Christ' (Compare 1 Cor. ii; Heb. vi. 1—3.) It may be remarked, also, that long afterwards, in writing to the Philippians, he has described that period of his life in which he first preached in European cities, (though more than fourteen years after his conversion), as 'the beginning of the Gospel'" (iv. 15.) All these passages are represented as having some bearing "more or less near" on the central Corinthian passage, the foundation of the whole hypothesis, concerning the knowing Christ after the flesh. The last of them, as being evidently "more near," we have taken the liberty of placing in the forefront, where it ought to have been placed in the argument of this essay, if the writer honestly attached to it the meaning which he professedly gives it.

As to the rest, they are all, without exception, sayings which absolutely have nothing whatever to do with the question of a development in the Apostolic doctrine. Of a development in himself, and in the process of his own growth into Christ,—of a gradual fulfilment of his apostolic course, and of the ever deepening aspiration of his soul towards the yet unattained objects of his calling,—he speaks to the Philippians, and of nothing else. It is little less than gratuitous trifling with the Apostle's sacred words, to apply them to his apostolic function as a teacher of the Church in faith and verity. The question is here simply whether the Apostle represents himself to have varied the matter of his doctrine. To quote this passage as it is once and again quoted, as giving an affirmative reply, is exceedingly unworthy, and betrays a want of taste bordering almost on irreverence. Let any one consider that this letter was among the Apostle's later writings, that it was written in that more mature stage of which Mr. Jowett speaks so much, that St. Paul expressly speaks of himself and others with him as perfect in the knowledge of the truth, and that he himself distinctly specifies the one great object with regard to which he was not yet perfected. Then let him ask himself the question, whether in these words St. Paul is really giving it to be understood that there was a clearer vision of doctrine and teaching to which he was pressing forward.

This hopeless cause descends to its lowest point of humiliation when it appeals, however faintly, to some other passages which Professor Jowett refers to without quoting them. The Corinthians were carnal, and immature, and childish, requiring that the Apostle should withhold from them the higher and richer revelations which he would fain have imparted. *Therefore*, St. Paul's doctrine was immature, and carnal, and childish, to suit their temper and spirit. But, did the speaking unto them as unto babes imply the preaching a less spiritual and more carnal Gospel? To the Ephesians the Apostle dilates upon all the glorious privileges of Christianity, and all the fulness of the wisdom of the counsel of God for their edification, and the supreme common perfection into which by God's will the Christian body should grow; and this forsooth is made to intimate that the Apostle himself, their teacher, was gradually himself advancing to a higher knowledge and apprehension of the truth. Surely the cause must be well-nigh hopeless which requires to be supported by such forced constructions of Scripture.

These are all the passages which are quoted from St. Paul's writings to prove, from his own lips, his gradual insight into the doctrine and system of the Gospel. It is not doing Professor Jowett injustice to say that he makes a very unfair use of them, deliberately making their sound sustain an argument which their sense, in the opinion of almost all expositors, revolts against. The hypothesis which they are supposed to uphold, surely would require some much more express and positive assertions than these. If the Apostle had purposed to tell the Christian Churches that his teaching when among them at a former time had not been sound, would not his honest and frank nature have made the declaration in a manner that could have left no room for doubt? Would he not have been careful to send supplementary epistles everywhere, pointing out the errors of his former teaching, and defending his people from the consequences of his own earlier immature utterances? Must he not have closed his life with a *Book of Retractions*, instead of the Pastoral Epistles, where all his former doctrines are summed up as *Faithful Sayings*?—*London Review*, Jan., 1861.

Theories of Inspiration.—Here we gladly leave the Essayists and their Essays; but before we conclude we wish to say a very few words on that momentous subject of inspiration, on which, as we said at first, is the brunt of their whole attack. It is a favourite mode of assault with all who wish to lower the authority of inspiration to require those who believe in it to define with exactness wherein it consists: "Where," they ask, "is your own theory of inspiration?—either admit ours, or substitute another. This finding fault with what is proposed, and yet proposing no substitute, is the very helplessness of a miserable obstructiveness." Now this we entirely deny. We maintain that this craving for "a theory of inspiration" is itself a part of the disease we have to treat. In this sense of the word, Holy Scripture has never laid down any theory of inspiration; the Church has never propounded one; and there are plain and we think sufficient reasons for this reticence. A doctrine concerning inspiration indeed that Word does contain, and that doctrine the Church Catholic received at first, and according to her office has guarded ever since. But this doctrine which Holy Scripture distinctly asserts concerning itself, which the Church has always repeated, and which has satisfied believers of the deepest thought and of the most commanding powers of reason, is really inconsistent with any such theory of inspiration as the sceptic desires. For what does Holy Scripture claim to be? The Word of God, "The Oracles of God"—*Θεορρηγόμενα*, (2 Tim. iii. 16.)—God-breathed; and what must this imply? Surely that there is a mighty and mysterious presence of God in this his Word. This is why there is so great a difficulty in saying in all cases whether, when "the Word of God" is spoken of in its pages, it is the Incarnate Word or the written Word which is designed. For as the Incarnate Word, the divine *Λόγος*, the Word who was in the beginning with God, is to all created being, even, it seems, to the angelic hierarchy, in whom it exists in its highest and purest form, the coming forth of the unapproachable glory of the Everlasting Father, so the written Word is the manifestation to man of the selfsame hidden glory of the Father. Thus there is a divine presence in the Word; and even as in the Word Incarnate there is a true union of the divinity with the manhood, both natures being uncommingled, though both eternally united in the person of the Son, even so in the written Word, there are present evermore the human element and the divine, each acting according to the perfect law of its own nature, neither interfering with the other. The Divinity, restraining or enlarging its communications, as is required for the perfectness of God's revelation of himself, never annihilating humanity nor ever giving possible place for the Revelation which is the proper subject of the divine acting, of that infirmity, error, or corruption, which are natural to man save in so far as the presence of the Higher Power holds him up and keeps him free from their dominion.

So much God's Word declares: so much the Church has received; so much every faithful man believes. But, if curiosity seeks for further insight, or capriciousness begins to question, or unbelief to stumble,—if the flesh asks to have the dividing line between the operation of the Divine and the human in the inspired Word marked sharply out so as to meet all objections and answer all questions; if it asks, that is to say, for such a perfect "theory of inspiration" as the rationalist craves,—the answer must be the same as if the same temper sought to criticize the great doctrine of the Incarnation itself; namely, that no perfect theory is possible unless we could first fathom the infinite, and reduce to definite proportions the hidden nature of the unfathomable Godhead. So that the fact, that in this great gift of the written Word there is that which defies the philosophic skill which would have a perfect theory for everything, so far from being a presumption against its truth, is an argument for it. So far as we can conceive, a written revelation must for man be communicated through man, whilst it must, for its knowledge of much, for the certain accuracy of all, the revelation, depend upon God as the revealer. There must, therefore, be combined in it the action of the two natures; and, if the two natures are both present and both in action, it must be beyond our power to have a perfect theory for that which is thus the united action of two powers,—seeing that of the higher of those powers we know only what has been revealed to us, and as to its law

and mode in combining its action with the lower nature (which we do know), since nothing has been revealed to us, we can know nothing.

The spirit which raises these difficulties, and prompts the asking of these questions, is the very spirit which, working with the subtilty of the scholastic temper, framed and fashioned for the sacrament of the eucharist the unwarranted and dangerous logical hypothesis of transubstantiation. In that sacrament, as in the written Word, the early Church believed simply, with ourselves, that God was present. But questions arose. How was he present? what were the limits of the presence, its mode, its consequences? where was it possible to draw the sharp line between the elemental matter and the presence of Deity? Unhappily, a large portion of the Church listened to the tempting whisper, that by logical definition it might satisfy questions which piety never would have asked, and reverential wisdom never would have endeavoured to answer. The sad result ought to be a lesson to us here; and to teach us that we are surrounded by mysteries of God's presence and working, which reveal themselves sufficiently to satisfy a humble faith of their undoubted reality; but which are impenetrable barriers against that proud curiosity which evermore leads men on to seek to be as gods, knowing good and evil.—*Quarterly Review*, January, 1861.

What Man may know of God.—So do we come to believe in God. He, who made us, has written deeply the proof of his being in our nature, and not till we deny *that* in its freedom, its intelligence, its moral accountability, not till we deny ourselves, as God has made us, can we refuse to believe that God is. We must believe, therefore, in the reality of a first cause freely acting, who is a person absolute in his perfection, infinite in his nature. But in this his absolute existence, and the infinitude of his nature, we cannot see him, or comprehend him. And though we must believe him to be the first cause, whose effect is the created universe, yet *how* he is that cause, we cannot understand,—what the connexion is between that infinite, absolute cause, and the finite creation,—what the connexion is between a universe, which exists in time and space, and him the first cause and Creator, whose existence is neither in time nor space, this we cannot discern or comprehend; much less can we comprehend, at all, an existence which is neither in time nor space, and yet, in the reality of such an existence we do and must believe.

The truth is, we know God only in *his relation* to the universe and to ourselves,—only within the bounds of time and space and of the finite creation; and therefore we know him not, and cannot know him, as he is his own absolute existence and his infinite nature. And the attempt so to know him only involves us in the inextricable contradictions and difficulties, which Sir William Hamilton and Mr. Mansel have so well exposed. The former pertinently says, "We are unable to think the divine attributes as in themselves they are. We cannot think God without impiety, unless we also implicitly confess our impotence to think him worthily; and if we should assert that God is as we think or can affirm him to be, we actually blaspheme. For the Deity is adequately inconceivable, is adequately ineffable; since human thought and human language are equally incompetent to his infinities."

And, in fact, this representation of the incomprehensibility of his being is that which is made in the Scriptures. "No man," we are told, "hath seen God at any time." "He dwelleth in the light, to which no man can approach." "His ways are unsearchable, and his judgments past finding out," how much more inscrutable must be his essence. *Because* this is so unsearchable, his ways and procedures are so incomprehensible by man. We must believe much about them which we cannot solve. "Canst thou, by searching, find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is as high as heaven; what canst thou do? deeper than hell; what canst thou know?" Such are the testimonies of Scripture, confirming the conclusions of a sound philosophy, declaring to man that a perfect or an adequate knowledge of God, as he is, is not attainable by man. For here "we know in part," and therefore we know not that infinitude of God, of which a part cannot be predicated.

But yet he is revealed to us, so far as we are capable of receiving and understanding the revelation. But as we thus know him, it is in his relation to his creation and to ourselves. Throughout his universe there are reflections and images of his glory, from which we learn to believe that that glory is transcendent beyond our power of comprehension. The very highest revelation which God has made of himself to man is a revelation of him under a limitation specially suited to our circumstances and capacity.

So does he make himself known to us in the face of Jesus Christ, through the medium of that humanity which we ourselves possess. The knowledge which he gives us concerning his attributes and ways, is given, therefore, by way of analogy and representation. It is knowledge well suited to fill us with a deep sense of his greatness and glory and goodness, to inspire us with a profound impression of the infinite excellence and the absolute perfection of his attributes and being, but not to enable us to discern these attributes, as they are in their own fulness, much less to discern or comprehend the nature, whose attributes they are.

The most profound metaphysician, the most far-seeing statesman may be known and loved and admired, in all the tenderness of life, in all the transparency of a pure and righteous and beneficent character, by his family and his familiar friends, who, nevertheless, know not the metaphysician in the depths of his speculation, or the statesman in the largeness of his views and the complexity of his plans. The heart of kings is unsearchable, but the justice of their procedures and the beneficence of their sway may be made apparent to the humblest of their subjects. The lives and fortunes of men, of the criminal trembling at the bar, of one who is unjustly accused, or whose intellectual sanity is in question, are often placed in the balance of principles of law and justice and expediency, which they cannot comprehend; are exposed to the hazard of subtle disquisitions, whose windings they can, by no means, follow. These, and such like analogies of our earthly life, set forth to us how we may know God as our loving Father and our beneficent Redeemer, how we may appreciate, and know, and love him in the relations in which he manifests himself to us, though we cannot know him in his infinite and absolute being.

We have revelations concerning him, which are intended to have a powerful practical influence upon us, to be the light by which we regulate our conduct and our steps in all the course of our earthly pilgrimage, to be the fountain-light of all our seeing, so that, though in the world, we may, nevertheless, walk in the light which is reflected from the throne of God. The knowledge which we have concerning God is well fitted to nourish faith and obedience, and to call forth love and devotion, to place us in that condition of instruction and discipline which may prepare us for the clearer and fuller knowledge which can be imparted only in a future state of being. In the language of Hooker distinguishing between the infinite being of God and his revelation of himself to us under finite forms and relations: "If therefore it be demanded, why God, having power and ability infinite, the effects notwithstanding of that power are all so limited as we see they are, the reason hereof is the end, which he hath proposed, and the law whereby his wisdom hath stinted the effects of his power in such sort, that it doth not work infinitely, but correspondently with that end for which it worketh, even all things *μετρίως*, in most decent and comely sort, all things in measure, number and weight."

Truly then, as Mr. Mansel has said and shewn in manifold and various applications to the object of religious thought, and as the judicious Mr. Hooker hath pregnantly and well said before him, "our soundest knowledge is, to know that we know him not as indeed he is, neither can know him, and our safest eloquence concerning him is our silence, when we confess without confession that his glory is inexplicable, his greatness above our capacity and reach. He is above, and we upon earth, therefore it becometh our words to be wary and few."

But the knowledge concerning him conveyed under earthly forms, and finite relations, such as we are capable of receiving, addresses itself to our nature and to all parts of that nature as it has come from the hand of our Creator, to our intellect, our affections, and our active powers. It is a revelation which enlightens

us, and which moves us, and which is fitted, as no other address can be, to be the regulator and guide of our lives, through this world of images and shadows to a nearer and clearer view of that light to which now no man can approach. For it doth not and cannot yet appear what we shall be; but, when he shall appear we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is. What enlargement and development of our faculties there may be, what faculties appertaining to that life, which is hid with Christ in God, may then be awakened, how near a created being can approach to a perception of the perfect and the infinite one, we cannot here either see or imagine. "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him." Here we have but glimpses and reflections of that glory. So to know God here is life, and joy to make mention of his name, but in the vision of God, as now we can neither attain nor conceive it, is to be realized the fulness of our being. "When I wake up after thy likeness, I shall be satisfied with it." Such is the consummation, so to be sought and reached, which is presented to us by sound philosophy accepting the lessons of true religion.

In the eloquent words of Mr. Mansel, who maintains, most clearly and explicitly, the adaptation of God's revelation of himself to our nature and needs and circumstances, as we ourselves can see and appreciate them:

"The luminary, by whose influence the ebb and flow of man's moral being is regulated, moves around and along with man's little world, in a regular and bounded orbit; one side, and one side only, looks downward upon its earthly centre; the other which we see not, is ever turned upwards to the all-surrounding infinite. And those tides have their seasons of rise and fall, their places of strength and weakness; and that light waxes and wanes with the growth or decay of man's mental and moral and religious culture; and its borrowed rays seem at times to shine as with their own lustre, in rivalry, even in opposition to the source from which they emanate. Yet is that light still but a faint and partial reflection of the hidden glories of the Sun of Righteousness, waiting but the brighter illumination of his presence, to fade and be swallowed up in the full blaze of the heaven kindling around it; not cast down indeed from its orbit, nor shorn of its true brightness and influence, but still felt and acknowledged in its real existence and power, in the memory of the past discipline, in the product of the present perfectness, though now distinct no more, but vanishing from sight to be made one with the glory that beams from the 'Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.'"

This will be the solution of the mysteries of our being. The highest office of philosophy is to fix the limits of human knowledge; to demonstrate to man the necessity of his ignorance. Its last result, in the words of a distinguished philosopher,* is, "to derive ignorance from its most elevated source;" to subject the reason of man to the infinite wisdom above him, which he cannot fathom; its crowning act and glory is to transfer man, with its own hand, from the borders of its domain, to the province of divine faith. Under this guidance only, walking by faith and not by sight, can he come to the light, which now he cannot approach, to the presence of God, "whom," in the boundaries of time, "no man hath seen nor can see."—*American Church Review*, January, 1861.

Clerical Subscription in England and Germany.—It may be pleaded, and we know it is pleaded by some very good men, that the language of a great part of the Articles is antiquated, has lost its original force, and must be taken in a new sense; and appeal is made to the practice so common among Nonconformists of using scriptural and other language with a vague conventional application, fluctuating dimly between its primitive meaning and the practical belief of the modern professor. A case, however, is not justified by quoting another as bad as itself. We fully admit the snare that is laid for mental integrity wherever a creed is hereditary and tacitly assumed as true, whether imposed by public authority or not; nor has any one shewn up the folly and dishonesty of taking the words of

* M. Royer Collard.

But, in regard to outward profession, an immense change has taken place within the last quarter of a century. No country shews more clearly than Germany how inseparably religious and civil liberty are conjoined. Freedom of speculation sprang up among German scholars in the latter half of the last century, when every little principality had its own university, and the upper classes, already infected with Voltairian notions, regarded with indifference or approval the heretical conclusions of the theologians. At that time the chairs of theology had no direct connexion with the Church, and rejoiced in the exercise of their hereditary *Lehrfreiheit*. Theology was taught by laymen like any other branch of human science. A theologian was not of necessity a clergyman. J. D. Michaelis, Eichhorn, Gesenius, Lücke, and others, were laymen, as Ewald, Strauss and Vatke are now. But the Church throughout Germany is closely interwoven with the State; and it was naturally feared that this spirit of free search, unchecked in any direction, might unsettle ancient foundations. The upper classes had become conservative, and even pietistic, especially since the expulsion of the French from their country in 1814. Every indication of revolutionary tendency, any approximation in the tone of thought to what were called emphatically French principles, increased these religious apprehensions, and threw back the faith of the mass of the nation with redoubled fervour on the religion of their forefathers. These reactionary feelings had begun to produce a sensible effect on the tone of the prevalent theology before the revolutionary movements of 1848. It was becoming less rationalistic and more orthodox. But after that date the conservative party, restored to power and filled with terror, put forth a heavier and more coercive hand. Freedom of inquiry was openly discouraged. The profession of orthodoxy was the only passport to preferment. The gymnasia and the universities were brought more under the control of the clergy. Theology lost its proper scientific character, and became the technical exposition of an established system. Young men of talent and a nobler spirit abandoned so unpromising a field for the freer and more fruitful studies of history and the physical sciences. A few great men, the monuments of a former generation, were still left undisturbed in their chairs; but their audience diminished, and they saw among their followers none willing or able to take their place when their own work should be done.—*National Review*, Jan., 1861.

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An attack may be made in a short space. If any one cannot rest on the authority of the universal church, attested as it is by prophecy, nor again, on the word of Jesus, he must take a long circuitous process of answer. But already, if books we must have, these would need to be books, not essays. What could

monument without any authoritative character, and their corrective and guiding influence on his mind, whether to a greater or a less extent, would certainly have been more natural and healthy. Mr. Maurice's spirit is so genial and exursive, so open to sympathy on all sides, that he feels, perhaps more strongly than men of cold and cautious temperament, the need of some outward guide to keep it from wandering; and this deference to authority, which might else have become a clog on the free action of his faculties, is tempered by the extreme subjectivity of his nature, which ever finds what it wants in the most varied presentment of objective belief. We have read with some care his recent exposition of the doctrine of the Thirty-nine Articles, yet without the possibility of assent. With scarce an exception, so far as we have observed, he has put into them his own meaning, instead of taking out of them that which they were intended to yield. The Thirteenth Article, so opposed to the benignant spirit of Mr. Maurice's theology, is a case in point. He evades its obvious sense, and makes it utter as "sound teaching" what could never have been intended by its author. When language is so used, it surrenders its proper function, and from having all sorts of meanings forced into it, becomes absolutely meaningless. The words of the clown in *Twelfth Night* are the best commentary on such explanations as these: "To see this age! A sentence is but a cheveril glove to a good wit. How quickly the wrong side may be turned outward!" (Act iii. scene 1.)

It is with profound regret that we write this. Much as we love and honour the men for their many virtues and their rich intellectual gifts, there are few things which we read with more pain or with a stronger moral recoil than Mr. Maurice's exposition of the Articles, Mr. Wilson's laboured defence of subscription, and Mr. Jowett's celebrated Essay on Casuistry. We do not forget our former distinction between the *person* and the *thing*. We attach far more blame to the culpable acquiescence of the age and nation than to individuals. But the *thing* is monstrous. Is language, then, bestowed on man, as a wicked courtier once taught, to hide his thoughts? And are the teachers of Christianity to be foremost in exemplifying this infamous doctrine? The ministers of the Gospel should be above all suspicion of hollowness. The holiest influences should not be tainted at their source. Yet the law of the land exposes men to suspicions which they would gladly escape, and only permits them to dispense the highest truth, under the condition of a profession which is constantly at war with their convictions. What can be of worse influence on the public morality of the country than the employment of forced, tortuous, and jesuitical language in the first of its spiritual guides? Religion, of all subjects, needs to be clothed in the freshest, simplest and truest words. It is in the living contact of heart with heart, conviction meeting with conviction, that it bears its richest fruit. The very lull that has seized the public conscience in regard to subscription, the callousness on this side of their nature, in minds otherwise pure and noble, to the most solemn of obligations, is the saddest as it is the surest proof of the moral mischief which this evil practice has wrought; and the malady will spread with more disastrous effect if its source be not stopped. The sincere old orthodoxy will not much longer be possible; and the only alternative, as things now stand, must be indifference, or what to the eye of the outer world looks very like sophistry. Viewed in this light, subscription is a grave social question. It ceases to be a personal, it becomes a national, concern.

If we turn to Germany, the clerical reaction now in progress is producing results more deplorable still. In England the best minds of the Church at least give utterance to their honest thoughts, despite official inconsistency, and the popular sentiment is enlarged and enlightened by their influence. In many parts of Germany it has been the apparent aim of ecclesiastical and civil authorities to stifle conviction at its birth. With us the central light does find its way into the world, though often through manifold refractions and a coloured medium; with our neighbours, priests and magistrates combine to put out the light itself. This statement may surprise those who have been accustomed to look on Germany as the native land of a bold rationalism in theology, and of a daring philosophy; and such may still be the secret belief of its most advanced and cultivated intellects.

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be condensed into essays upon—1. Revelation; 2. Miracles; 3. Prophecy; 4. The Canon; 5. Inspiration; 6. Our Lord's Divinity and Atonement; 7. The Divinity and Offices of God the Holy Ghost? But beyond this, there is the miscellaneousness of their random dogmatic scepticism. The writers, in their own persons, rarely affirm anything, attempt to prove nothing, and throw a doubt upon everything. If any of us had dogmatized as to truth, as these do as to error, what scorn we should be held up to! They assume everything, prove nothing. There is only here and there anything definite to lay hold of. One must go back to the foreign sources of this unbelief, to find it in a definite shape, which one could answer. I have made a list of the subjects on which I should have to write on my own special subject, the interpretation of the Old Testament. Some indeed admit of a short answer, as when one says, that the title given by Isaiah to our Lord, "Mighty God," perhaps only means "strong and mighty one," or that Isaiah in the words "A virgin shall conceive and bear a son," means "a maiden's child, to be born in the reign of Ahaz," or that "kiss the son" (Psalm ii.), should be rendered "worship purely," or that for the words "They pierced my hands and my feet," there should stand the senseless "like a lion." Apart from inspiration, no one could think that any human writer, who wished to be understood, would use the words *el gibbor* of Almighty God in one chapter ("the remnant shall return to Almighty God"), and in the chapter before us those self-same words of the child who was to be born, in another sense. The "kiss" was a well-known sign of fealty to a king, or worship to an object of worship; but the Hebrew word for "kiss" would no more mean "worship" by itself than our English word. It could be shewn in brief space that *Almah* means "unmarried maiden" or virgin, and that the conception spoken of is beyond nature. Popularly it has been said, "If Isaiah did not prophesy the birth of a virgin, the LXX. did." It would take no great space to shew that the rendering "As a lion," is unmeaning, without authority, against authority, while the rendering "They pierced," is borne out alike by authority and language. But these are but insulated points, easy to be defended, because attacked definitely. But when their range of attack extends from Genesis to Daniel, when one says that credible history begins with Abraham (Williams, 57); another, that there "is little reliable history" before Jeroboam (Mr. Wilson, p. 170, of course, contradicting each other as to the period between Abraham and Jeroboam); another denies the accuracy of the Old Testament altogether according to our standards of accuracy (Professor Jowett, p. 347), asserting that "like other records," it was "subject to the conditions of a knowledge which existed in an early stage of the world" (*Ib.* 411), that "the dark mists of human passion and error form a partial crust upon it" (Wilson, p. 177), that the truth of the unity of God in scripture only gradually "dispersed the mists of human passion in which it was itself enveloped" (Jowett, p. 286); when contradictions between the Kings and Chronicles are vaguely assumed (Wilson, 178, 9, Jowett, 342, 7); when it is asserted that prophecies of Jeremiah, Isaiah, Amos failed (Jowett, p. 343); and implied that God could not predict the deeds of one of his creatures by name (*Ib.*); that when Nahum prophesied there were human grounds to anticipate the destruction of Nineveh, which he prophesied (Williams, p. 60); or that Micah, in prophesying the birth at Bethlehem, meant only a deliverer in his own times (p. 68); that "perhaps one passage in Zechariah and one in Isaiah (it is not said which) may be capable of being made directly Messianic" (Williams, p. 69); and that "hardly any, probably none, of the quotations from the Psalms and prophets in the Epistles is based on the original sense or context" (Jowett, p. 406); when the genuineness of the Pentateuch (Williams, p. 60), of much of Isaiah (*Ib.* 68, Jowett, p. 313), Zechariah (Williams, p. 68), Daniel (lxix, lxxvi) is denied; when it is asserted that the aspects of truth in the Book of Job or Ecclesiastes are opposite or imperfect (Jowett, p. 347), that actions are attributed to God in the Old Testament at variance with that higher revelation which he has given of himself in the Gospel (26), when Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac is attributed not to God, but to the "fierce ritual of Syria" (Williams, p. 61), not to speak of the temptation in Paradise (p. 177), the miracle of Balaam's ass, the earth's standing

still, "the universality of the deluge, the confusion of tongues, the corporeal taking up of Elijah into heaven, the nature of angels, the reality of demoniacal possession, the personality of Satan, and the miraculous nature of many conversions" (Wilson, 177), or the Book of Jonah (Williams, p. 73)—how can such an undigested heap of errors receive a systematic answer in brief space, or in any one treatise or volume? Or why should these be more answered than all the other attacks on the same subject with which the unbelieving press has been for some time teeming? People seem to have transferred the natural panic at finding that such attacks on belief could be made by those bound to maintain it, to the subjects themselves, as if the faith was jeopardized because it has been betrayed. With the exception of the still imperfect science of geology, the *Essays and Reviews* contain nothing with which those acquainted with the writings of unbelievers in Germany have not been familiar these thirty years. The genuineness of the books impugned, the prophecies, whose accomplishments in themselves, or in the Lord, is so summarily denied, have been solidly vindicated, not in essays, but in volumes. An observation on the comparative freedom and reasonableness of the "Conservatism of Hengstenberg" and Jahn (Williams, p. 67) is, I believe, the only indication, given in the volume, that much which the writers assume as proved, has been solidly disproved. Some volumes have, I believe, been already translated.

But this circuitous process cannot be necessary to faith. God did not reveal himself to us for disputers. These answers may have their place; but there must be some briefer, directer road to faith. One of the essay writers owned that their system could never be the religion of the poor. Then it cannot be the true Gospel, which was for the poor. Those who believe our Lord's words need no further proof as to the Old Testament. He has referred to it as of authority, and as speaking of himself. He has sealed to us the whole of the Old Testament, as, in all its divisions, speaking of himself (Luke xxiv. 44 add 27).

It has been observed that he has authenticated to us just that class of facts in the Old Testament, which, to human reason, would seem most to need confirmation—Jonah in the fish's belly (Matt. xii. 40), the conversion of Nineveh (41), the flood (xxiv. 37—39; Luke xvii. 26, 27), the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Matt. x. 15; xi. 23, 24; Luke xvii. 2, 8, 9), Lot's wife (32), God's appearing in the burning but unconsumed bush (Matt. xii. 26), the brazen serpent (John iii. 14), the manna (vi. 33), the personality of Satan (Matt. iv. 10; xii. 26; Mark iii. 23—26; Luke iv. 8; xiii. 16; xxii. 31). Again, of that early history, which two of these writers throw a slur on, our Lord sets his seal on one birth of a single pair, according to the account in Genesis (Matt. xix. 4, 5), the death of Abel (xxiii. 35), the flood (as I said), the history of circumcision (Luke vii. 22, 23). Then, again, as to prophecy, it is our Lord himself who quotes Daniel (Matt. xxiv. 15; Mark viii. 14): the denied chapters of Isaiah, as Scripture (Matt. xi. 13; Luke iv. 17, 18; xviii. 31—33; John vi. 45), Zachariah (Mark xiv. 27). He alleges the prophecies of the Old Testament in the way which this school condemns (Matt. xiii. 14, 15; xxi. 42; Mark vii. 6), and one of those which have been called "imprecatory Psalms" (John xvii. 1, 2). The principle of this argument is not confined to the Old Testament. It includes equally the reality of demoniacal possessions (Mark v. 8; vii. 29; ix. 25, 29; xvi. 17) and eternal punishment.

The Westminster Review calls it a "dangerous assumption that the Old Testament is a part of Christianity." Not in the eyes of the reviewer, who unhappily believes neither. Our Lord has bound them together for his disciples, and however it may be charitable or right to meet in any other way the perplexities which people make for themselves or others, there must be some more compendious way for the mass of mankind. Life is not given for proving revelation to one's-self, but for belief, love, worship, duty.

I have written at this length because there seems to be a feverish anxiety in some minds that answers should be written to these essays. Answers have, in fact, been written to very many of the attacks by Tholuck, Hengstenberg, Veil, Havernich, and others. Answers will doubtless be written in this country. Some of the objections are as old as Celsus and Porphyry. The Church has

survived these early attacks these one thousand six hundred years, and will to the end. For myself, I am convinced that the Bible is its own best defence; that the Holy Ghost, by whose inspiration it was written, speaks through it still to hearts prepared by his grace to hear; and while I trust, during any residue of my years which God may appoint me, to do what in me lies to develope, by his help, some of the meaning of his Word, removing as he shall enable me, men's self-made difficulties, or pointing out the completion of prophecy, my conviction is, that the difficulties lie, not in Holy Scripture itself, but in the dispositions with which men approach it.

Christ Church.

E. B. PUSEY.

SIR.—I venture once more to ask for space in your columns that I may point out and expose certain errors connected with the *Essays and Reviews* and their authors, which are industriously circulated, and are obtaining a wide currency.

1. The remark is made, and is repeated from mouth to mouth, that the book has not yet received an answer. I will not discuss the question how far this could have been done in the time which has elapsed since the book was published—at all events, since it obtained notoriety. But it ought to be borne in mind that the errors which the book contains have been refuted again and again. They are no new errors. Except on the points on which the discoveries of modern science have somewhat shifted the ground, there is hardly one of them which was not advanced by the deistical writers of the last century, and answered at the time, and so satisfactorily answered, in the opinion, at least, of those who had the most immediate and pressing concern in the matter, that scepticism seemed well-nigh extinct in this country till the noxious plant was re-imported from Germany, whither, as Dr. McCaul justly observed in Convocation, it had been carried from hence.

One would be sorry to disinter the remains of infidel authors now known happily only by their names; but if any one will refer to Bishop Van Mildert's *Boyle Lectures* or Leland's *Deistical Writers*, he will be surprised to find how large a portion of the *Essays and Reviews* may be paralleled, both in its subject-matter and in its sneering tone, in the effusions not only of Hume, but of Collins, Woodston, Tindal, Morgan, Chubb, and others. That, however, the objections of these writers were answered at the time when they came forth, is, of course, no reason why fresh answers should not be provided now that they are reproduced and tricked out in a modern dress. The poet's words will hold true in each succeeding age:—

“Alter erit tum Tiphys, et altera quæ vehat Argo
Dilectos Heroas; erunt etiam altera bella,
Atque iterum ad Trojam magnus mittetur Achilles.”

The “magnus Achilles” of the last century was Bishop Butler. Such an one, we trust, “*si dignus vindice nodus*,” will be raised up for the present emergency.

2. It was said by one of the writers to whose letters on this subject the *Times* has accorded a place in its columns, that “we want a reply that will take in each essay separately, discuss it fully and fairly, entering into the writer's point of view.” From what other point of view, I would ask, can a Christian and a clergyman be supposed to look, when the history, or the prophecies, or the inspiration of the Old Testament are under consideration, than that from which our Lord looked? Shall the disciple presume to set himself above his Master? the servant above his lord? These gentlemen ought to let us know on what ground we are to meet them. If they are Christians, let us understand it, that we may meet them on Christian ground. If they refuse to meet us on Christian ground, let them acknowledge themselves unbelievers, and we must then deal with them accordingly.

3. While there seems a very general disposition to allow that some of the writers are undoubtedly liable to grave censure, every nerve is strained to exempt others from blame on the ground that *their* contributions at all events are comparatively unobjectionable, if not wholly so. Whether this is the case or not I

am not now called upon to inquire. But it is strange that men do not perceive the difference between legal responsibility and moral responsibility. No doubt, in the eye of the law, Dr. Temple is answerable for no other sentiments than those which he has himself expressed. But morally he is responsible, together with his associates, for the whole book. The Westminster Reviewer said most truly, "Let each of these writers be assured, that, as far as moral influence goes, he has said all that each of the others has said; and it is not too hard to remind them that each has implied some things which none of them has said." All that we have been told of the regard and affection which Dr. Temple's personal character has won for him only increases his responsibility in this respect; and still more when it is viewed in connexion with his position as the Head Master of Rugby. It is in the nature of things that the disciple should outrun his master. What must we expect from Dr. Temple's pupils, when they come to carry out to their legitimate conclusion the principles imbibed by them from a book which comes to them under his sanction, and with his name in the forefront? It may be true—I doubt not that it is—that Dr. Temple was ignorant originally of the full extent of the evil with which his essay was to be associated. This excuse would have served him when the book first appeared. But a second, a third, a fourth, a fifth edition has come abroad, and his name still occupies its former position—nay is, with the rest, ostentatiously paraded (which, if I mistake not, was not originally the case)—in the advertisements.

Oxford, March 4, 1861.

C. A. HEURTLEY,
Margaret Professor of Divinity.

NEW WORKS PUBLISHED DURING THE LAST QUARTER.

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Disputatio de antiquissimo librorum sacrorum Novi Fæderis catalogo, qui vulgo Fragmentum Muratorii appellatur. [On the Ancient Catalogue of the Books of the New Testament, known as the Muratorian Fragment.] By J. Van Gilse. Amsterdam: Muller. 4to, pp. 80.

Fragmenta Origenianæ Octateuchi Editionis, cum fragmentis Evangeliorum Græcis Palimpsestis. Ex codice Leidensi folioque Petropolitano quarti vel quinti, Guelferbytanæ codicis quinti, Sangalensis octavi fere sæculi. [Fragments of Origen's Edition of the Octateuch, with Greek Palimpsest Fragments of the Gospels. From the Leyden Codex and the St. Petersburg Leaf of the Fourth or Fifth Century, the Guelferbytan MS. of the Fifth, and the St. Gall MS. of the Eighth Century.] By Ænoth. F. C. Tischendorf. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1860. Folio, pp. xi, 800.

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- Les Fêtes principales de l'Année Chrétienne: Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture Sainte.** [The Principal Festivals of the Christian Year: Sermons on divers Texts of Holy Scripture.] By J. F. Othenin-Girard. Geneva and Paris: Cherbuliez. 12mo, pp. 234.
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- Les Moines d'Occident depuis Saint Benoit jusqu'à Saint Bernard.** (The Monks of the East from Benedict to Bernard.) By Count Le Montalembert. Paris: Jacques Le Coffre. 8vo.
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- Saint Evangeles.** (Translation of the Gospels by Professor P. Lallemand.) Paris: Bray.
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THE
JOURNAL
OF
SACRED LITERATURE
AND
BIBLICAL RECORD.

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No. XXVI.—JULY, 1861.  
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**THE TWO RECORDS OF OUR LORD'S TEMPTATION.—
CHARACTER OF THEIR INSPIRATION.**

THE two records (Matt. iv. 1—11; Luke iv. 1—13) of our Lord's temptation occupy a prominent position among the received historical statements connected with the mediatorial work of Jesus Christ, as God manifest in the flesh.

The terms of the narration imply that these records are professedly historical no less than the other parts of the Gospels, and our object will therefore be, assuming their authenticity, to point out, in connexion with an analogical survey of their position in the scheme of natural and revealed religion, those general and particular features in their structure which serve to realize the expectations of the different classes of mind to which they are addressed; regard being had to what has already been determined from analogy to be the divine design in the gift of plenary inspiration to the Evangelists, viz., the development of that grand idea of all religion which the Gospels as a whole, and in their main details, are presumed to exhibit historically.^a

It may be premised, that the nature of our argument from analogy implies that we are not competent judges beforehand of what was to be expected in an inspired document, as such, other-

^a See *Journal of Sacred Literature*, October, 1853, pp. 58—75; and April, 1854.

wise than and except so far as a comparison of inspired language with the other acknowledged exponents of the divine mind, in nature and in providence, and in the general scheme of revelation, may enable us to discern analogous characteristics in the former, to what observation, and experience, and the accredited results of the inductive philosophy inform us of in the latter; but that, so far as such analogies are apparent, the presumption in favour of the inspired character of the records is in the same degree justifiable; the argument being properly limited, as respects its application, by the preliminary testimony of the Church which has received these documents from the hands of their authors, and handed them down to us as the genuine and authentic writings of men gifted with inspiration of God.

Bearing in mind then what has been concluded to be, judging from the analogy of natural and revealed religion, and of what corrupted systems of religion have in common with them, the general design of the Holy Spirit in the Gospels, viz., to manifest in Jesus the historical realization of the Christian mystery of the Incarnation; and remembering to what classes of mind the Evangelists St. Matthew and St. Luke primarily addressed themselves, that is to say, the Hebrew and Gentile Christians respectively, we shall perceive that the relative position of the narrations in the first and third Gospels, corresponds to what the analogy of the case would lead us to expect.

In the Gospel of St. Matthew, the preceding links to the chain of the history are the genealogy, the circumstances of the nativity in connexion with the homage of the representatives of the Gentile world, the mission of the Baptist, and then, as introductory to the scene of the temptation, the baptism of Jesus, with its preternatural accompaniments; the continuity of the history of the temptation in special connexion with the last link, being clearly marked in the text.

In the Gospel of St. Luke, the successive links are the preface, indicating the subordinate design of the Evangelist to confirm the faith of the Gentile catechumen and believer; the wonderful circumstances attending the birth and mission of the Baptist, whose regular entrance and title to the ministry of the sons of Aaron is clearly marked as the seal to his nation of the applicability of the prophecies; the circumstances of our Lord's nativity in connexion with the Baptist's actual entrance on his ministry, and bearing witness to Jesus at his baptism; which is immediately followed by the list of the sixty-six generations of our Lord's legal father's genealogy, traced backward to the first "Adam, who was the son of God."

We have already endeavoured to point out the manner in

which the genealogy given by St. Matthew, with the circumstances of the nativity as stated by him, was calculated to enlarge, whilst it confirmed, what might otherwise have been the too narrow conceptions of the Jewish believer, as to the spiritual character of Messiah's royalty and kingdom, and the extension of the latter to the Gentile world. In the first Gospel, Jesus is presented to the mind of the Israelite as the legal heir of David and Solomon, whose kingdom had been so completely extirpated (the family of Solomon having become extinct in Jechonias), that the son of David appeared as a Nazarene, *i.e.*, a branch growing out of the dry and cut-down stock of *Jesse*. In Jesus, therefore, thus presented, the mind of the Israelite would look for the fulfilment of the analogy which required that the son of David should be inaugurated as really to his office, however differently in circumstance, as David himself had been when sealed by Samuel as the Lord's anointed. Accordingly, the mission of the Baptist is by St. Matthew placed in immediate connexion with the descent of the Holy Ghost on Jesus at his baptism, preliminary to his entrance on the scene of trial or temptation, preparatory to the establishment of his future throne. Nor could the bearing of the Baptist's mission on the sealing of Jesus as the Christ, in the extraordinary accompaniments of the baptism, fail to be discerned, from the fact of that mission having been generally acknowledged by the nation; whilst the strict legal succession of John in the line of Aaron, and the regularity of his entrance on his extraordinary office, needed not, as in St. Luke's Gospel addressed to Gentile believers, to be explicitly rehearsed. It was sufficient for the Evangelist St. Matthew's purpose, addressing the Hebrew Christians, to point out that the Scriptures assigned to John, as the acknowledged prophet of the nation, the office of heralding the Messiah.

Viewing, therefore, the progressive development of St. Matthew's purpose as already traced in the tendency of his details to bring to light the spiritual royalty of Jesus Christ, and having regard to the generic nature, as respects both Jews and Gentiles, of the transaction recorded in the scene of the temptation, the mind of the Jewish believer could not but be the better prepared to embrace the compass of the earlier and later prophecies, which from the beginning (whether that epoch be regarded as the creation or the call of Abraham), extended the Messiah's kingship in such a manner to the Gentile world as to imply the exaltation of the latter, as well as of the Hebrew nation, to an equality of privilege in the possession of those larger blessings to which, in the second Adam, the human race is

entitled, through the universality of the redemption wrought by Jesus Christ.

But "salvation is of the Jews," and, whilst therefore it was fitting that the mind of the Jewish believer should be thus enlarged to embrace the scope of the divine promises, the Gentile believer, on the other hand, needed to be referred from the complicated corruptions in the traditions of Gentile worship (considered as derived originally from a divine source), to the fountain head of revealed truth as conveyed to him through the divinely ordained channel of a particular nation (the apostles being Jews), in connexion with a representative mediator, whose "goings forth" may be traced back "before Abraham was," through the links of a long series of past generations to God, the divine parent of the original human offspring, created in His image. The fall of man from his high rank in the newly created world required the promulgation of that religion which is based upon the promise of an incarnate mediator; who, in the character of the second Adam (the first-born and beginning of a new creation), should set men free from the law of sin and death, which the transgression of the first Adam had introduced; and by his conquest over the same adversary, who had tempted the natural representative head of our race, obtain as man's new representative the restoration of mankind to a greater than his primæval blessedness, in proportion to the surpassing dignity of the divine seed of the woman, who was thus to be the instrument of our regaining Paradise.

In harmony with the foregoing considerations, we observe, that whilst the first Gospel presents the scene of the temptation in a connexion which is limited at the outset to the genealogical descent of Jesus as the seed of Abraham, but which gradually enlarges its circle of view as respects the extension of Christ's kingdom to the Gentiles; the third Gospel, on the other hand, introduces the same scene in immediate connexion with the genealogical descent of Jesus as the son of God, reaching back through the links of the series of sixty-six generations to "Adam, which was the son of God;" so that by such a juxtaposition he is represented in immediate contact as "the first-born of the new creation," "the everlasting Father," with that power of evil which revelation declares to have been brought to bear on our first parents, to their and our loss, through the instrumentality of a personal agent called the Devil and Satan.

Here, then, in the fact of the temptation of a divine incarnate Mediator, the Gentile believer trained in the schools of Gentile philosophy, accompanied in the objective creed of heathenism with dim traditions respecting emanations from

Deity for the rescue of man from the tyranny of evil (erroneously though not universally conceived of as a principle of existence), would seek for the objective solution of that perplexing problem which had been in vain attempted hitherto. As in the conflict of the first Adam and his fellow with a personal adversary, there was implied a certain relationship between the human and the angelic races, the apparent necessity for connecting the origin of evil with matter was removed, and the question thrown a step backward upon a preliminary one which may be stated thus:—What is given us to know respecting the origin of evil in connexion with the angelic race, and how does this render the position of a race made “a little lower than the angels,” obnoxious to evil, though created innocent, through the agency of temptation?

This question being determined, the mind of the Gentile, as well as of the Jewish believer, would then be prepared to recognize in the triumphant victory of Jesus, the successful mediation of one who was for this among other purposes incarnate, “that he might destroy the works of the devil,” and undo evil as respects the race of mankind, so that as imputatively and really by one man’s disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one should many be made righteous; the temptation being, in every particular, the obedience of the man Christ Jesus to the divine external law, from which, equally with the first Adam, he was tempted by Satan to deviate.

In order, then, to estimate the force of the position given to the narration in the fundamental records of Christianity (as well as in the system of the Church), let us first briefly survey the subject to which the transaction, as thus recorded, has a determinate relation, viz., the angelic race—its relation to mankind—the fall of a portion of that race, and the consequent obnoxiousness to temptation, first of man in his state of innocence, and, after his fall and in order to his recovery, of the Mediator, through whom the restoration of mankind from the effects of sin must be effected.

Now, the fundamental fact of both natural and revealed religion, to the recognition of which this enquiry refers us, is one which, though implied in the first article of the Creed, “I believe in God,” has been too generally lost sight of in our conception of the true character of sin; we mean the fact that there is not, and cannot be, but one principle of existence, and that the infinitely good one; that the corrupt Gentile and Manichæan notion of a rival creator, or principle of evil, is in the nature of things impossible; evil itself being a purely privative quality connected with a disordered world, so that, to

seek for an explanation, in any causes or law, of its origin, would be like enquiring what are the contrivances in the bodily organs to produce disease, the only discernible tendency of those organs being, as the inductive philosophy shews, to produce good health.

We are thus carried back to the period when Hooker's description of law was realized among the hosts of the spiritual universe, anterior to the angels' fall, when throughout God's world no less was realized than that universal law and order, which has its "seat in the bosom of God," and whose "voice is the harmony of his world," expressed in the relative subordination of the inferior powers arranged according to their respective "estates" in which they were placed; constituted, as respects their relation to God, and their subsequent relation to a "little lower" race than themselves, in a wonderful order; the apocryphal writings adding to what the canonical Scriptures tell us of the orders of thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers, the name of Raphael to that of Michael, who, as one of the leaders of the sevenfold hierarchy of heaven, is in the scheme of revelation brought into close juxtaposition with the devil and his angels.

Now, the gift of free-will, whilst it consisted with the truth that God made all his creatures "sufficient to have stood," involved also the power of acquiescing in the divine will, without (until the test had been borne) removing the possibility of dissenting therefrom as those who were at the same time "free to fall." The dissentient choice once entertained and adopted, there was as it were a jarring with the melody of heaven's music in the attempted interruption of the law of subordination; and hence the introduction of manifest disorder into the moral universe, and the perpetuation of it through its reproduction by the fallen angels, and by means of temptation, in another sphere, and to an inferior race.

There is, therefore, a difference in the position of man as a sinner, degraded to that condition under the influence of temptation from an external adversary, and the position of the devil and his angels, who, of their own free-will and motion, yielding to pride and self-dependance, withdrew their allegiance from the King of kings. And this may explain why the possibility of redemption cannot be predicated of the fallen angels in the sense in which it is predicated of the race of mankind through the intervention of a divine mediator. "For verily He took not on him the nature of angels."

These considerations may serve to bring us to that point of view from which the actual records of our Lord's temptation

may be surveyed with a due appreciation of the bearing of the position which that scene occupies in the scheme of revelation (viewed in juxtaposition with the first standard type of temptation), on the introduction of evil into our world, so far as it is given us to know the truth on that mysterious question, the practical solution of which in the mystery of God incarnate tempted, was calculated, if truly imbibed by faith, to satisfy and set at rest what was unsettled and perplexing in the speculations and theories of Gentile philosophy, groping in the darkness of corrupted heathen systems. In the temptation of Jesus, and its successful issue, the genuine disciple of natural and revealed religion, to whom the objects of faith had been hitherto but dimly developed, would discern the historical realization of his hopes and aspirations for freedom from the yoke of sin. Here, too, he would find the true solution of the mysteries of life considered as a scene of trial and probation which is ordered by a moral governor in connexion with the bestowal and infliction of rewards and punishments. As the departure from the rule of an external law led to moral disorder in a higher sphere, and it was through temptation that man was involved in the same evil, so it is the fulfilment by the second Adam of that external law (appealed to by our Lord as embodied in the Scriptures), which constitutes, in connexion with temptation, an essential part of man's title through mediation to the recovery of his position.

Having thus attempted to exhibit the relative position of the history of the temptation as respects the disciples of natural and revealed religion, we may now approach the survey of the actual records of the temptation delivered to the Church by St. Matthew and St. Luke; these records being viewed in their special relation to the Hebrew and Gentile Christians respectively; and also in their combined form, as adapted to convey to the whole Church all the instruction which is derivable from them from every point of view, and as respects every type and stage of character engaged in the contemplation, with the Church, of this mystery of temptation, as exhibited in the person of the second Adam, brought into contact with the power of evil as the victorious head of a new creation, to whom his triumph is imputed and by whom it is shared.

The first palpable discrepancy which strikes us in the comparison of the structure of the two records is the different order of the two last forms of temptation, St. Matthew giving the second place to that of which "the Holy City" (in St. Luke it is "Jerusalem") and "a pinnacle of the temple" were the scene; whilst St. Luke places this last, giving the second place to the temptation which took place "on the exceeding high mountain."

If sufficient attention be given to the text of the two records, it will be seen that the literal narration of St. Matthew fulfils all the conditions of being the chronological order of the temptations, and that this conclusion from the text of that evangelist is in harmony with the text of St. Luke considered as historical.

We remark, then, on an examination of the Church's received text, that the continuity of the three links as given by St. Matthew, is plainly marked by the *τότε* of the fifth verse (cf. ver. 10), and that the form in which the third temptation is introduced is not otherwise than confirmatory of the conclusion that this Evangelist does give the chronological order. Nor is this contradicted by the text of St. Luke, in which the continuity is not so noted (however much in the absence of an equally authentic history it might have been presumed), as to involve any necessary inconsistency in the terms of the two records.

With this basis of consistency in the records to stand upon, we may now in a safe spirit of enquiry consider whether there be any analogical considerations bearing upon the constitution of human nature, and the corresponding relation to both Jews and Gentiles of the mystery of Christ tempted, which may account for the difference of order in a manner harmonizing analogously with the divine design.

In order to estimate this question rightly, we must take into consideration the bearing of the special training which the Hebrew Church had received, on their experience of a certain order of temptation, and on the other hand, we may consider whether as respects the Gentiles, who were under no corresponding law of revelation, but only the law of conscience and nature, accompanied by the dim light of traditional worship, a different order would not correspond to their experience. It may, then, be considered to be indicated as respects both nations and individuals viewed as subjects of the law of God in nature, providence, and revelation, that the adversary may have his particular order of proceeding according to the circumstances, and that this agrees with the divine design.

The ordinary division of human sin is threefold, answering to that constitution of human nature which St. Paul recognizes, according to which the individual man is made up of body (*σάρξ*), soul (*ψυχή*), and spirit (*πνεῦμα*) (2 Thess. v. 23), in harmony with which division the Apostle includes under his description of the individual character, the three corresponding terms, carnal (*σαρκικός*), natural (*ψυχικός*), and spiritual (*πνευματικός*), (1 Cor. ii. 14, 15; iii. 3), according as the predominating influence is that of the sensual, the natural, or the spiritual mind. Such, too, is St. John's division and classification of the three forms of

evil of which the world is the sphere of operation, "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life." And agreeably to this analogy is the threefold assault of Satan on the perfect humanity of Jesus.

Now, with respect to that temptation, which the Evangelists concur in placing first in order, and which is addressed to the sensual appetite, and (in fallen man) to the unbelief or distrust of Providence associated with it, we observe that to mankind in general the flesh, with its propensities, is necessarily (as we see in the original temptation of our first parents), the first avenue for the entrance of temptation in connexion with the excitement of the desire of the fleshly appetite, and agreeably to this is the testimony of both history and experience. Sensuality was the first vice which developed itself in connexion with the "violence" with which the earth was filled after the fall. Even in the sacred line in which the one true germinal religion of the Gospel was handed down from Adam to Abraham, the sins of the flesh predominated, and the other forms of evil are exhibited in subjection to those tendencies. Such was the universal corruption, that of Noah it is only said that he "found grace;" the visitation of the deluge being needed for the commencement of a fresh era in the divine dispensations, according to which, as in the line of Noah the true religion had been handed down, it seemed fit to the divine wisdom that the covenant of grace should be renewed with him as a second representative father, whose sons were to people the earth, starting on their career with the advantage to be derived from the results of the previous experience of the terrible effects of sensuality and violence; and to be tried and disciplined henceforward by the other forms of evil which were now to present themselves. It is here that in the scheme of revelation the continuous history of the Gentile races of Ham and Japheth diverge from that of the line of Shem, who had received the divine traditions to hand down to Abraham, to whom, as the representative father of the Hebrew race, the first revelation of the divine purpose was renewed and unfolded with increased distinctness.

The second form of evil which was developed in the history of the Gentile races arose from the losing sight of that truth which both natural and revealed religion agreed in testifying, the unity of God as the principle of all being, and the moral Governor of the world. Hence the corruptions of sun-worship and idol-worship, indicative, indeed, in the light of revelation as hereafter to be communicated to them, of the objective realities of the finally-developed scheme of the Gospel, which, in conjunction with the divine Hebrew ritual and worship, they dimly fore-

shadowed, but indicative, at the same time, of the introduction into this world of a kingdom alien to that of the Most High God, even that empire of idolatry which we are to refer to the rebellious agency of Satan and his angels, who were permitted to hold mankind at large in bondage until the times of restitution.

Corresponding then to this historical order of things is the presumption that the form of the temptation addressed to the soul ($\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$) was akin to that which prevailed over the Gentiles after the dispersion, and St. Luke accordingly presents it to the Gentile mind as the second in respect of doctrinal order. The explanation of "the legendary gods of Rome, the animal worship of Egypt, the sun worship of the East," is that he whom holy Scripture recognizes as the Prince of this world, had blinded the eyes of those who had allowed the things created to intercept their view of the original cause and principle of all things, who had been so revealed to their fathers. Even the chosen race did not escape the infection of idolatry. But in the Gentile world at large Satan seems to have succeeded in his claim to have had delegated unto him the kingdoms of the world with their glory, to transfer to whom he would, at his own price of the homage which his votaries were deluded to render him in the idolatries of heathenism. The evil of such worship consisted, not so much in the recognition of spiritual powers in connexion with the functions of the natural world, as in the non-recognition of the original source of all, the one God who made heaven and earth. We see, indeed, in Job, and in an inferior sense in the testimony of uninspired Gentiles (according to the degree of their adherence to the principles of natural religion, and their recognition of the original source of revelation), instances of the acknowledgment of the one true God, and of the incompatibility of belief in him with the practice of idolatry. "If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth has kissed my hand, this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge, for I should have denied the God which is above."—Job xxxi. 26—28. Such is the most enlightened Gentile testimony to the first Article of our Creed, implying that it was not by God that these systems were given; that so far as their institution is to be referred to any actual spiritual subsistences, it is to demons and not to God, that we are to trace them, as St. Paul says of heathen feasts, in connexion with the agency of Satan, who in claiming for himself the control of the kingdoms of the world (a control which we may conceive and believe to have been, as he said to our Lord, delegated to him), seduced the nations to give to him the worship which

the one example of humanity refused to render as what was due to God only.

We thus discern the correspondency with the analogy of the scheme of Providence, of the position of the worldly or idolatrous affection, as the second in order of the three forms of evil to which human nature is exposed; the third Gospel in which it holds this position being primarily adapted to the circumstances of the Gentile believer.

We have now to consider whether there be any reasons from analogy for this inverted order of the last two temptations being not so adapted as the chronological order was to the circumstances of the Hebrew mind, to which St. Matthew's Gospel was primarily addressed.

The Hebrew race, sealed by an extraordinary Providence as a chartered nation, were the selected depositaries of the full truth which was the germ of the future "gospel preached" to Abraham in connexion with the promise, "In thee shall all nations be blessed." They were thus consciously the favoured ones of the earth, assured as they were both by miracles and the voice of inspired messengers, of their being the elected people of the Most High, not because they were greater in number or the most considerable in any other respects, but because the Lord loved them, moved to do so by His electing grace, and because he would by them communicate the same grace to the Gentiles, inasmuch as He is no respecter of persons. Now it was through the lust of the flesh that this people were especially tempted during their preliminary training in the wilderness, not in order that they might experience the disastrous consequence of this form of evil in respect of the disorder and violence with which it was associated in its uncontrolled operation before the flood, but that being "suffered to hunger," and in due time fed with food from heaven, they might learn that "man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God doth men live." Such accordingly was the lesson which, in the fulness of time, the representative Mediator fulfilled in His perfect example, when, after the forty days' fast, he was tempted to depart from the proper attitude of man as a creature, by resorting to the superhuman powers which Satan might conceive to be inherent in him, for the satisfaction of his bodily wants.

As respects then the analogy of the form of St. Matthew's record to the experience and history of the Jews, there was a special fitness and propriety in its position, over and above that which belongs to it in St. Luke's record. But looking at the other two forms of evil embodied in the temptations to idolatry

and spiritual presumption (based on a false application and, in the latter instance, a misquotation^b of the original Scriptures), there was also a special reason why the spiritual temptation in the case of the Jews should occupy the most prominent position, and be retained in its chronological order by St. Matthew. For in the Jewish history it was not the sin of idolatry in its gross form which prevailed to the degree which it did among the Gentiles, *i. e.*, to the shutting out from their perceptions the nature and character of the true God as the one source and principle of all things, as well as the inspirer by his Spirit of the prophets. The forms of false worship into which they fell in the wilderness, and in the setting up, under Jeroboam, of the golden calves at Dan and Bethel, were not accompanied in their minds (as in Gentile worshippers) by the conception of any inferior to that of the divine presence being indicated to them by such symbolism, inasmuch as it was (in the latter instance) the copy and counterfeit of the temple symbolism. Hence idolatry in its gross form, as involving polytheism, was not palpably the sin of Israel as it was of the Gentiles. Their divine training corrected the full development of the idolatrous tendencies of the natural heart within them, and the Hebrews, as living under the teaching of the law and the prophets, are so far^c correctly (however imperfectly in other respects) conceived of as bearing witness in the purity of their worship and practice to the unity and spirituality of the divine nature.

It was then the abuse of their conception of this 'cardinal truth which constituted the tendency in the Jewish mind to oscillate, as human nature, with no outward object of worship, is so prone to do, between the sensual and the spiritual sins. The corrupt worship of the Lord in Israel, though restrained from verging finally and permanently to the extreme form of Gentile polytheism, which shuts out the recognition of the one God, rendered them the more liable (when the truth that the Lord He is the God was vindicated after the temporary fall of a portion of the nation) to that evil of extreme self-consciousness which led the nation to turn the seals of divine favour and

^b Psalm xci. 11, 12. Satan omits the words, "to keep thee in all thy ways;" or, according to St. Luke, the words, "in all thy ways;" thus insinuating that the divine protection was assured otherwise than in the path of the just man to whose ways the context limits the application of the promise.

^c A recent Christian writer, in his estimate of the training of the Hebrews, in its bearing upon the education of the world, omits the long-cherished and undying hope and expectation of that nation, in reference to the fulfilment of the promise, renewed and given afresh to Abraham, respecting *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, of whom "Moses in the law and the prophets did write," and who was the "desire of all nations."

election, to the strengthening of that spiritual pride which claims for itself the fulfilment of the divine promises, irrespective of the terms of the covenant. "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are we." "If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets." This was the spirit and language of the nation at the very time when they were prepared to shed the blood of Him to whom the prophets had pointed them with sufficient plainness of delineation, if they had chosen to find out in Jesus of Nazareth the fulfilment of their own prophecies. The same blinded spirit expressed itself in the arrogance with which the official representatives of the nation answered our Lord's reminder of the bondage to which they were reduced by sin, "We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man." To this pinnacle had the subtle adversary led the nation which were ere long to be precipitated therefrom to the destruction of their national position. Not having adhered to the ways marked out for them in the law and the prophets, they fell on that stone of offence which recoiled on them to their utter discomfiture and confusion as a nation, but which became through their temporal fall the corner-stone of a spiritual edifice, in which Jews and Gentiles—national distinctions being merged—became united in one spiritual body.

We discern, then, a reason in harmony with the analogy of the training and history of the chosen race, for the spiritual temptation as presented to the mind of our Lord, being placed in juxtaposition with the carnal, though not otherwise perhaps than co-ordinately with the worldly temptation. For undoubtedly these two forms of evil were closely associated in the Jewish history. Worldly ambition (attaching itself to their ideal of the Son of David), though untainted by gross idolatry, was intimately concerned in introducing into the Jewish mind that dark cloud of prejudice whereby their eyes were hindered from discerning the fulfilment in Jesus of the types and figures of the law, as well as the clear predictions of the prophets. A temporal kingdom was in their thoughts when they turned from the sight of the "many miracles" which He confessedly worked, unwilling to recognize the divine majesty which those works expressed, because their conceptions of His character had been vitiated by sin. And it is not, perhaps, till the remnant have turned under grace from the kindred conceptions of a temporal glory, yet to be realized to them as a distinct nation, (whatever may be the truth of the expectation), that the veil will be taken off their hearts, to their turning again with us as

one people to God in the believing recognition of the same one mediator.

There may be doubtless further apparent designs in the inverted order of the two last forms of temptation, harmonizing with the attitudes in which two classes of mankind in every age stand with respect to the worldly and spiritual sins. Sensuality and pride are the two extremes between which the fallen nature of man, when not enticed by the idolatry of outward things, is continually prone to oscillate. When a man has gained a victory over lust or carnal distrust of a divine providence, he is too liable to yield to the opposite tendency to self-worship, which leads him to put his own spirit^d under some deceitful title, in the place of the external law of conscience and of revelation, which has been given him to walk by whilst he yet dwells in imperfection, and so needs to be "under the law." In some cases this is a sort of reactionary temptation from sensuality. In others it is but the final trial which assails the maturer disciple, who has, under grace, vanquished successfully the temptations of carnal unbelief and worldliness. The remedy for this tendency is to be found in the pure and simple worship, in connexion with our brethren, of the one God, through the ordained mediator who was tempted for our "succour;" a remedy which is, however, rendered inapplicable by the presumption of our not being under the law of the Spirit, who has given us, in the Word and creeds and ministry, the chart and compass which are to guide us through our voyage to the church invisible.

Such are some of the analogies which seem to find their fulfilment in the structure (viewed separately and in their combination) of the two inspired records of the temptation; and it is for the reader to estimate the strength of the presumption deducible therefrom in favour of the inspired character of the records. The argument from analogy in favour of the inspired historical character of the record considered as miraculous, or (as we will be content to say, in the present state of ideas on the subject) as preternatural, but not contradictory to the analogy of things, must be reserved for a distinct subject. Meanwhile we may be allowed to observe that our argument in this paper is cumulative, having been already applied to an examination from the same point of view of our Lord's genealogy in St.

^d Hence the merely subjective use by a new school of writers of the term, "the Spirit," and the "gift of the Spirit," as it were in contrariety to the personal presence of the Holy Spirit in the church; as is evidenced by the conceit that the "natural" powers are adequate means for the discernment of spiritual things.

Matthew's Gospel, in connexion with the circumstances of the Nativity.

C. G.

ON THE EPISTLES OF ST. PETER.

II.—*Internal Evidence relating to the genuineness of the Second Epistle of St. Peter, with some remarks on the Apocryphal writings attributed to that Apostle.*

IN our former article on the Epistles of St. Peter, the genuineness of the second Epistle was assumed. The hypothesis put forward respecting the circumstances under which the Epistles were written, and the persons to whom they were addressed, was partly founded on that assumption; but it removed at the same time an apparent inconsistency that stood in the way of it, arising from the fact that the first Epistle was directed to persons residing in the countries of Asia Minor, while the second, purporting to be written to the same persons, gave manifest indications also that it was addressed to Roman Christians. Whatever light we were enabled, by assuming that the second Epistle was the genuine writing of St. Peter, to throw on the obscurities connected with the first, is reflected in turn on the second also. By this means the second shares in the undoubted genuineness of the first, both standing in more natural and consistent mutual relation; and by their closer connexion affording support to one another. We purpose in the present essay to enter more fully into the subject of the genuineness of the second Epistle, chiefly as it is affected by considerations of an internal kind. Indeed, but for such internal considerations, we doubt if its genuineness would ever have been seriously questioned, quoted as it was from the earliest times, just as the other books of Holy Scripture, and finally received into the Canon, to the exclusion of several other documents attributed in like manner to St. Peter's authorship and quoted as genuine by most respectable authorities. Its reception into the Canon is thus shewn not to have resulted from a rash and inconsiderate acceptance of it merely on the ground of its bearing the Apostle's name, but from a careful consideration of evidences leading to so important a distinction between documents alike questioned for a time. The discernment thus exercised renders the existence of the second Epistle in the Canon as finally settled a far more satisfactory testimony, than it would have been had no other documents laid claim to the same distinction. The enquiry we now enter on will shew that,

however this discernment may have been guided by external testimony, it is equally justified by internal evidence.

I. One cause of the existence of early doubts as to the genuineness of some of the New Testament writings, may have been the attempts, which Christian communities or private persons would naturally soon have made, to form a collection of sacred writings, such as we have seen possibly existed as regards the Epistles of St. Paul when St. Peter wrote his first Epistle. Such early collections would of necessity want those Epistles, which either had not been written, or could not have become generally known, when they were formed. The possessors of these collections at a subsequent period would regard the absence of any particular writing as an indication that it was not considered canonical when the collection was made in which it did not appear. The venerable antiquity of such a sylloge might appear a confirmation of doubts, the ground of which, if duly considered, it would have removed, the omitted pieces not having been written, or become generally known, until after its formation. In the interval between the writing of the two Epistles of St. Peter, the first might have become sufficiently known to gain admission into collections from which the second might have been necessarily excluded. Suspicions thus unjustly produced, would predispose men to pay the more attention to the principal ground of objection to be considered presently.

The celebrated Muratorian fragment on the Canon, of not later date than A.D. 170, omits the second Epistle of St. Peter; but as it omits all mention of the first also, it cannot be regarded as implying any special doubt as to the genuineness of the second. The earliest intimation, therefore, of any doubt on the subject proceeds from Origen, as his words have been preserved by Eusebius.^a He tells us that St. Peter had written one undoubted Epistle, and a second, which, though it had been questioned, he admits to be genuine; *μίαν ἐπιστολὴν ὁμολογουμένην καταλέλοιπεν· ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν ἀμφιβάλλεται γάρ*. Thus the writer who first informs us of the existence of any doubt did not himself participate therein, or at least did not think the grounds of suspicion sufficient to justify his refusing to acknowledge the second Epistle to be really St. Peter's.

Eusebius himself is the next who informs us of the doubtfulness of the second Epistle. He tells us^b that the first Epistle was admitted without question, and was referred to by ecclesiastical writers as beyond all doubt; but that what was reputed to be the second Epistle, was not, according to a tradition that had

^a *Eccl. Hist.*, vi., 25.

^b *Eccl. Hist.*, iii., 3.

come down, any part of the New Testament; τὴν δὲ φερομένην αὐτοῦ δευτέραν, οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν. He adds, however, that being thought useful by many it was studied with the other Scriptures. He then proceeds to mention the remaining writings that were attributed to St. Peter, saying that none of them had been received as Catholic, nor their testimony quoted by the more ancient or modern ecclesiastical writers. He concludes by saying that he knew only one legitimate Epistle, acknowledged as such by the ancients. We must understand him, however, as speaking thus only of the want of universal consent in favour of the second Epistle, meaning by legitimate, γνησίαν, the same as before by ὁμολογουμένην, but by no means intending thereby to class it with the spurious writings. For he not only here distinguishes it from the manifestly spurious writings attributed to this Apostle, but afterwards (in c. 25), having enumerated those parts of the Scripture about which no question had been made, he proceeds from these γραφαὶ ὁμολογούμεναι to the ἀντιλεγόμεναι, in which class he reckons the second Epistle, with the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, and the second and third of St. John, distinguishing all these from the νόθαι or spurious, which he then enumerates. And though he thus reckons the five Epistles as in the class τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων, he adds, γνωρίμων δ' οὖν ὅμως τοῖς πολλοῖς, the many, equivalent to παρὰ πλείστοις, as farther on, where he says that he had distinguished the undoubted writings of the New Testament, according to the ecclesiastical tradition, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παρὰ ταύτας, οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκους μὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιλεγόμενας, ὅμως δὲ παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν γιγνωσκομένα, acknowledged by the greater number of ecclesiastical writers. Thus we see that strongly as he puts the fact that the doubt existed, he still admits that the Epistle was received by most notwithstanding. Accordingly, we find it in the Ante-Nicene Catalogue of the Apostolical Canons, and in the enumeration of the Council of Laodicea, A.D. 365. Several other authorities of the same century may be seen in *Westcott on the Canon of the New Testament*, Appendix D. The fact then appears to be that the doubt did not rest on the want of general reception, and the tradition mentioned by Eusebius was evidently no more than that, along with the reception of the Epistle by most, there existed at the same time a question on the part of some.

No doubt the chief, and ultimately the only ground of this uncertainty, was that intimated by Jerome, who says, *Catal. Script. Eccl. in Pet.*,—*Scriptit Epistolas duas quæ Catholicæ nominantur; quarum secunda a plerisque ejus esse negatur, propter styli cum priore dissonantiam.* And while he assigns this reason

why the second Epistle was thus thought by very many not to be St. Peter's, he states the rejection of the other writings alleged to be his, without assigning any reason for treating them as apocryphal. We are, therefore, fully justified in thinking that this supposed difference of style is the only ground on which the genuineness of this Epistle has been seriously questioned, and that but for this, its reception would have been as unhesitating as that of the first. We shall, therefore, perhaps feel that while the external objections are thus resolved into an objection on internal grounds, the external evidence in favour of the Epistle, strong in itself, assumes a still greater force from the absence of any proper external objection of an undoubted character. Our only serious concern, therefore, is with the objection on internal grounds.

II. That some difference of style really exists is freely admitted. It is chiefly confined, however, to the second chapter, which might, on this account, with greater reason be treated as a spurious interpolation in the second Epistle, than the entire be rejected on account of a difference existing only in this part. But even in this part the difference will be found more apparent than real, while that which really does exist is of a kind attributable to the nature of the subjects dwelt on in that chapter. This difference consists in a greater degree of the prophetic *ἐνθουσιασμός*, producing rather an exaggeration of the peculiarities of style observable both in the first Epistle and in the other parts of this, than an entirely different style of writing. Jerome's supposition that the Apostle had employed different persons to translate the Epistles into Greek does not at all account for the variation between them. It will be seen that the verbal and grammatical peculiarities, in which the difference should be found to consist if it proceeded from the employment of different translators, are alike in the two Epistles. The subject matter is different, and this has occasioned the difference of style that actually exists.

Thus in the first Epistle the tone is mild and consolatory, as suited to the existing circumstances of affliction in which those to whom the Apostle wrote were then placed. In the second, the Apostle commencing with a like tone of calmness, is afterwards carried away with the force of his thoughts and the earnestness of his anxiety on behalf of his readers. Foreseeing the approach of grievous impending evils, he denounces these evils in the strongest language, and warns his readers of the punishment such evils would bring on those that should fall into them. In doing this, he becomes fired with indignation, and is hurried into a strain of impetuous reproach. Now there is

nothing more natural than that the same writer, at different moments, and under different circumstances, and treating of different subjects, should thus vary the style of his discourse. The very reality of the Apostle's feelings would occasion such a difference, the absence of which would, for this very reason, afford ground of suspicion that a style, which was not thus varied in accordance with such an important difference of subject, was rather the result of an over-anxiety on the part of an imitator to preserve a purposed uniformity, than the spontaneous product of a mind thoroughly in earnest. Perhaps, however, even in the first Epistle one may notice, though in a much slighter degree, this vehement manner of denouncing evil, when the Apostle (in chap. iv. 3 ff.), warns his readers against lapsing into the sins of which they had been guilty in times past, when they wrought the will of the Gentiles.

But while a difference of subject will thus naturally occasion a difference of style, the probability is that, unless a considerable interval has elapsed, the writer will continue to use language really similar under this seeming diversity of style and manner. And such we think will be found to be the case in respect to these two Epistles. In endeavouring to exhibit this real similarity, notwithstanding the apparent diversity, it must be premised that the points of agreement we shall be able to present are not relied on as establishing the identity of authorship. For this no resemblance of style would of itself suffice, inasmuch as it is impossible to set a limit to the similarity that might arise from likeness of mental constitution and sameness of habits, or which might be produced by the ingenious efforts of a skilful imitator. They are mainly relied on as removing a principal objection to the sameness of the authorship. That they really go farther than merely to remove this objection, and confirm in no slight measure the allegation of authorship presented by the second Epistle, and as we have seen admitted by the generality, even when doubted by some in the early Church, is what we trust will appear. But they are not insisted on except so far as removing the objection drawn from the seeming diversity of style. This objection once removed, the authorship may fairly be allowed to stand on its external evidences, the allegation of the Epistle itself, its general reception at first, notwithstanding the doubts of some, and its final admission into the Canon of the Church, simultaneously with the unqualified and decided rejection of several other writings purporting to be likewise the work of St. Peter. We proceed to lay open to view the several instances of similarity in style and manner of expression which are observable. And we purpose to do this at full length, as few

readers would perhaps be at the trouble of making the needful comparison from such references as might be given, and any statements we might make in the absence of such a complete representation would be less impressive, *quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus et quæ ipse sibi tradit spectator.*

III. The first characteristic which we notice in both Epistles is the cumulative character of the style. This is displayed in various ways, such as the frequent combination of two words in the same construction, generally united by a conjunction, sometimes amplifying the writer's meaning, sometimes presenting slight modifications of the same idea, and sometimes scarcely more than synonymous expressions; or again the combination of several such words in a more lengthened series; and then the occasional succession of a number of short independent sentences, similar in their construction, and co-ordinated in their meaning. We shall exhibit the several instances of these three classes, before we proceed to specify other exemplifications of the same cumulative style.

The combination of two words or expressions in the first Epistle takes place in the following instances:—

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| Ch. I. 1. ὑπακοὴν καὶ ραντισμόν. | 20. συνοικοῦντες,—ἀπονέμοντες— |
| 2. χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη. | 21. κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ, ἢ λοιδο- |
| 3. Θεὸς καὶ πατήρ. | ρίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας. |
| 4. ἀνεκκαλήτω καὶ δεδοξασμένη. | 22. ζωὴν ἀγαπᾶν καὶ ἰδεῖν ἡμέρας |
| 5. ἐξεζήτησαν καὶ ἐξηρεύνησαν. | ἀγαθὰν. |
| 6. τίνα ἢ ποῖον. | 23. γλώσσαν—καὶ χεῖλη. |
| 7. τὰ—παθήματα καὶ τὰς—δόξας. | 24. ἐκκλινάτω—καὶ ποιησάτω. |
| 8. ἀργυρίῳ ἢ χρυσίῳ. | 25. ζητησάτω—καὶ διωξάτω. |
| 9. ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου. | 26. μὴ φοβηθῆτε μὴδὲ ταραχθῆτε. |
| 10. πίστιν καὶ ἐλπίδα. | 27. πρᾶντης καὶ φόβου. |
| 11. ζῶντος καὶ μένοντος. | Ch. IV. 28. ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. |
| Ch. II. 12. οἶκος πνευματικὸς, καὶ | 29. σωφρονήσατε καὶ νήψατε. |
| ἱεράτευμα ἁγίων. | 30. εἰ τις λαλεῖ—εἰ τις διακονεῖ. |
| 13. παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους. | 31. ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος. |
| 14. εἴτε βασιλεῖ—εἴτε ἡγεμό- | 32. τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ. |
| σιν. | 33. ἀσεβῆς καὶ ἁμαρτωλός. |
| 15. ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐπικέκισιν. | Ch. V. 34. συμπρεσβύτερος καὶ μάρ- |
| 16. λοιδορούμενος—πάσχω. | τυς. |
| 17. ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον. | 35. νήψατε, γρηγορήσατε. |
| Ch. III. 18. πρᾶεος καὶ ἡσυχίου. | 36. ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος. |
| 19. ἀγαθοποιοῦσαι καὶ μὴ φοβού- | 37. παρακαλῶν καὶ ἐπιμαρτυρῶν. |
| μεναι. | |

Then in the second Epistle we have in like manner—

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| Ch. I. 1. δούλος καὶ ἀπόστολος. | 4. Θεοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦ. |
| 2. Θεοῦ—καὶ σωτήρος. | 5. ζωὴν καὶ εὐσέβειαν. |
| 3. χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη. | 6. δόξης καὶ ἀρετῆς. |

7. μέγιστα—καὶ τίμια.
8. ὑπάρχοντα καὶ πλεονάζοντα.
9. ἀργούς οὐδὲ ἀκάρπους.
10. κλησὶν καὶ ἐκλογὴν.
11. κυρίου—καὶ σωτήρος, *passim*.
12. εἰδότας καὶ ἐστηριγμένους.
13. δύναμιν καὶ παρουσίαν.
14. τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν.
15. ἕως οὗ ἡμέρα διανγάζῃ καὶ
Φωσφόρος ἀνατείλῃ.

- Ch. II. 16. Σοδόμων καὶ Γομόρρας.
17. βλέμματα καὶ ἀκοή.
 18. ἰσχὺ καὶ δυνάμει.
 19. ἄλωσιν καὶ φθοράν.
 20. σπῖλοι καὶ μῶμοι.
 21. μεστούς μοιχαλίδος καὶ ἀκα-
ταπαύστους ἀμαρτίας.

22. πηγαὶ ἄνυδροι, νεφέλαι.
- Ch. III. 23. πορευόμενοι καὶ λέ-
γοντες.
24. οὐρανοὶ—καὶ γῆ.
 25. ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ δι' ὕδατος.
 26. οἱ—οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ.
 27. κρίσεως καὶ ἀπωλείας.
 28. γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα.
 29. ἁγίας ἀναστροφαῖς καὶ εὐσε-
βείαις.
 30. προσδοκῶντας καὶ σπεύδον-
τας.
 31. καινούς οὐρανοὺς καὶ γῆν
καινὴν.
 32. ἄσπιλοι καὶ ἀμώμητοι.
 33. ἄμαθεῖς καὶ ἀστήρικτοι.
 34. χάριτι καὶ γνώσει.
 35. νῦν καὶ εἰς ἡμέραν αἰῶνος.

Now some of these combinations are familiar forms of expression, such as *χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη, Θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος*; a few occur in quotations from the Old Testament, and some, such as *ἀργυρίῳ ἢ χρυσίῳ, οὐρανοὶ καὶ γῆ*, would either naturally occur to the mind, or are necessary to complete the exhibition of the writer's meaning. These would be used by any writer under similar circumstances, and abatement must be made for such instances accordingly. It will be perceived, however, that after we have made all due allowance for these, there will still remain a large number which, in equal proportions, form a marked characteristic of the two Epistles.

The second class of combinations consists of cases where three or more particulars are conjoined, forming a sort of series or enumeration. They are in the first Epistle as follow:—

- Ch. I. 1. Πῶνον, Γαλατίας, Καπ-
παδοκίας, Ἀσίας, καὶ Βιθυνίας.
2. ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀμίαντον καὶ
ἀμάραντον, τετηρημένον.
 3. ἔπαινον καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν.
- Ch. II. 4. πᾶσαν κακίαν καὶ πάντα
δόλον καὶ ὑποκρίσεις καὶ φθόνους
καὶ πάσας καταλαλίας.
5. λίθον ζῶντα—ἐκλεκτὸν, ἔντι-
μον.
 6. λίθον ἀκρογωνιαῖον, ἐκλεκτὸν,
ἐντιμον.
 7. ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας,
καὶ λίθος προσκόμματος, καὶ πέτρα
σκανδάλου.

8. γένος ἐκλεκτὸν, βασιλεῖον ἱε-
ράτευμα, ἔθνος ἁγίων, λαὸς εἰς περι-
ποίησιν.
 9. πάντας τιμῆσατε· τὴν ἀδελ-
φότητα ἀγαπᾶτε· τὸν Θεὸν φοβεῖσθε·
τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε.
- Ch. III. 10. ἐμπλοκῆς τριχῶν, καὶ
περιθέσεως χρυσίων, ἢ ἐνδύσεως ἱμα-
τίων.
11. ὁμόφρονες, συμπαθεῖς, φιλά-
δελφοι, εὐσπλαγχνοὶ, φιλόφρονες,
μὴ ἀποδίδοντες, κ.τ.λ.
 12. ἀγγελῶν καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ
δυνάμεων.

Ch. IV. 13. ἀσελγείαις, ἐπιθυμίαις, οἰνοφλυγίαις, κώμοις, πότοις, καὶ ἀθεμίτοις εἰδωλοπατρίαις.

14. φονεὺς, ἢ κλέπτης, ἢ κακοποιὸς ἢ ὡς ἄλλοτρισεπίσκοπος.

Ch. V. 15. μὴ ἀναγκαστῶς—μὴ ἀσχροκερδῶς—μηδ' ὡς κατακυριεύοντες.

16. καταρτίσαι—στηριξάι, σθενώσαι, θεμελιώσαι.

Similarly in the second Epistle we find these instances :—

Ch. I. 1. ἐν δὲ τῇ πίστει ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀρετῇ τὴν γνῶσιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ γνῶσει τὴν ἐγκράτειαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐγκρατείᾳ τὴν ὑπομονήν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπομονῇ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ τὴν φιλαδελφίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ τὴν ἀγάπην.

2. τυφλὸν ἐστὶ, μυωπάξων, λήθην λαβών.

Ch. II. 8. ἀγγέλων ἀμαρτησάντων οὐκ ἐφείσατο,—καὶ ἀρχαίου κόσμου οὐκ ἐφείσατο,—καὶ πόλεις Σοδ. καὶ Γομόρ.—κατέκρινεν,—καὶ δίκαιον ᾧ τ' ἐρρύσατο.

4. τολμηταὶ αὐθάδεις,—βλασφημοῦντες.

5. ἄλογα ζῶα, φυσικὰ, γεγεννημένα εἰς ἄλωσιν.

6. κομπούμενοι μισθὸν ἀδικίας, ἡδονὴν ἡγούμενοι τὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τρυφὴν, σπῖλοι καὶ μῶμοι, ἐντρυφῶντες,—συνευχαρῶμενοι ὑμῖν, ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες,—δελεάζοντες ψυχὰς ἀστηρίκτους, καρδίαν γεφυρμασμένην πλεονεξίας ἔχοντες, κατάραι τέκνα, καταλιπόντες κ.τ.λ.

Ch. III. 7. ἐμπαίκεται, κατὰ τὰς ἰδίαις αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμίαις πορευόμενοι καὶ λέγοντες, κ.τ.λ.

8. οἱ οὐρανοὶ ροιζήδον παρελεύσονται, στοιχεῖα δὲ καυσούμενα λυθήσονται, καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα κατακαήσεται.

IV. This disposition to amplify is also to be observed in a remarkable use of participles, by means of which sentences are drawn out to great length through the successive addition of subordinate clauses, instead of the formation of shorter separate sentences. This peculiarity will be found to prevail equally in both Epistles.

The instances of this construction in the first Epistle are these :—

Ch. I. 1. εὐλογητὸν ὁ Θεὸς—ὁ ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς εἰς ἐλπίδα ζωῆς, εἰς κληρονομίαν—τετηρημένην ἐν οὐρανοῖς, εἰς ἡμᾶς φρουρουμένους, κ.τ.λ.

2. λυπηθέντες—, ἵνα τὸ δοκίμιον τιμώτερον χρυσίου τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου, διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου, κ.τ.λ.

3. ὃν οὐκ εἰδότες,—εἰς ὃν ἄρτι μὴ ὄρωντες, πιστεύοντες δὲ, ἀγαλλιάσθε χαρᾷ—δεδοξασμένη, κομιζόμενοι κ.τ.λ.

4. προφῆται οἱ—προφητεύσαντες, ῥευνῶντες εἰς τίνα—ἐδήλου τὸ—πνεῦμα—προμαρτυρόμενον κ.τ.λ.

5. διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελισμένων ὑμᾶς ἐν Πνεύματι ἀγίῳ ἀποσταλέντι ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ.

6. ἀναξωσάμενοι—νήφοντες—ἐλπίζατε ἐπὶ τὴν φερομένην ὑμῖν χάριν.

7. μὴ συσχηματιζόμενοι—ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν καλέσαντα ὑμᾶς.

8. εἰ πατέρα ἐπικαλείσθε τὸν—κρίνοντα, ἐν φόβῳ ἀναστράφητε, εἰδότες κ.τ.λ.

9. Χριστοῦ, προεγνωσμένου μέν—φανερωθέντος δὲ—δι' ὑμᾶς τοῦς—πιστεύοντας εἰς Θεὸν τὸν ἐγγείραντα αὐτὸν—καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα.

10. τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ἡγνικότες—ἀναγεννημένοι—διὰ λόγου ζῶντος Θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος.

Ch. II. 11. πρὸς ὃν προσερχόμενοι, λίθον ζῶντα, ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἀποδεδικασμένον,—ὡς λίθοι ζῶντες κ.τ.λ.

12. τοῖς πιστεύουσιν· ἀπειθοῦσι δέ, κ.τ.λ.

13. οὐκ ἡλεημένοι, νῦν δὲ ἐλεθέντες.

14. ἁμαρτάνοντες καὶ κολαφισόμενοι.

15. ἀγαθοποιούντες καὶ πάσχοντες.

Ch. III. 16. ἐλπίζουσαι ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν—ὑποτασσόμεναι κ.τ.λ.

17. ἀγαθοποιούσαι καὶ μὴ φοβούμεναι.

18. συνοικούντες, — ἀπονέμοντες κ.τ.λ.

19. μὴ ἀποδίδοντες,—τοῦναντίον δὲ εὐλογοῦντες, εἰδότες κ.τ.λ.

20. θανατωθεῖν μὲν σαρκί, ζωοποιηθεῖς δὲ τῷ Πνεύματι, ἐν ᾧ—πορευθεῖς ἐκέρυξεν, ἀπειθήσασι ποτε—κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ.

21. πορευθεῖς εἰς οὐρανὸν, ὑποταγέντων αὐτῷ ἀγγέλων.

Ch. IV. 22. ἀρκετὸς ἡμῖν ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος—πεπορευομένους ἐν ἀσελγείαις—ἐν ᾧ ξενίζονται μὴ συντρεχόντων ὑμῶν,—βλασφημούντες.

23. τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει—γινόμενη, ὡς ξένον ὑμῖν συμβαίνοντος.

Ch. V. 24. ἐπισκοποῦντες μὴ ἀναγκαστῶς—μηδ' ὡς κατακυριεύοντες—ἀλλὰ τύποι γινόμενοι,—καὶ φανερωθέντος τοῦ ἀρχιποίμενος, κ.τ.λ.

25. ὡς λέων ὠρνόμενος—ζητῶν—ᾧ ἀντίστητε—εἰδότες κ.τ.λ.

26. ὁ Θεὸς ὁ καλέσας ἡμᾶς,—ὁλίγον παθόντας, κ.τ.λ.

27. ἔγραψα παρακαλῶν καὶ ἐπιμαρτυρῶν.

Now if we turn to the Second Epistle, we observe a similar participial construction.

Ch. I. 1. τῆς θείας δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ—δεδορημένης διὰ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς—ἀποφύγοντες κ.τ.λ.

2. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῖν ὑπάρχοντα καὶ πλεονάζοντα.

3. τυφλὸς ἐστί, μυωπάων, λήθην λαβών.

4. εἰδότες καὶ ἐστηριγμένους ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ ἀληθείᾳ.

5. οὐ γὰρ σεσοφισμένοις μύθοις ἐξακολουθήσαντες,—ἀλλ' ἐπόπται γενηθέντες κ.τ.λ.

6. λαβὼν γάρ,—φωνῆς ἐνεχθείσης κ.τ.λ.

7. ταύτην—ἡκούσαμεν—ἐνεχθείσαν, σὺν αὐτῷ ὄντες.

8. προσέχοντες ὡς λύχνη φαίνοντι,—τοῦτο πρῶτον γινώσκοντες.

Ch. II. 9. τὸν ἀγοράσαντα αὐτοῦς—ἀρνούμενοι, ἐπάγοντες κ.τ.λ.

10. ἀγγέλων ἁμαρτησάντων οὐκ ἐφέισατο, ἀλλὰ—ταρταρώσας παρέδωκεν—τετηρημένους.

11. κατακλυσμὸν ἐπάξας· καὶ πόλεις—τεφρώσας,—ὑπόδειγμα μελλόντων ἀσεβεῖν θεδικῶς· καὶ—Λὼτ—καταπονοῦμενον—ἐρρύσατο.

12. ἀδίκους—κολαζομένους τηρεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ὀπίσω—πορευομένους, καὶ κυριότητος καταφρονούντας.

13. ὡς ἄλογα ζῶα—γεννηνημένα εἰς ἄλωσιν—βλασφημούντες,—κοιμούμενοι μισθ., ἡδονὴν ἡγούμενοι,—ἐντρυφῶντες,—συνευχαῶμενοι ὑμῖν, ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες,—δελεάζοντες ψυχὰς,—καρδίαν γεγυμνασμένην—ἔχοντες,—καταλίποντες,—ἐξακολουθήσαντες τῇ ὁδῷ κ.τ.λ.

14. ὑπέρογκα φθεγγόμενοι δελεάζουσιν—τοὺς ἄντως ἀποφυγόντας τοὺς ἐν πλάνῃ ἀναστρεφόμενους, ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, αὐτοὶ δοῦλοι ὑπάρχοντες.

15. εἰ γὰρ ἀποφυγόντες—πάλιν ἐμπλακέντες.

16. κρείττον γὰρ ἦν—ἢ ἐπιγινώσκοντες ἐπιστρέψαι ἐκ τῆς παραδοθείσης ἐντολῆς.

Ch. III. 17. γινώσκοντες ὅτι ἐλεύσονται—κατὰ τὰς—ἐπιθυμίας πορευόμενοι καὶ λέγοντες.

18. λανθάνει γὰρ αὐτοὺς—θέλοντας, ὅτι—γῆ—συνεστῶσα,—δι' ὧν ὁ τότε κόσμος—κατακλυσθεὶς ἀπώλετο.

19. τεθησαυρισμένοι—, πυρὶ τηρούμενοι.

20. τούτων οὖν πάντων λυόμενων ποταποὺς δεῖ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς—, προσδοκῶντας καὶ σπεύδοντας—δι' ἣν οὐρανοὶ πυρούμενοι λυθήσονται καὶ στοιχεῖα καυσούμενα τήκεται;

21. προγινώσκοντες φυλάσσεσθε, ἵνα μὴ συναπαχθέντες ἐκπέσχητε.

We also notice, chiefly in the early part of each Epistle, another peculiar mode of prolonging sentences, by the use of prepositions connecting the several parts, and marking a progress of relations between the successive members of the series thus formed. In the first Epistle we have these instances:—

Ch. I. 1. κατὰ πρόγνωσιν Θεοῦ πατρὸς, ἐν ἁγιασμῷ Πνεύματος, εἰς ὑπακοήν.

2. κατὰ τὸ πολλὸν αὐτοῦ ἔλεος—εἰς ἐλπίδα—δι' ἀναστάσεως—ἐκ νεκρῶν, εἰς κληρονομίαν.

3. τετηρημένην ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει Θεοῦ φρουρουμένους, διὰ πίστεως εἰς σωτηρίαν—ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ, ἐν ᾧ κ.τ.λ.

4. διὰ πυρὸς—εἰς ἐπαινον—ἐν ἀποκαλύψει κ.τ.λ.

5. διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελισαμένων—ἐν Πνεύματι—ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, εἰς ᾧ κ.τ.λ.

6. φανερωθέντος δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων—δι' ὑμᾶς τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστεύοντας εἰς Θεόν.

7. ἐν τῇ ὑπακοῇ,—διὰ Πνεύματος, εἰς φιλαδελφίαν—ἐκ καθαράς κ.τ.λ.

8. ἐκ σποράς—διὰ λόγου—εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

Ch. II. 9. πρὸς δὲ—ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων—παρὰ δὲ Θεῷ κ.τ.λ.

10. ἐκ σκότους—εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς.

11. δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπομένοις εἰς ἐκδίκησιν.

12. ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον.

Ch. III. 13. πρὸς ἀπολογία—περὶ τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐλπίδος μετὰ πραύτητος.

14. ἐν ἡμέραις—εἰς ἣν—δι' ὕδατος.

15. εἰς Θεόν, δι' ἀναστάσεως.

Ch. IV. 16. ἐν ἀσελγείαις—ἐν ᾧ—εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν κ.τ.λ.

17. τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμόν.

Ch. V. 18. διὰ Σιλουανοῦ, δι' ὁλγυν.

19. ὁ καλέσας—εἰς—δόξαν ἐν Χριστῷ.

In the second Epistle we have also these instances:—

Ch. I. 1. πρὸς ζῶην—, διὰ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως—διὰ δόξης—, δι' ὧν κ.τ.λ.

2. τῆς ἐν κόσμῳ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ φθορᾶς.

3. ἐν δὲ τῇ πίστει—, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀρετῇ—, ἐν δὲ τῇ γνῶσει κ.τ.λ.

4. ἐξ οὐρανοῦ—, σὺν αὐτῷ—ἐν τῷ ὄρει.

Ch. II. 5. ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀθέσμων ἐν ἀσελγείᾳ ἀναστροφῆς.

6. κατ' αὐτῶν παρὰ κυρίῳ.

7. εἰς ἄλωσιν—, ἐν οἷς ἀγνοοῦσι—ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ κ.τ.λ.

Ch. III. 8. ἐν αἷς διεγείρω—ἐν ὑπομνήσει.

9. ἐπ' ἐσχάτου—, κατὰ τὰς ἰδίαις κ.τ.λ.

10. ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ δι' ὕδατος—, δι' ὧν κ.τ.λ.

11. ὡς κλέπτῃς ἐν νυκτὶ, ἐν ᾗ κ.τ.λ.

12. κατὰ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα—, ἐν οἷς κ.τ.λ.

13. λαλῶν ἐν αὐταῖς περὶ τούτων, ἐν οἷς κ.τ.λ.

V. Seemingly opposed to this disposition to amplify and to accumulate ideas, but really akin to it, and due to the same cause, is a disposition to contrast ideas, and to use antithetical expressions and short sentences opposed to one another. In either case the origin is the same desire to present a subject in its completeness to the reader's view, exhibiting it in all its aspects and characteristics, positive and negative, its various relations, agreements, and differences. And if we examine the two Epistles, we shall find them strikingly similar in this adversative and antithetical style as well as in the cumulative form of style already displayed. Thus in the first Epistle we find such instances as these :—

Ch. I. 1. ἐν ᾧ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε,—λυπηθέντες.

2. οὐκ εἰδότες ἀγαπᾶτε.

3. μὴ ὀρῶντες πιστεύοντες δέ.

4. οὐκ ἑαυτοῖς, ἡμῖν δέ.

5. μὴ—ταῖς πρότερον ἐπιθυμίαις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν καλέσαντα ὑμᾶς ἅγιον.

6. οὐ φθαρτοῖς,—ἀλλὰ τιμῇ αἰματι—Χριστοῦ.

7. προεγνωσμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, φανερωθέντος δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων.

8. οὐκ ἐκ σποράς φθαρτῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀφθάρτου.

9. ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος,—τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα κυρίου μένει.

Ch. II. 10. ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἀποδεδικασμένον, παρὰ δὲ τῷ Θεῷ ἔκλεκτον.

11. ἡ τιμὴ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν, ἀπειθοῦσι δέ, κ.τ.λ.

12. ἐκ σκοτῶν εἰς τὸ—φῶς.

13. ποτὲ οὐ λαός, νῦν δὲ λαός.

14. οὐκ ἡλεημένοι, νῦν δὲ ἐλεηθέντες.

15. εἰς ἐκδίκησιν μὲν κακοποιῶν, ἔπαινον δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶν.

16. ὡς ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐπικάλυμμα ἔχοντες κακίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

17. οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς—, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σκολιοῖς.

18. ποῖον κλέος εἰ ἀμαρτάνοντες—ἀλλ' εἰ ἀγαθοποιοῦντες κ.τ.λ.

19. ἀγαθοποιοῦντες καὶ πάσχοντες.

20. λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντελοιδόρει.

21. οὐκ ἡπείλει, παρεδίδου δέ.

22. ἵνα ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι, τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν.

23. ἦτε—πλανώμενα, ἀλλ' ἐπεστράφητε.

Ch. III. 24. εἴ τινες ἀπειθοῦσι τῷ λόγῳ,—ἀνευ λόγου κ.τ.λ.

25. οὐκ ὁ ἔξωθεν—, ἀλλ' ὁ κρυπτός.

26. ἀγαθοποιοῦσαι καὶ μὴ φοβούμεναι.

27. μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακ. ἀντὶ κακ.—τούναντίον δὲ εὐλογούντες.

28. ἐκκλινάτω ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποιησάτω ἀγαθόν.

29. ὁφθαλμοὶ Κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους,—πρόσωπον δὲ ἐπὶ ποιούντας κακά.

30. εἰ πάσχετε—μακάριοι.

31. μὴ φοβηθῆτε, κύριον δὲ—ἀγιάσατε.

32. κρείττον γὰρ ἀγαθοποιούντας
—ἢ κακοποιούντας.

33. δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων.

34. θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκί, ζωο-
ποιηθεὶς δὲ τῷ Πνεύματι.

35. οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου,
ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώ-
τημα.

Ch. IV. 36. μηκέτι ἀνθρώπων ἐπι-
θυμίαι, ἀλλὰ θελήματι Θεοῦ.

37. κριθῶσι μὲν κατ' ἀνθρώπους
σαρκί, ζῶσι δὲ κατὰ Θεὸν Πνεύ-
ματι.

38. κατὰ μὲν αὐτοὺς βλασφημεῖ-
ται, κατὰ δὲ ὑμᾶς δοξάζεται.

39. μὴ ὡς φονεὺς, —εἰ δὲ ὡς
χριστιανός.

40. εἰ δὲ πρῶτον ἀφ' ἡμῶν, τὶ τὸ
τέλος τῶν ἀπειθοῦντων.

41. εἰ δὲ ὁ δίκαιος μόλις σώζεται,
ὁ ἀσεβὴς—ποῦ φανείται;

Ch. V. 42. τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων,
—τῆς μελλούσης—δόξης.

43. μὴ ἀνασκάστως ἀλλ' ἐκονσιῶς.

44. μὴδὲ αἰσχροκερδῶς ἀλλὰ προ-
θύμως.

45. μὴδ' ὡς κατακυριεύοντες—,
ἀλλὰ τύποι γινόμενοι κ.τ.λ.

46. νεώτεροι—πρεσβύτεροι.

47. ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, τα-
πεινοὶς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν.

48. ταπεινωθήτε—ἵνα ὑμᾶς ὑψώ-
σῃ.

49. ὀλίγον παθόντας,—καταρτίσαι
ὑμᾶς.

And now if we turn to the second Epistle, we find the same prevalence of antithetical expressions and sentences.

Ch. I. 1. θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως, ἀπο-
φυγόντες τῆς ἐν κόσμῳ—φθορᾶς.

2. ὑπάρχοντα καὶ πλεονάζοντα,
οὐκ ἄργους οὐδὲ ἀκάρπους καθ.

3. ὑπομνησκειν—καίπερ εἰδότες.

4. οὐ—μύθοις ἐξακολουθήσαντες,
ἀλλ' ἐπόπται γενηθέντες.

5. λύχνῳ φαίνοντι ἐν ἀνχμηρῷ
τόπῳ.

6. οὐ θελήματι ἀνθρώπου—, ἀλλ
ὑπὸ Πνεύματος ἁγίου.

Ch. II. 7. ὑπὸ Πνεύματος ἁγ.—ἐλά-
λησαν οἱ ἅγιοι Θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι.
Ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται.

8. οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλὰ παρέδωκεν
εἰς κρίσιν.

9. κόσμον οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλ' ὁγ-
δοον Νῶε—ἐφύλαξε.

10. πόλεις—κατέκρινεν, —Λὼτ ἐρ-
ρῶσατο.

11. ψυχὴν δικαίαν, ἀνόμοις ἔργοις.

12. εὐσεβεῖς ἐκ περασμοῦ ῥύεσ-
θαι.

13. ἄγγελοι—οὐ φέρουσι—βλάσ-
φημον.

14. καταλιπόντες τὴν εὐθεΐαν
ὁδόν,—ἐξακολουθήσαντες τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ
Βαλαάμ.

15. ὑποζύγιον ἄφωνον, ἐν ἀν-
θρώπου φωνῇ φθεγξάμενον.

16. πηγαὶ ἀνδρῶν.

17. ἐλευθερίαν—ἐπαγγελλόμενοι,
αὐτοὶ δοῦλοι ὑπάρχοντες.

18. ἀποφυγόντες,—πάλιν ἐμπλα-
κέντες.

19. τὰ ἔσχατα χεῖρονα τῶν πρῶ-
των.

20. μὴ ἐπεγνωκέναι, ἢ ἐπιγνοῦ-
σιν κ.τ.λ.

21. ὡς λουσαμένη εἰς κύλισμα
βορβορίου.

Ch. III. 22. ὁ τότε κόσμος ὕδατι
κατακλυσθεὶς—, οἱ δὲ νῦν οὐρανοὶ
καὶ ἡ γῆ—πυρὶ τηρούμενοι.

23. μία ἡμέρα—ὡς χίλια ἔτη.

24. χίλια ἔτη ὡς μία ἡμέρα.

25. οὐ βραδύνει—ἀλλὰ μακρο-
θυμεῖ.

26. μὴ—τινας ἀπολέσθαι, ἀλλὰ
πάντας εἰς μετάνοιαν χωρῆσαι.

27. οὐρανοὶ—λυθήσονται καὶ στοι-
χεῖα—τήκεται· καινοὺς δὲ οὐρανοὺς
καὶ γῆν καινὴν—προσδοκῶμεν.

28. τῇ τῶν ἀθέσμων πλάνῃ—τοῦ
ιδίου στήριγμόν.

Having thus gone through the several instances of constructive similarity between the two Epistles, and presented to the eye the examples at full length, we beg the reader will reflect how large a portion of each Epistle has been extracted in exhibiting these resemblances of style. And we may safely ask, what right an objector to the genuineness of the second Epistle has to ground his objection to it on any such alleged dissimilarity of style as we have thus shewn by an extended and minute comparison of the two Epistles to have no real existence? Even in the second chapter, the unlikeness of which not only to the first Epistle, but to other parts of the second, is admitted, the difference is really not in the constructive style, but only, as we have already remarked, in the subject matter and the impetuosity of the writer under the influence of vehement indignation, which hurried him along in a fuller and stronger torrent of words.

VI. Before we leave the consideration of style, and pass on to the coincidences and resemblances of thought between the two Epistles, we may notice a peculiarity in the use of one or two words occurring in both, which seems worthy of consideration, as helping to confirm the identity of authorship.

The word *ἀρετή* occurs in both in a sense different from that which it bears in the only other place where it is found in the New Testament, Phil. iv. 8, *εἴ τις ἀρετῇ, εἴ τις ἔπαινος*. It is there used in the ethical sense of virtue, while *ἔπαινος*, with which it is coupled, is used metonymically, praise for praiseworthy deeds. A similar metonymy seems to exist in St. Peter's use of *ἀρετή* itself. In 1 Pet. ii. 9, it represents the Hebrew *כבוד*; *λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν, ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε τοῦ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος*. This is evidently borrowed from Isaiah xliii. 21, rendered by the LXX., *λαόν μου δι περιποιησάμην τὰς ἀρετὰς μου διηγείσθαι*. Now, here we observe that though the Apostle has translated the passage for himself, he agrees with the LXX. in using *ἀρετή* for *כבוד*, *laus*, an established rendering of this word by the LXX., who also employ it to represent *כבוד*, *gloria*, but not to denote moral virtue. We refer to the following instances:—Isaiah xlii. 8, “my glory,” *כבוד, δόξαν μου*, “will I not give to another, neither my praise,” *כבוד, ἀρετὰς μου*, “to graven images.” Again, similarly both words are used in xlii. 12: Isaiah lxiii. 7, “I will mention the praises of the Lord,” *כבוד, ἀρετὰς*: Hab. iii. 3, “his glory,” *כבוד, ἀρετή*, “covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise,” *כבוד, αἰνέσεως αὐτοῦ*: Zech. vi. 13, “he shall bear the glory,” *כבוד, ἀρετήν*. Similarly, while in the Book of Wisdom, as might be expected, *ἀρετή* is used to denote moral virtue, it appears in the apocryphal addition to the Book of Esther as in

the passages just quoted: Esth. iv. 17, ἀνοιξαι στόμα ἐθνῶν εἰς ἀρετὰς ματαλῶν, in contrast with ἐμφράξαι στόμα αἰνούντων σοι καὶ σβέσαι δόξαν οἴκου σου. The sense in 1 Pet. ii. 9 seems, therefore, quite indubitably to accord with this usage of ἀρετῇ in the Old Testament; and then, if we turn to 2 Pet. i. 3, we cannot fail to notice the remarkable resemblance of the combination of the two words, διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀρετῆς, with the like combination of these words in the passages above quoted; and may, therefore, feel satisfied, that in the mind of the writer of the second Epistle also, ἀρετῇ represented the Hebrew תָּרַם, praise.

But then, in Isaiah xliii. 21, when God speaks of men telling out, or shewing forth his praises, it is rather the declaration of his praiseworthy and glorious acts that is intended, than the mere words of praise in the lips of men. And so too in 1 Pet. ii. 9, it is the declaration of God's glorious work in our salvation that is intended by shewing forth his praises; and it is by means of the same glorious and praiseworthy work that we have the Christian calling, and the great and precious promises which God is said in 2 Pet. i. 3, to confer on us διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀρετῆς. And this may, perhaps, seem more evident, from the remarkable coincidence that in each case the word is used in connexion with the Christian calling.

Perhaps in the use of the word by the LXX. to denote praise, the transition in their minds was from praiseworthy deeds to the praise these deserve; and thus it came to be adopted for the sake of variety and fulness of expression as an equivalent for αἰνεσις and ἔπαινος. And then the word having acquired an established use in this sense, the transition in the Epistles of St. Peter was back again from the praise to the praiseworthy deeds. This transition having been effected in the use of the word in 2 Pet. i. 3, the latter meaning then comes forward more directly and decidedly in 2 Pet. i. 5, where we are bid to add to our faith, or rather *in* our faith, virtue, ἐν τῇ πίστει ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν, that is, that our faith should not be a dead, inoperative belief, but being fruitful in good works might be found laudable, glorious, and honourable. And in this case it does not denote moral virtue in the sense of the philosophers, but rather is used for the proper efficacy of faith as a practical principle, according to the usage by which it denotes the special quality of excellence proper to that to which it is ascribed. Thus in Ælian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 13, we are told that Socrates liked Euripides, διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέτροις ἀρετὴν; and again in v. 21, mention is made of the ἀρετὴ τοῦ ποιητοῦ, in reference to the same poet; while, in ix. 16, we find

the excellence of the Italian soil described as ἡ τῆς χώρας ἀρετή.

The sense in which the Alexandrian translators of the Old Testament and the Apostle St. Peter used this word as denoting praise, is not without example in classical Greek. A reference to the lexicons will bring several instances to our notice. As examples, we may specify Pind., *Ol.* vii. 163, 4, πῦξ ἀρετὰν εὐρόντα, and Thuc. i. 33, φέρουσα ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀρετὴν, *apud multos afferens gloriam*. But the instance which most interests us in regard to the present enquiry is in the *Symposium* of Plato, 208 D., p. 121, Ed. Stallbaum, where we find ἀρετὴ in this sense coupled with δόξα, and that in a context in which it had just been used to denote laudable actions, inverting the order in which the same combination appears in 2 Pet. i. 3, where it is followed by ἀρετὴ in its more practical signification in ver. 5. In reference to the powerful influence of the love of fame, Diotima asks Socrates does he think Ἀλκυστιν ὑπὲρ Ἀδμήτου ἀποθανεῖν, ἂν, ἢ Ἀχιλλέα Πατρόκλῳ ἐπαποθανεῖν, ἢ προαποθανεῖν τὸν ὑμέτερον Κόδρον ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν παίδων, μὴ οἰομένους ἀθάνατον μνήμην ἀρετῆς περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἔσεσθαι, ἣν νῦν ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν; Πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, ἔφη, ἀλλ' οἶμαι, ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ τοιαύτης δόξης εὐκλεοῦς πάντες πάντα ποιοῦσιν. Here the reader will notice the transition from ἀρετὴ in the sense of praiseworthy deeds, to that of the fame and glory resulting from their performance. This discussion will recall Mr. Locke's observations on the connexion between virtue and praise, "Virtue is everywhere that which is thought praiseworthy, and nothing else but that which has the allowance of public esteem is called virtue. Virtue and praise are so united, that they are called often by the same name. *Sunt sua præmia laudi*, says Virgil; and so Cicero, *Nil habet natura præstantius, quam honestatem, quam laudem, quam dignitatem, quam decus*, which he tells us are all names for the same thing, *Tusc.* l. 2. Even the exhortations of inspired teachers have not feared to appeal to common repute. *Whatsoever is lovely, whatsoever is of good report, if there be any virtue, if there be any praise.*" *Essay* ii. 28, 12.

The word ἐποπτεύω occurs twice in the first Epistle, and its cognate ἐπόπτης is found in the second, neither occurring elsewhere in the New Testament. In the first we have the combination ἀσπιλοι καὶ ἄμωμοι, and in the second ἀσπιλοι καὶ ἀμώμητοι, and the similar combination στίλοι καὶ μώμοι, none of which are similarly combined elsewhere. These instances conclude this part of the subject.

VII. In passing on to consider the resemblances and coin-

cidences of thought which are observable on comparing the two Epistles of St. Peter, we must premise that such agreements are important in an enquiry like the present, in so far as they indicate the habitual association of ideas and manner of viewing things proper to the same mind, or else betray the absence of that individuality of mind which unconsciously produces coincidences that cannot be confounded with designed resemblance. A conscious imitator will be apt to follow the original too closely, and will want the freedom and freshness of independent thinking. The passages, in which the sentiments of the writer, whose name is assumed, are designedly copied, will commonly fit badly to the context in which they are introduced, and appear to be awkwardly thrust in out of place; or else they will be found, perhaps, in a context manifestly prepared for their reception. On the contrary, the works of the same writer will present similar passages, having, even in their resemblance, the freshness of originality and differences that naturally and exactly fit them in expression and sentiment to the line of thought in connexion with which they are reproduced.

This difference between the natural and spontaneous similarity which characterizes the writings of the same person, and the resemblances produced by a wilful imitator, may be illustrated by the natural resemblance between the Epistles of St. Paul to the Ephesians and Colossians, and at the same time the manifest originality of each, as compared with the evident copying in the supposititious Epistle to the Laodiceans. The reader is familiar with the coincidences between the two genuine Epistles; we may instance Eph. ii. 15, 16, *τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ, τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασι καταργήσας ἵνα τοὺς δύο κτίσῃ ἐν ἑαυτῷ εἰς ἓνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, ποιῶν εἰρήνην καὶ ἀποκαταλλάξῃ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἀποκτείνας τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν αὐτῷ*; and Col. ii. 14, *ἐξαλείψας τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον τοῖς δόγμασιν, ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῖν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἤρκεν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου, προσηλώσας αὐτὸ τῷ σταυρῷ*. Here we note in both the enmity arising from the Mosaic ordinances, the removal of the enmity and the instrumentality of the cross to that effect; and yet we see marked and decided differences; in one the enmity between Jew and Gentile and their reconciliation to one another, as well as that of both to God, in the other only the reconciliation of men to God; in one the slaying of the enmity by the cross, in the other the handwriting that was against us nailed to the cross, and thus taken out of the midst; that handwriting, in ordinances in the one, in the other described as the law of commandments in ordinances; the context in the one relating to the abolition of the separation

between Jew and Gentile, the passage being completely fitted to that subject; in the other, to the doing away of our sins by being buried with Christ in baptism, and risen with him through faith of the operation of God, the suitableness to this context being equally perfect. On the other hand, we may instance the palpable copying of the forger of the Epistle to the Laodiceans, by comparing with Phil. i. 13, Laod. 5, 6; *τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὴν χρηστότητα τῶν ἔργων ἃ πρέπει τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς ζωῆς αἰωνίου καὶ νῦν φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ δεσμοὶ μου ἐν οἷς δέσμιός εἰμι ἐν Χριστῷ*. Here we have a sentence of the Ep. to the Phil. brought in abruptly and incoherently with a context, as will be perceived, wholly different from that in which it originally occurs, and followed, again, by words quite different from those which follow in St. Paul's Epistle, another portion of which is then copied almost verbatim, with the omission of a long intervening passage.

It is true there may be an unconscious and honest imitation, when one has become familiar with the writing of another person, and undesignedly reproduces the thoughts and expressions which are associated with the circumstances under which he is writing himself, somewhat as we have observed to be the case in St. Peter's first Epistle, in which many sayings of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans seem quite spontaneously to have suggested themselves to that Apostle. And there may be a designed imitation to serve a special purpose, though the writer who is followed may not be named, as has been already observed in comparing the Epistle of St. Jude with the second of St. Peter. But in these cases the name of the writer imitated is not assumed, and there is no question of genuineness or forgery. It is to shew the improbability of such natural and spontaneous resemblances as we have spoken of being the result of wilful forgery, that we have insisted on this consideration; and we have only to add, in application of the argument, that the second Epistle of St. Peter professes to be that Apostle's writing, and that the question is not simply of the probable authorship of an anonymous writing, but whether a document which purports to be the work of a writer, with whose admitted production it will be found to coincide in so many particulars of thought, is to be regarded as genuine or supposititious. In specifying these coincidences and resemblances, we have only further to premise, that if in some of the instances to be adduced, the resemblance is but slight, and so may appear of less moment to the enquiry, the very slightheadness of the similarity, if it only be real, has weight in another respect, as shewing more plainly the absence of any intentional imitation in such cases.

VIII. We now proceed to notice in detail these instances of agreement and similarity, following the order in which they offer themselves in the second Epistle :—

1. In 2 Pet. i. 1, the Apostle describes his readers as having obtained like precious faith, *ισότιμον πίστιν*, with himself; and this account of their faith may be compared with the description of his readers' faith in 1 Pet. i. 7, as proved by trial to be much more precious than gold, and so found to be *εἰς τιμὴν* at the revelation of Jesus Christ. The expression, *δοκίμιον πολλὸν τιμιώτερον χρυσοῦ*, is an hypallage; *τιμιώτερον* should properly agree with *πίστεως*, as *ισότιμον* with *πίστιν*, the construction being altered accordingly. In the Apostle's mind, *τιμὴ* is evidently associated with *πίστις*, and so in 1 Pet. ii. 7, though with more immediate reference to the Saviour as the object of faith than to the faith itself, the value of which is relative to him, we have, *ὑμῶν οὖν ἡ τιμὴ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν*. The difference between their faith being found by trial to be more precious than gold is proved to be by fire, and their faith being simply of like preciousness with that obtained by the Apostle himself is sufficient to shew that there was no intention to imitate.

2. We may also notice the way in which at the commencement of each Epistle several successive particulars, conducing in their relations and proper operation to our eternal welfare, are similarly arrayed by the writer. Thus in the first Epistle he proceeds from the foreknowledge of God to the sanctification of the spirit, and through that to the obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Christ; and then again from the divine mercy bestowing us anew, he proceeds to a lively hope by the resurrection of Christ (*ζῶσαν δι' ἀναστάσεως*, living or lively by the resurrection); and from thence to the object of that hope, the inheritance reserved for us in heaven, our preservation thereto by the power of God, and its revelation in the last time; these several particulars being connected by the structure of the sentence so as to indicate their proper relations to one another. And then, in the second Epistle, we have the divine power bestowing on us all things pertaining to life and godliness, the efficacy of those gifts to their intended consequence, *διὰ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως*, by one becoming practically acquainted with him who hath called us in the glorious and laudable manner whereby those promises are bestowed, and the realizing of that intended consequence in our now escaping the corruption that is in the world through lust, and our becoming afterwards partakers of the divine nature. And again, this practical realizing of the *πάντα πρὸς ζωὴν καὶ εὐσέβειαν* is drawn out in its several particulars like a procession, as implied in the word by which he

expresses the successive addition of the several virtues enumerated. This word ἐπιχορηγήσατε indicates the disposition of mind to enumerate the Christian privileges, blessings, and duties in a progressive series by a grammatical arrangement already noticed amongst the resemblances of style between the two Epistles. But though in each case this disposition is sufficiently manifest to be noticed as indicating a common mental habitude, the differences are such as to put all supposition of imitation quite out of the question; more especially as the order in 2 Peter i. 3, 4, is far less regular, and one who had observed the disposition in the first Epistle would doubtless, if he tried to imitate it, have arranged his ideas in a more orderly progression.

3. We have already noticed the similarity between the two Epistles in the sense of the word ἀρετή, as it occurs in 2 Pet. i. 3, and in 1 Pet. ii. 9. We may here remark the association of this word in each case with our calling of God, indicating an habitual association of ideas which leads to an undesigned and spontaneous recurrence of either on mention being made of the other. In the one case, the calling is by means of the ἀρετή, in the other, the calling is to declare it; the difference is sufficient to preclude the supposition of any designed imitation, and yet it is not a substantial difference, inasmuch as the display is to result from the practical realizing of the means; the ἀρετή by which we are called, it was the end of that calling to display. It will suffice to place the sentences in juxtaposition to make this evident:—

2 Pet. I. 3, τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς 1 Pet. II. 9, ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγα-
διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀρετῆς. γείλητε τοῦ—ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος.

We may compare also the knowledge of him that hath called us, mentioned in the one case, with the calling out of darkness or ignorance to marvellous light or knowledge in the other, illustrating still farther the likeness and yet difference of which we have spoken.

4. The care expressed in 2 Pet. i. 12, to put his readers in mind of the things about which he was writing, "although they knew them, and were established in the present truth," may be compared with the way in which in 1 Pet. v. 12, the Apostle writes, as in the English version, "exhorting and testifying that this is the true grace of God wherein ye stand." Especially note the resemblance between the expressions, ἀληθὴ χάρις εἰς ἣν ἐστήκατε in the latter, and ἐστηρικμένους ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ ἀληθείᾳ in the former, a resemblance which becomes much more striking when the true meaning is assigned to the words εἰς ἣν ἐστήκατε (ἐν ᾗ, A.), "in which," or "in respect to which ye

have stood fast." This use of the neuter tenses of ἵστημι, in the sense of *persto*, is well established in the New Testament. Thus in Rom. v. 2, "by whom we have had admission," τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐσχίκαμεν, "by faith into this grace wherein we have stood fast," ἐν ᾗ ἐστήκαμεν, "and rejoice," etc. Observe the first admission, the continuance, and the consequent present rejoicing. In Rom. xi. 20, "they were broken off through unbelief, but thou hast stood fast by faith," σὺ δὲ τῇ πίστει ἕστηκας, "be not high-minded" on this account. Similarly in 1 Cor. vii. 37, ὃς δὲ ἕστηκεν ἐδραῖος, and in x. 12, ὁ δοκῶν ἐστάναι, "he that seemeth to have stood fast;" and xv. 1, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐστήκατε. So also in 2 Cor. i. 24, "we are helpers of your joy," τῇ γὰρ πίστει ἕστήκατε, "for ye have persevered by faith." And, lastly, while in Eph. vi. 11—14, we have στήναι and στήτε in the same sense, where the perfect would have been improper, we have the perfect again in 2 Tim. ii. 19, "the faith of some has been overthrown; the firm foundation of God, however, hath stood fast," i. e., they who were firmly founded by God, or built on God's foundation, ὁ μέντοι στέρεος θεμέλιος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἕστηκεν. We have given these passages at length to shew the proper use of the perfect, and thus more fully to identify the meaning of εἰς ἣν ἐστήκατε in 1 Pet. v. 12, with the ἕστηνυμένους of 2 Pet. i. 12. The resemblance is completed by observing that the ἀληθὴς χάρις of 1 Pet. v. 12, must denote ἀλήθεια τῆς χάριτος, the πάρουσσα ἀλήθεια of 2 Pet. i. 12. For there is no false grace, but there may be a false doctrine of grace.

5. In 2 Pet. i. 16, the writer strongly insists on the fact that he had himself been an eye-witness of the majesty of Christ, such as it should be at his coming in glory, a visible display of that majesty and glory having been made to him on the occasion of his presence with the Saviour at the time of his transfiguration, "when he was with him in the holy mount." Such a display, afforded as a special privilege to the three more favoured Apostles, must have made a lasting impression on their minds, and would naturally be referred to by St. Peter, whose mind, more alive to such impressions than the other Apostles, seems to have been most affected on that exciting occasion, as we may gather from the narrative in the Gospels. And the express reference to what he then witnessed which is made in this Epistle, may be compared with a less explicit, but not less real allusion to the same occasion in the first Epistle. An imitator not having his own feelings impressed by the scene, would scarcely have thought of making any reference to it, much less have noticed the obscure reference in the first Epistle, so as to develope that allusion into the more express mention in the

second, the existence of which is what chiefly makes the allusion in the first to be noticeable. We refer to 1 Pet. v. 1, where the Apostle speaks of himself as "a witness of the sufferings of Christ," *ὁ καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι δόξης κοινωνός*. Had the Apostle omitted the word *κοινωνός*, and left the word *μάρτυς* to be supplied, the reference to the transfiguration might seem less ambiguous; for that it was not merely to our Lord's ascension he alluded is plain from his speaking of a glory yet future at the time of his writing. As the expression actually stands, one might at first suppose that the Apostle confidently anticipates his own participation in the future glory that is to be vouchsafed. But let us observe that his own participation in future blessedness is no contrast to the sufferings of Christ, and we naturally expect the mention of Christ's glory as of his suffering, just as in i. 11, *τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα, καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας*. And this is what the Apostle's purpose requires. Intending to encourage his readers in a time of persecution, he speaks of the sufferings endured by Christ on their behalf. And then merely to subjoin that having witnessed the sufferings he expected himself to partake of the subsequent glory, would be a poor encouragement. His own subjective anticipations, however strong the language of assurance in which they are expressed, would be a bad set-off against the objective reality of the sufferings his readers had to undergo. They might indeed have been naturally expressed if he had mentioned his own sufferings, and then spoke of the reward in which they would issue. It was thus that St. Paul spoke of the crown of glory laid up for him, after he had mentioned the good fight he had fought himself, and not the sufferings of the Saviour, as an example for others. But it was here exactly to the purpose of St. Peter to say that he had witnessed Christ's sufferings, and could testify also the glory that was to follow, by reason of a special opportunity afforded to him of becoming a witness of that likewise, manifested with a reality which might be compared to that of the sufferings that preceded. This is expressed by the word *κοινωνός*, a communication of the glory having been made, not to his faith merely, but to his sight, as implied by the parallelism with the preceding *μάρτυς*, the word *κοινωνός* implying also a certain companionship with the Saviour on that occasion not enjoyed by the Apostles generally. Such a companionship with others in particular circumstances, without participating in their state, is expressed by this word in Heb. x. 33 also, *τοῦτο μὲν, ὀνειδισμοῖς τε καὶ θλίψεσι θεατριζόμενοι· τούτα δὲ, κοινωνοὶ τῶν οὕτως ἀναστρεφόμενων γενηθέντες*. A reference to Poole's *Synopsis* will shew that the transfiguration was supposed by some writers quoted by Erasmus, Menochius,

and Estius to have been alluded to in this passage of the first Epistle.

6. The reference to the "word of prophecy" and its inspiration, in 2 Pet. i. 19—21, may be compared with the mention of those who prophesied of the grace that is come unto us, in 1 Pet. i. 10—12. The advice to pay attention to the word of prophecy, as to a light shining in a dark place, corresponds with the Apostle's commendation of the prophets for searching diligently and enquiring into the import of their predictions, while the assertion that they spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost agrees with the intimation in the first Epistle, that it was the Spirit of Christ that was in them, which testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow. The necessity τοῦ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, inasmuch as the prophecy being spoken, not by the will of man, or the suggestion of men's own minds, but by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, does not directly suggest its own meaning, ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται, but requires to be carefully studied, coincides with the diligent search and enquiry commended in the first Epistle. If we might take *προφητεία* and *ἐπίλυσις* for prophet and interpreter, (*abstr. pro concret.*), the meaning in such case being that the prophets were too much in the dark as to the import of their own predictions to interpret them fully for themselves, we should have in this a reason for the diligent investigation ascribed to them. And then this statement of the second Epistle might be compared with that of the first, that "it was revealed unto them that not unto themselves, but unto us they did minister the things now reported by those that preached the Gospel." This, however, is less natural and less consistent with the present tense, *γίνεται*, which appears to be used as indicating a general character of prophecy at all times. At any rate, the prophecies were to those of the old dispensation a light shining in a dark place as regarded the first coming of Christ. The prophetic word is similarly a light shining in a dark place to Christians as respects his second appearing, "the power and coming," or coming in power and great glory of our blessed Lord. The dawning of the day is rather the near approach than the actual arrival of that event, and the rising of the day-star denotes the premonitory indications of its coming. As these indications are not signs outwardly intelligible to the world at large, but evidences discernible to the thoughtful minds of those who look for the Lord's appearing, tokens of an event which may be still far off in fact, but near in the Christian's faith and watchfulness, we can understand why it is in the heart that the day is said to dawn, and the day-star to arise. It is unnecessary, therefore,

to resort to the arbitrary and violent expedient of connecting ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν with προσέχοντες. The word of prophecy which was thus to serve as a light shining in a dark place, was confirmed (ἔχομεν βεβαιώτερον τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον) by the manifestation of Christ in his glory, of which the Apostle had been an eye-witness, as by the same κοινωνία of the Saviour's glory he had encouraged his readers, as we have seen, in 1 Pet. v. 1.

7. The condemnation awaiting the false prophets and teachers that were yet to come when the second Epistle was written, οἷς τὸ κρίμα ἐκπαλαι οὐκ ἀργεῖ, καὶ ἡ ἀπώλεια αὐτῶν οὐ νυστάζει, 2 Pet. ii. 3, has its counterpart in 1 Pet. ii. 8, where the like foredoomed punishment awaits those "who stumble at the word, being disobedient," ἀπειθοῦντες not ἀπιστοῦντες, from a spirit of disobedience rather than for want of conviction, (ἀπειθεῖα· ἀπιστία, *illud ad animum refertur, hoc ad mentem.*—Titmann, *Synon. N. T.*), εἰς δ' ἐτέθησαν. We need not regard this expression as if it were itself the λῆθος προσκόμματος which it has been represented by some. There are moral qualifications needed for the profitable hearing of the Gospel, the removal of moral obstacles being a main part of the Holy Spirit's work in pre-disposing men to receive the truth. It is they who wish to do God's will that, the Saviour tells us, shall know his doctrine, whether it be of God. And so also they who are unwilling to do it, wilfully disobedient, are punished by stumbling at the word; (compare Hosea xiv. 9.) And this being the appointed as well as the natural consequence of their unwillingness to do the will of God, they are properly said to have been appointed to stumble at the word; it is as much the proper penalty of their disobedience as the condemnation that in 2 Pet. ii. 3, is said to await the false prophets who were to arise. The correspondence between the two passages consists in men's being beforehand appointed to condemnation, in anticipation of their foreseen wickedness. There is, however, sufficient difference to shew that the two passages were written quite independently of one another, and without imitation. In the one case it is condemnation and destruction in general, in the other it is a special punishment consequent on the particular nature of the offence. The offending parties and their offence are also different. In the one case persons are mentioned who are prevented from believing the Gospel at all, by moral hindrances; in the other, false teachers arising amongst those who had already become believers, were to bring in damnable heresies. While these differences leave no room for suspecting imitation, the agreement is of a kind that indicates a habit of looking at subjects of this nature from a particular point of view, such as might be expected in the same writer.

8. In 2 Pet. ii. 4, we find the angels that fell described as kept in chains, reserved to judgment, just as in 1 Pet. iii. 19, we find mention of the spirits in prison. And in each Epistle, this allusion to the prisoners of the unseen world is followed, as if by reason of some accidental association of ideas only to be found in the same mind, by a reference to the punishment of the old world by the waters of the deluge. And, while Noah is mentioned in the second Epistle as a preacher of righteousness, his preaching is implied in the first, by the allusion to the disobedience of those to whom he preached while the ark was preparing, but more directly referred to, if we understand the preaching to the spirits in prison to denote Noah's preaching by the Spirit of Christ. The number of persons saved in the ark is also mentioned in each; in the one, eight souls, in the other, Noah the eighth, that is, Noah and seven others, according to a manner of speaking, exemplified by Raphelius.* But, with these remarkable points of resemblance, the differences are no less striking. In the one case, it is evil angels that are in chains; in the other, the spirits of wicked men that are in prison, the reference to Christ's preaching to whom, whatever be its meaning, has no counterpart in the second Epistle. Neither is there any allusion in this to baptism as typified by the waters of the deluge, while the whole connexion of the two passages with their context is entirely different, though each fits perfectly in its own place. These differences are sufficient to negative any supposition of imitation, while the coincidences are evidently quite spontaneous.

9. Perhaps we may compare 2 Pet. ii. 9, "The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations, but to reserve the unjust to the day of judgment to be punished," with the quotation from Ps. xxxiv. in 1 Pet. iii. 12, "The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous; but the face of the Lord is against them that do evil." The resemblance is slight, and only to be noticed in respect to the contrast between the godly and ungodly in each, and the different aspect with which they are regarded by the Almighty.

10. In both Epistles angels are adduced as examples, but in a very different manner and with different ends. In 2 Pet. ii. 11, their abstinence from railing accusation is the particular in which their example is commended to us; in 1 Pet. i. 12, it is their desire to look into the mystery of redemption. The evil angels, whose example is likewise set before us for warning in 2 Pet. ii. 4, may be compared with the angels and autho-

* Annot. in *S. Script. ex Xen.*, etc.

rities and powers made subject to Christ in 1 Pet. iii. 22. It would seem as if the Apostle had a habit of using the example of angels, and thus spontaneously, and with differences suited to the occasion, referred to them in each Epistle as served his purpose.

11. In 2 Pet. ii. 12, those who "speak evil of the things they know not," *ἐν οἷς ἀγνοοῦσι*, may be compared with the enemies of Christians who, in 1 Pet. ii. 12, 15, are represented as speaking of them as evil-doers, their calumnies being in like manner attributed to ignorance; "that with well doing ye may put to silence the ignorance," *τὴν ἀγνοσίαν*, "of foolish men." The word here used to denote putting to silence, *φιμοῦν*, may, perhaps, be thought to imply also a reference in the writer's mind to the brute beasts, to which, in 2 Pet. ii. 12, these evil-speakers are likened. Both passages may be compared with Ps. xxxii. 9.

12. We may, likewise, observe some resemblance between the "rioting in the day-time, feasting, having eyes full of adultery that cannot cease from sin," attributed in 2 Pet. ii. 13, 14, to the depraved persons of whom the Apostle is speaking, and the lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, and banquettings mentioned in 1 Pet. iv. 3.

13. In 2 Pet. ii. 19, the corrupt teachers are said to promise their followers liberty, doubtless regarding the liberty of the Gospel as freedom to sin. Here we have reproduced the idea of 1 Pet. ii. 16, where the Apostle bids us not make such a grievous abuse of our Christian liberty; "as free, and not using your liberty as a cloak of maliciousness," (*κακίας*, wickedness of any sort.) We may also compare the "servants of God" in this passage with the "servants of corruption" in the former, wherein we notice a resemblance with a striking difference. Let us place the passages in juxtaposition:—

<i>ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, αὐτοὶ δοῦλοι ὑπάρχοντες τῆς φθορᾶς.</i>	<i>μὴ ὡς ἐπικάλυμμα ἔχοντες τῆς κακίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀλλ' ὡς δοῦλοι Θεοῦ.</i>
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In both we have the contrast between *δοῦλοι* and *ἐλευθερίαν*, but in the one it is the service of God, in the other of corruption, that is contrasted with the liberty that is abused.

14. In 2 Pet. iii. 9, the long-suffering of God is assigned as a reason why the coming of the day of judgment is deferred, in immediate connexion with the example of the deluge, the point of resemblance plainly being the certainty of the threatened destruction, though delayed through God's long-suffering. This is not, indeed, mentioned in respect to the deluge, but it was

manifestly in the writer's mind. The same long-suffering is also assigned in 1 Pet. iii. 20, as the cause of delay in respect to the deluge, "when once the long-suffering of God awaited in the days of Noah." The similarity of thought is the more to our purpose, inasmuch as long-suffering not being distinctly expressed in the second Epistle, there is the less ground for suspecting a wilful imitation. The looking for and hasting to the coming of the day of the Lord, with all its circumstances of awe, and the conduct suitable to those who look for such things, brought before us in the same passage in the second Epistle, may likewise be compared with the mention which we find in 1 Pet. iv. 5, 7, of the account to be given "to Him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead," of "the end of all things" that "is at hand," and of the consequent duty of sobriety and watchfulness unto prayer, all which seem to be likewise connected with the previous mention of the deluge.

15. The last of these coincidences which we have to specify, is the express quotation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans in 2 Pet. iii. 15, as compared with the numerous instances in which, as we have already shewn, in the first Epistle the same writing of St. Paul was imitated, though without mention of his name. This imitation we endeavoured to account for by the fact which seemed clearly indicated by the manner in which the quotation in the second Epistle was introduced, as written to those to whom St. Peter was writing also, namely, that he wrote to Roman Christians. Apart from this view altogether, the agreement of the two Epistles in making use of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, conduces, with the other instances equally diffused through the entire of both Epistles, which we have laid before the reader, to confirm the identity of their authorship.

IX. The history of the Acts of the Apostles has preserved several discourses and shorter sayings of St. Peter, commencing with the days immediately following our Lord's Ascension, and extending to the Council at Jerusalem, after which this history is silent concerning him. It might, perhaps, be thought that a comparison of the questioned Epistle with these discourses and sayings would throw some light on the subject of enquiry. But it must be remembered that a very material difference of style often exists between the extemporaneous discourses and conversational remarks, and the written compositions of the same individual. The long interval of time, and the great difference of occasion and circumstances, would very much increase the probable dissimilarity both of style and thought; while it is doubtful whether the sacred record has preserved in most cases

more than the substance, in an abridged form, of what the Apostle actually said; and, at any rate, we can scarcely in any instance have the *ipsissima verba*, which were doubtless principally in the Galilean speech which bewrayed the Apostle in the hall of the high priest. Any conclusion that might be drawn, therefore, from such a comparison would, as regards style, be quite illusory, and of very little weight in any respect. There are, however, a few coincidences of thought which, though of very little moment to the enquiry, are at any rate equally significant in regard to the second Epistle as to the first, and it may not be amiss to specify them in respect to each.

Thus, as regards the first Epistle, we may compare ch. i. 11, where the Spirit of Christ in the prophets is said to have "testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow," with Acts iii. 18, 21, where St. Peter says that "God, by the mouth of all his holy prophets, had shewed that Christ should suffer, and had spoken of the times of restitution of all things."

"The grace to be brought unto us at the revelation of Jesus Christ" in 1 Pet. i. 13, may be compared with "the blotting out of our sins when the times of refreshing should come from the presence of the Lord, and He shall send Jesus Christ," in Acts iii. 19, 20. The point of special resemblance is the deferring of the grace spoken of, which answers to the blotting out of our sins, until the final coming of the Lord.

We may instance the agreement between 1 Pet. i. 17, where God is described as "without respect of persons," ἀπροσωπολήπτως, "judging according to every man's work," with St. Peter's words in Acts x. 34, 35; "God is no respecter of persons," προσωπολήπτως, "but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." This was a truth forced upon the Apostle's conviction in spite of the powerful prejudices of his earlier belief, and appears to have been for the first time recognized as a truth on the occasion of his visit to Cornelius: "I perceive that God is no respecter of persons." What was thus forcibly impressed on his mind at that early period, reappears quite naturally in the Epistle, as addressed by the Apostle of the circumcision to believers of Gentile origin.

The "purifying their souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit," in 1 Pet. i. 22, may be placed side by side with Acts xv. 9, where St. Peter says that God had given to the Gentiles the holy Spirit, and put no difference between them and the Jews, "purifying their hearts by faith."

Again, in 1 Pet. ii. 7, and in St. Peter's defence before the

Council in Acts iv. 11, we have "the stone disallowed by the builders and made the head of the corner" similarly adduced; and the bearing our sins in his own body on the *tree* in 1 Pet. ii. 24, may be compared with Acts v. 30, "whom ye slew and hanged on a *tree*."

If we interpret 1 Pet. iii. 19, as referring to the *descensio ad inferos*, it may be put alongside of Acts ii. 31, where we find the only other reference to this subject in the New Testament, in St. Peter's discourse on the day of Pentecost.

In 1 Pet. iv. 5, the judging of "the quick and the dead" is similar to the Apostle's mention of Christ as the judge of quick and dead in Acts x. 42, the only other place, except 2 Tim. iv. 1, where the quick and the dead are thus combined in reference to the final judgment.

The manner in which the Apostle in 1 Pet. v. 1, having called himself the fellow-presbyter of the elders amongst those to whom he was writing, added as an intimation of his own superior authority, that he was also a witness of the sufferings of Christ, may be compared with his desire expressed in Acts i. 21, 22, that in choosing a successor to Judas, one should "be ordained who had companied with them all the time that the Lord Jesus Christ had gone in and out amongst them, to be a witness of his resurrection." To be a witness of Christ's resurrection, one should properly have been also a witness of his death. Unless he had known the Lord before his sufferings, and had seen him dead, his testimony that he had seen him afterwards alive would not, strictly speaking, have made him by his sole testimony a witness of the resurrection.

Now, these instances of agreement between the first Epistle, of which no doubt was entertained, and the sayings of St. Peter recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, are not more numerous in proportion to its length, nor more observable in point of resemblance, nor significant as indications of the individuality and habit of thinking proper to the same mind, than the like coincidences to be found in the second Epistle as compared with the same sayings and discourses. We have given the foregoing at length, in order that their value may serve as a criterion of what we may expect as the result of a like comparison of the second Epistle, in respect to which doubts have to be satisfied. We proceed now to notice these latter coincidences.

In 2 Pet. i. 1, Christians, whom we have proved to have been of Gentile origin, are addressed as persons who had "obtained like precious faith" with the writer himself, speaking, doubtless, as a Jew. And we may compare this mention of *ισότιμον πίστιν*, with the statement of St. Peter, in explaining his con-

duct with regard to Cornelius and his family, that God "gave them the like gift," *τὴν ἴσην δωρεάν*, "as he did unto us who believed," Acts xi. 17, and with the similar declaration on the same subject to the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem, Acts xv. 9, that God had "put no difference between them and us, purifying their hearts by faith."

In 2 Pet. i. 16, we find the same stress laid on the eye-witnessing of Christ's glory, as in Acts i. 21, on the necessity of choosing as a new apostle an eye-witness of our Saviour's proceedings while on earth. The attributing the predictions of the prophets to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost in 2 Pet. i. 21, as to the Spirit of Christ in 1 Pet. i. 11, may be compared with Acts i. 16, where St. Peter represents the Holy Ghost as speaking by the mouth of the prophet David.

The "wages of unrighteousness," *μισθὸν ἀδικίας*, which we are told in 2 Pet. ii. 15, that Balaam loved, will remind us of "the wages of unrighteousness," *τοῦ μισθοῦ ἀδικίας*, with which in Acts i. 18, he says that Judas purchased the field in which he ended his life.

The "new heavens and new earth" which it is said in 2 Pet. iii. 13, that "we according to promise look for," will bear comparison with "the restitution of all things spoken of by the mouth of all the holy prophets" mentioned by St. Peter in Acts iii. 21.

Now, of all these slight resemblances to be found alike in each Epistle, none is of so much significance for our present purpose, as that of "the like precious faith" in 2 Pet. i. 1, compared with Acts xi. 17, and xv. 9. The fact that God had "made choice," as he told the assembled Apostles and Elders, "that the Gentiles by his mouth should hear the word of the Gospel and believe," and that it was by a remarkable and very significant and impressive vision the Apostle's prejudices on this subject had been overcome, could not fail to have had a powerful influence on his mind; and when he came to address a community of Gentile Christians, nothing was more likely than that, in the remembrance of that transaction, he should acknowledge the equal value of the Gentiles' faith, and their equal participation in the blessings consequent on the faith of the Gospel. Yet, the very casual and simple way in which this is done, only by the single word *ἰσότημον*, makes the coincidence evidently more undesigned, and more clearly indicates St. Peter's authorship of the second Epistle, so far as this comparison with the sayings and discourses of the Apostle recorded in the Acts may be thought of moment to the enquiry at all.

X. Having now compared the second Epistle of St. Peter

with the undoubted remains of that Apostle, and seen that neither in respect of style, nor of the habits of thought which are manifested, are there any good grounds for the doubt that has existed as to the genuineness of that Epistle, it will be proper to notice here a few objections not already considered, which have been summed up by Neander in the *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church*.*

Having mentioned the difference in character and style which we have already discussed, he notices "the use here made of the Epistle of St. Jude, which is partly copied and partly imitated;" and he afterwards says that "among the circumstances that excite suspicion is the manner in which the same false teachers who, in the Epistle of Jude, are described as actually existing, are here represented with prophetic warning as about to appear." Now this latter fact, instead of being made the ground of an additional objection, serves to neutralize the former one, as it shews that St. Jude's was the later of the two Epistles, the false teachers predicted by St. Peter having actually appeared in the interval between them. To assume arbitrarily, in opposition to this fact, that St. Jude's was the earlier Epistle, and then to ground on that assumption objections which otherwise would have no existence, is certainly not consistent with any principle of fair criticism or sound reasoning. It is unnecessary to dwell at greater length on this subject now, as we have in the former part of this Essay fully discussed the resemblance between the two Epistles.

The next objection is founded on the indications of close pastoral relationship between the writer and those to whom the second Epistle was addressed, evidently the same as the persons addressed in the first Epistle, while yet St. Peter had never such pastoral relations with the Churches named in the first. With this we must couple a subsequent objection. "The mode of citing the Pauline Epistles confirms the suspicion against the genuineness of this Epistle. A passage from Rom. ii, 4, is cited in iii. 15, as if this Epistle were addressed to the same Church." If, however, there is any weight in the conclusions we have drawn in the former part from the facts on which these objections are grounded, and any probability in the explanation and reconciliation of them which we have attempted, they cease to be grounds of objection, and on the contrary tend to confirm the genuineness of the second Epistle.

He says that "the solicitude with which he endeavours to make himself known as the Apostle Peter betrays an apocryphal

* Vol. ii., p. 33, *ap. Ed. Bib. Cæb.*

writer." It would have been well if he had informed us in what respect this solicitude is manifested. It is true he prefixed his name to the Epistle in the usual formula, as he did to the first, and as St. Paul did to his Epistles. And in iii. 2, he reminds his readers of a commandment which he, in conjunction with one or more of the other Apostles, had given them. But this commending of that injunction on the strength of his Apostolical authority is not without example in St. Paul's writings, who says, 1 Thess. iv. 2, "Ye know what commandments we gave you by the Lord Jesus." The only other allusions in the Epistle of a nature personal to himself are so natural, that their existence, far from betraying an apocryphal writer, may be taken as a confirmation of the genuineness of the Epistle. To one of these personal matters we shall have occasion presently to revert. The other, the speedy approach of his decease, is introduced as a reason why he felt so anxious that they should keep his instructions in remembrance, in quite as simple and unobtrusive a manner as that in which St. Paul urged Timothy to make full proof of his ministry, as he was now himself about to be offered, and the time of his departure was at hand. But "the allusion to the words of Christ, John xxi. 18, in i. 14, is brought forward in an unsuitable manner." He ought to have told in what respect the manner in which this allusion is made was unsuitable. If it was that he did not quote the remarkable words in which our Lord foretold his martyrdom, but described his approaching death by a different expression, this is rather a note of genuineness. An apocryphal writer would have been careful to adopt the words of the Saviour descriptive of the Apostle's end. Or if it was that he referred to the Saviour's words as denoting his death, whereas they might have only signified bonds and imprisonment, it is to be considered that the subsequent words relating to St. John, "if I will that he tarry till I come," plainly imply that St. Peter's death was intended, and the saying that went abroad in consequence that that disciple should not die, shews that the other Apostles understood the Lord to have predicted St. Peter's death. And certainly the allusion to the Lord's words was not itself unsuitable, if this was what our author meant. A prediction so nearly concerning himself, and expressed in so remarkable a form, must have deeply impressed the Apostle's mind; and seeing the toils of his enemies closing around him, surely it was most natural and suitable that he should have referred to what the Lord had shewed him of his approaching end.

The other personal allusion to which we referred, is made the subject of a distinct objection. "In order to distinguish

himself as a credible witness of the life of Christ, he appeals to the phenomena at the transfiguration. But it certainly is not natural to suppose that one of the Apostles should select and bring forward from the whole life of Christ of which they had been eye-witnesses, this isolated fact, which was less essentially connected with that which was the central point and object of his appearance; the Apostles were rather accustomed to claim credit as witnesses of the sufferings and resurrection of Christ." Now, first, it is to be observed in reference to this objection, that it was not to confirm the writer's testimony respecting the life of Christ, but in support of his teaching in regard to the future power and coming of Christ, the coming in power and great glory as distinguished from his coming in humiliation, that the transfiguration is brought forward. The Gospel narratives plainly shew that that scene was intended to be a representation of Christ's glory in his kingdom, which some of those to whom the Saviour announced its manifestation were not to taste of death till they had seen, and by which they were to have more sure the prophetic word which foretold the glory that was to be consequent on the sufferings of Christ. Amongst all the facts stated in the Gospel history, none was so suitable to the writer's purpose, in proof that he had not been teaching them cunningly-devised fables in regard to that future glory of Christ's kingdom, as that marvellous representation of which he had been an eye-witness. It was, therefore, quite natural that he should have adduced it in support of what was a prominent subject of discussion in this Epistle. That one of the Apostles in general was not likely to have brought it forward may readily be admitted; only three were eye-witnesses of the transaction. The only other one of the favoured three of whose teaching any record has been preserved, does make a very significant allusion to it, in connexion with the humiliation of the tabernacle of flesh in which Christ dwelt among us. "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." And in thus referring to the glory of Christ, of which he, too, had been an eye-witness, St. John uses a word *ἑθεσάμεθα*, which, like St. Peter's *ἐποπται*, is expressive of witnessing a scenic representation, or some sight worthy of being viewed with attention and admiration. That St. Peter should have referred to the transfiguration is the more likely, inasmuch as he of the three appears to have been impressed in the most lively manner on that occasion, exclaiming, in his astonishment, "Lord, it is good for us to be here." His sanguine temperament would cause him in particular to seize on the

event, to cherish it in his recollection, to picture it again and again in his imagination, and to revert to it just when the expectation of his approaching end would make the support derivable from having witnessed such a display the more needed for his own encouragement, and therefore the more likely to be adduced for the encouragement of others. Why, then, should St. Peter's reverting to such a scene be less likely than that St. Paul should have adverted to the visions and revelations of the Lord with which he had been favoured?

"Also the designation of the mountain on which the transfiguration occurred as 'the holy mount,' betrays a later origin, since we cannot suppose that the mountain usually so denominated, Mount Zion, was intended." The force of this objection seems to lie in the supposition that this mountain was called "the holy mount," in the spirit of that reverence which in later times has been felt for the places hallowed by the events of Gospel history, and commonly designated "the holy places," a feeling which our author seems to think belonged to a period too late for St. Peter to have participated in it. Now, while we may remark, that the alleged desecration of the holy sepulchre by Adrian would seem to shew that at that early period this *religio loci* was already felt in some degree, yet this does not appear at all to have been the feeling in which the designation was here used, when we consider the natural meaning of such terms as adopted by a Jewish writer, to whom like designations occurring in the Old Testament were familiar. It was not the sacred memory of past transactions, but some special manifestation of the presence of God, that constituted a holy place in Jewish phraseology. When God's presence was revealed to Moses in the burning bush, the place whereon he stood was called holy ground; and so, also, when the Captain of the Lord's Host appeared to Joshua. Thus, too, when Zion itself (in Psalm lxviii.) is described as God's hill, it is plainly intimated that the cause of its sanctity was the special presence of the Almighty, "as in the holy place of Sinai." A writer familiar with these references would naturally use the same designation for the mount of the transfiguration, where the presence of God was so marvellously displayed in the cloud, the glory, and the audible voice, the ancient manifestations of the Shekinah.

"The doubts respecting the second coming of Christ, occasioned by the expectation of the occurrence of that event in the first age of the Church, and the disappointment of that expectation, lead us to recognize a later period." The expectation of the immediate coming of Christ, grounded on a misunderstanding-

ing of St. Paul's words in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, made it needful for that Apostle to correct the mistake. The prevalent notion that it would soon take place, could not but have been confirmed by St. Peter's words in the first Epistle, "the end of all things is at hand;" he, too, even on mere human considerations, might have judged it necessary to guard against the ill effects of such an apprehension. If it should turn out that the coming of the Lord was not so near as was expected, he might naturally fear that doubts such as he contemplates would arise, and he would quite as naturally guard against them. His providing against such doubts, so reasonably to be anticipated, does not therefore justly afford suspicion of a prediction after the event.

"What is said of the origin of the world from water, and its destruction by fire, does not correspond with the simplicity and practical spirit of the apostolic doctrine, but rather indicates the spirit of a later age, mingling much that was foreign with the religious interest." The origin of the world from water exists in the Epistle only by a particular interpretation of 2 Pet. iii. 5, which may quite as fairly be interpreted as describing the circumstances of the deluge, in connexion with which the words are used. And where this interpretation is free from all reference to what is foreign to the subject under consideration, it is reasonably to be preferred, and it is most unfair to adopt a meaning not rendered necessary by the words themselves, and less proper to the occasion, for the sake of the objection derived from such an interpretation. As for the destruction of the world by fire, it certainly is not foreign to the writer's purpose, but the very ground of the exhortation he is enforcing, while the references to that element in St. Paul's intimations of the Saviour's coming to judgment, and elsewhere in the New Testament, shew that the idea was not foreign to the apostolic teaching.

"A collection of all the Pauline Epistles is referred to, and it is assumed that Paul in all of them referred to one subject which yet by no means appears in all." The existence of such a collection is by no means necessarily implied in the reference to them. The writer and his readers may have been acquainted with them separately, and all of the latter not even acquainted with all. That a sylloge of sacred writings did exist at so late a period is, however, by no means unlikely. That the Churches to which St. Paul wrote interchanged his Epistles, may be gathered from his own directions in Col. iv. 16, and those who had it thus in their power would doubtless begin at once to make a collection of them, with what degree of completeness would depend

upon circumstances. Various collections, more or less complete, would soon be in the hands of Christians in various places; and these by means of the communications between Christians in different countries would soon give rise to an entire collection. If St. Peter were acquainted with such a collection, he would more naturally attribute to all the Epistles, as a collection, the mention of a subject, which may be but slightly touched on in some, and not at all in one; the second coming of Christ not being at all adverted to in the Epistle to the Galatians. But even if there were no such collection, the subject is of sufficiently frequent occurrence in St. Paul's Epistles to justify its being described in a general way, as a subject on which he spoke in all his Epistles.

The last objection is that "Paul's Epistles are quoted as *γράφαί*, as one Apostle would certainly not have expressed himself respecting the Epistles of another Apostle, for this term in the Apostolic Epistles is always used only to designate the writings of the Old Testament." This is a gratuitous assumption inasmuch as there is no other instance in which one Apostle makes express mention of the writings of another, and it is therefore impossible to say what might have been done, in case more frequent instances occurred, or what one Apostle would not have done in speaking of the Epistles of another. St. Jude does indeed refer to the prediction of the false teachers of whom St. Peter gave warning, copying to some extent the very words of St. Peter, but he does this just as he would have referred to a prophecy of the Old Testament, Jude 4, and he commends, v. 17, the words of the Apostles mentioned in 2 Pet. iii. 2, in such a manner as to stamp with his approval this latter Apostle's reference to them, in which they are ranked with the words spoken before by the holy prophets. And, in fact, the Apostles generally claim for their writings as ample respect as could possibly be paid to the Scriptures of the Old Testament. It is worthy also of observation that though the *ἱερὰ γράμματα*, which St. Paul praised Timothy for knowing from a child, were doubtless the Old Testament Scriptures, yet not content with saying that these were able to make wise unto salvation through faith in Christ, he adds a commendation of Scripture in a general form, as if designedly to include all inspired writings, such as he certainly considered his own to be; *πάντα γραφή θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος κ.τ.λ.*, "every inspired writing is also profitable," as in the Vulgate, *omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata utilis est*, and in the Syriac, ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܠܠܐ ܕܝܠܠܐ ܕܝܠܠܐ, "scripture which is written by the Spirit." Though St. James corrects an abuse of St. Paul's statements on the subject of justification in the Epistle to the

Romans, he makes no allusion whatever to that Epistle, and may not even have had it in view, but only some current expressions which may have been in circulation, whether or not reputed to have been derived from St. Paul. A prevalent notion that some difference of opinion existed between St. Peter and St. Paul, would naturally make the former ready to shew his entire adherence to the views of the latter. Finding it needful to express his dissent from some perversions of his writings, he would avoid the appearance of imputing to him the blame of writing in a rash or an obscure manner, by intimating that the other sacred writings were liable to be wrested in the same way. If he believed St. Paul to have written by inspiration, there was no reason why he should not class his Epistles with the other Scriptures, the perversion of which no less than St. Paul's statements of the Christian doctrine, exempted him from any disparagement on the ground that he had written some things hard to be understood.

We have thus gone through the several objections which are collected by Neander, feeling confident that their weakness is sufficiently manifest. It only remains now to advert to the Apocryphal writings and sayings attributed to St. Peter, a brief survey of which will, we think, tend to confirm the genuineness of the canonical Epistle, by the comparative facility with which the spuriousness of the really apocryphal writings may be made apparent, and the firmness with which the former stands the test of an examination which the latter will not bear.

XI. It would be entirely beside the purpose which we have had in view in these papers to enter into particulars respecting the history of the apocryphal writings and sayings ascribed to St. Peter, the testimonies of antiquity in reference to them, or the opinions about them that learned men have entertained. Our object is served by ascertaining what evidence these remains themselves afford in regard to their pretended authorship. We need not say that the reader will find both the remains themselves, and ample information about them, in Grabe's *Spicilegium SS. Patrum*, the *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti* of Fabricius, Jones's *New Method of Settling the Canon of the New Testament*, and the *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, by Tischendorf.

The first of these apocryphal writings which claims our attention, and certainly the most respectable, is the *Κήρυγμα Πέτρον*, the principal remains of which are to be found as quotations in the works of Clement of Alexandria, who cites it as an authentic record of St. Peter's preaching, if not rather as a genuine work of that Apostle himself. The earliest reference to it by

Clement is in *Strom.* i., p. 357 A. Ed. Sylburg.; and again in ii., p. 390 A., in both of which places St. Peter is represented as in the *Κήρυγμα* calling the Saviour *Νόμος* and *Λόγος*. This is also to be found in the *Ἐκλογαὶ ἐκ τῶν προφητικῶν*, p. 809 B., where Isaiah is also quoted as applying the same names to the Saviour; *νόμος καὶ λόγος αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ λέγεται, ὡς Πέτρος ἐν κηρύγματι καὶ ὁ προφήτης, Ἐκ γὰρ Σιών ἐξελεύσεται νόμος, καὶ λόγος Κυρίου ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ.* Now, in regard to this reference where the words of the *Κήρυγμα* itself are not given, it is hard to form any judgment. At the same time, judging by the canonical Epistles, the application of these terms to Christ does not appear in accordance with the spirit of St. Peter's writings. The personal *λόγος* is not mentioned in either Epistle, and where the Apostle seems to approach nearest to such use of the word, 1 Pet. i. 23, *διὰ λόγου ζώντος Θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, he immediately uses *ῥήμα* as its equivalent. He does not once use *νόμος* in any sense, much less in a manner so unlike his in-artificial style. We think it will presently appear that the writer of the *Κήρυγμα* was a person thoroughly familiar with St. Paul's writings, and continually reproduced the Pauline ideas with which he had imbued his mind. Such a writer, if disposed to indulge in the use of such terms as personal appellations, and to find instances of the same in the classical or sacred writings, like Clement of Alexandria himself, who, *Strom.* i. p. 356, referring to the saying of Pindar, *νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς*, adds, *ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν θέμενον τὸν νόμον διὰ τούτων ἑξακούω*, and afterwards says, *Μωσῆς δὲ φαίνεται τὸν Κύριον διαθήκην καλῶν. Ἴδου ἐγὼ, λέγων ἡ διαθήκη μου μετὰ σοῦ*,—a writer disposed to indulge in such interpretations and applications of words as personal designations, and having his mind filled with Pauline ideas and expressions, might have found much in St. Paul's Epistles to countenance such a manner of speaking. In particular, we may refer to Rom. ii. 14, *οὗτοι νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες, ἑαυτοῖς εἰσι νόμος.* He might have considered that this implies that by parity of reasoning, God is a law to those to whom his will is revealed, and Christ in particular to Christians, who are *μὴ ἄνομοι Θεῷ ἀλλ' ἔννομοι Χριστῷ*. It will presently be seen why we are disposed to think this manner of speaking was suggested to the writer by St. Paul. We now pass on to consider the next fragment of the *Κήρυγμα* which Clement has preserved.

He quotes this fragment in *Strom.*, vi., p. 635, with the design of shewing, on the authority of St. Peter, that those of the Greeks who were in highest repute knew God, *οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ περίφασιν*, that is by a kind of wide and general survey only. It will be found that the passage quoted for this purpose

is almost entirely made up of ideas and phrases suggested by the words of St. Paul. In order to make this evident, it will suffice to place the *Κήρυγμα* in one column, and the corresponding expressions of St. Paul in another alongside of it:—

Πέτρος ἐν τῷ κηρύγματι λέγει·

Γινώσκετε οὖν ὅτι εἰς Θεὸς ἐστὶν
ὃς ἀρχὴν πάντων ἐποίησεν, καὶ τέ-
λους ἐξουσίαν ἔχων·

καὶ ὁ ἀόρατος ὃς τὰ πάντα ὁρᾷ·

ἀχώρητος ὃς τὰ πάντα χωρεῖ·

ἀνεπίδεῖς, οὐ τὰ πάντα ἐπιδέεται,

καὶ δι' ὃν ἐστὶν·

ἀκατάληπτος, ἀέναος, ἀφθαρτος·

ἀποιήτος,

ὃς τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν

λόγῳ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ, τῆς γνωσ-
τικῆς γραφῆς, τουτέστι, τοῦ υἱοῦ.

Οἶδαμεν ὅτι—εἰς Θεὸς ὁ πατήρ,
ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα. 1 Cor. viii. 4, 6. ἐξ
αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ
πάντα. Rom. xi. 36.

τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου. Col. i. 15.
ἀοράτῳ μόνῳ Θεῷ. 1 Tim. i. 17.
ὃν εἶδεν οὐδεὶς, οὐδὲ ἰδεῖν δύναται.
1 Tim. vi. 16.

τοῦ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου.
Eph. i. 23.

οὐδὲ—προσδεόμενός τινος, αὐτὸς
διδούς πᾶσι—τὰ πάντα. St. Paul,
ap. Acts xvii. 25.

δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα. Heb. ii. 10. καὶ
εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα. Rom. xi. 36.

τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων, ἀφ-
θάρτῳ. 1 Tim. i. 17. τοῦ ἀφθάρ-
του Θεοῦ. Rom. i. 23.

Παῦλος—λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ Θεοί
οἱ διὰ χειρῶν γινόμενοι. Acts xix.
26.

ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ
πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ. St. Paul, ap.
Acts xvii. 24.

υἱῷ, δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐπο-
ησεν, ὃς—φέρων τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι
τῆς δυνάμει αὐτοῦ. Heb. i. 1—3.

εἶτα ἐπιφέρει·

Τούτον τὸν Θεὸν σέβεσθε, μὴ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

The subjoined clause, ὡς δηλονότι τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν σεβόντων Θεὸν, καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι δοκίμων, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν παντελῆ τὴν δι' υἱοῦ παράδοσιν μεμαθηκότων, is treated by Grabe and Jones as forming part of the *Κήρυγμα*. But we think it is plainly a gloss of Clement, who goes on to say, μὴ τολῶν, φησὶ, σέβεσθε, οὐκ εἶπεν, Θεὸν δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ τὸν Ἕλληνας· τὸν τρόπον τὸν τῆς σεβήσεως ἐναλλάττων τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐχὶ δὲ ἄλλον καταγγέλλων. And then he plainly shews what was the sequence of the *Κήρυγμα* by adding, τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, αὐτὸς διασαφήσει Πέτρος ἐπιφέρον, ὅτι κ.τ.λ. We shall, therefore, resume the extract from the *Κήρυγμα* as follows:—

Τούτον τὸν Θεὸν σέβεσθε μὴ κατὰ
τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ὅτι ἀγνοοῖα φερόμενοι
καὶ μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν Θεόν,

ὡς ἡμεῖς κατὰ τὴν γνῶσιν τὴν τε-
λείαν,
ἣν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς [ἐξουσίας εἰς
χρήσιν],

Ὅν οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε. St.
Paul, Acts xvii. 23. διὰ τὴν ἀγ-
νοίαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς. Eph. iv.
18. τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσι Θεόν. 2 Thess.
i. 8.

πάντες γνῶσιν ἔχομεν. 1 Cor.
viii. 1.

τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φανερόν
ἐστίν ἐν αὐτοῖς· ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς αὐτοῖς
ἐφάνερώσε. Rom. i. 19.

These latter words seem manifestly to be corrupt. Jones considers the ἣν relative to γνῶσιν, and translates "with that perfect knowledge which he gave them the power of using." It is enough to say in reference to this rendering, that it is not the translation of the words as they stand, which signify "for the use of power," not "the power of using." Grabe, following the older Latin translation, makes ἣν relative to ἐξουσίας following, which is rendered as if it were ἐξουσία, or δι' ἐξουσίας, *potestate quam dedit iis ad usum*. But besides the necessity of changing the case of ἐξουσίας, or supplying a preposition, the juxtaposition of ἣν with τελείαν, without a colon or full-stop, and the repetition of τὴν before τελείαν, τὴν γνῶσιν τὴν τελείαν, ἣν, would seem to necessitate our taking ἣν as relative to γνῶσιν. The text being evidently corrupt, we will venture to shift the comma back from χρήσιν to αὐτοῖς, and to divide ἐξουσίας into two words ἐξ οὐσίας, to be construed, together with εἰς χρήσιν, with the succeeding words. In this construction οὐσία will have something of the sense of φύσις, as an equivalent to which a reference to Sulzer will shew that it was frequently used by ecclesiastical writers. By this means also a preposition will be provided to govern the succeeding ὕλης and χρήσεως, which will then stand in apposition with οὐσίας. Accordingly we resume the extract as follows:—

Ἐξ οὐσίας εἰς χρήσιν μορφώσαν-
τες ξύλα καὶ λίθους, χαλκὸν καὶ σί-
δηρον, χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρον, τῆς ὕλης
αὐτῶν καὶ χρήσεως, τὰ δοῦλα τῆς
ὑπάρξεως ἀναστήσαντες σέβονται·

καὶ ἃ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς εἰς βρώσιν
ὁ Θεός, πετεινὰ τοῦ ἀέρος, καὶ τῆς
θαλάσσης τὰ νηκτᾶ, καὶ τῆς γῆς τὰ
ἐρπετὰ καὶ τὰ θηρία σὺν κτηνεσι
τετραπόδοις τοῦ ἀγροῦ, γαλαῖα τε καὶ
μῆλα, αἰλούρους τε καὶ κύνας καὶ πιθή-
κους, καὶ τὰ ἴδια βρώματα βροτοῖς
θύματα θύουσιν· καὶ νεκρὰ νεκροῖς
προσφέροντες ὡς θεοῖς,

οὐκ ὀφείλομεν νομίζειν χρυσῷ
ἢ ἀργύρῳ ἢ λίθῳ—τὸ θεῖον εἶναι
ὅμοιον. St. Paul, Acts xvii. 29.

ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ
κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα. Rom. i. 25.

ἤλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου
Θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιωματι εἰκόνας φθαρτοῦ
ἀνθρώπου καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τετρα-
πόδων καὶ ἐρπετῶν. Rom. i. 23.

ἃ θύει τὰ ἔθνη δαιμονίοις θύει καὶ
οὐ Θεῷ. 1 Cor. x. 20.

ἀχαριστοῦσι τῷ Θεῷ,

διὰ τούτων ἀρνούμενοι αὐτὸν εἶναι.

Ἐξ οὐσίας εἰς χρήσιν μορφώσαντες, may be compared, as regards the manner of expression, with μετήλλαξαν τὴν φυσικὴν χρήσιν. Rom. i. 26.

Another passage is then introduced, evidently the sequel of the preceding, which commenced with τούτον τὸν Θεὸν σέβεσθε, μὴ κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλληνας,—

Μηδὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σέβεσθε, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μόνῳ οἰόμενοι τὸν Θεὸν γινώσκειν, οὐκ ἐπίστανται,

λατρεύοντες ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀρχαγγέλοις,

μὴνὶ καὶ σελήνῃ, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σελήνῃ φανῇ, σάββατον οὐκ ἄγουσι τὸ λεγόμενον πρῶτον· οὐδὲ νεομηνίαν ἄγουσιν, οὔτε ἄζυμα, οὔτε ἑορτήν, οὔτε μεγάλην ἡμέραν.

The conclusion of the extract is then introduced with these words, εἰτα τὸν κολοφῶνα τοῦ ζητουμένου προσεπιφέρει :—

Ὡστε καὶ ὑμεῖς ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως μανθανόντες,

ἀπαρτιδίδομεν ὑμῖν φυλάσσεσθε,

καινῶς τὸν Θεὸν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σεβόμενοι·

εὖρομεν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, καθὼς ὁ Κύριος λέγει· Ἰδοὺ διατίθεμαι ὑμῖν καινὴν διαθήκην, οὐκ ὡς διεθέμην τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν ἐν ὄρει Χωρήβ.

Νέαν ἡμῖν διέθετο· τὰ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἰουδαίων παλαιά.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ καινῶς αὐτὸν τρίτῳ γένει σεβόμενοι, χριστιανοί.

οὐκ ὡς Θεὸν ἐδόξασαν ἡ εὐχαρίστησαν. Rom. i. 21.

μετήλλαξαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ψεύδει. Rom. i. 25.

Μὴ προσέχοντες Ἰουδαϊκοῖς μύθοις. Tit. i. 14.

Θεὸν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἰδέναι, τοῖς δὲ ἔργοις ἀρνούνται. Tit. i. 16.

μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς καταβραβεύετω, θέλων ἐν—θρησκείᾳ τῶν ἀγγέλων. Col. ii. 18.

μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς κρινέτω—ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς, ἢ νομηνίας, ἢ σαββάτων. Col. ii. 16.

Οὐκ οὕτως ἐμάθετε τὸν Χριστόν, —ἀποθέσθαι ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ. Eph. iv. 21, 22.

κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις ἃς ἐδιδάχθητε. 2 Thess. ii. 15.

ὥστε δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος. Rom. vii. 6.

μεμφόμενος γὰρ αὐτοῖς λέγει—Ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, λέγει Κύριος—καὶ συντελέσω—διαθήκην καινὴν—οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην ἣν ἐποίησα τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κ.τ.λ.—ἐν τῷ λέγειν καινὴν πεπαλαίνωκε τὴν πρώτην. Heb. viii. 8, 9, 13.

These last words, if not the previous sentence beginning with νέαν, are, we think, a gloss by Clement himself, though not treated so by the Editor or Grabe; for Clement proceeds to justify the remark, by adding, σαφῶς γὰρ, οἶμαι, ἐδήλωσεν κ.τ.λ. It is evident that the passage thus quoted by Clement from the *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, so far from bearing any resemblance to what we know of St. Peter's genuine remains, are

the composition of some person whose mind was filled with phrases and ideas derived from St. Paul's Epistles, and from the Epistle to the Hebrews, a writing of the Pauline school at any rate, which he appears to have uttered without reference to the Epistles, but from memory, the expressions being sometimes somewhat differently applied.

Clement proceeds to quote, if not the words, at least the substance of another passage of the *Κήρυγμα*, stating that he, namely, St. Peter, further shewed that the same God, who was the author of the two Covenants, had also given philosophy to the Greeks; πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Θεὸς ἀμφοῖν ταῖν διαθήκαιν χορηγὸς, ὁ καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φιλοσοφίας δωτὴρ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, δι' ἧς ὁ παντοκράτωρ παρ' Ἑλλήσι δοξάζεται, παρέστησεν. We need not say that there is nothing in the canonical remains of St. Peter with which this might be paralleled; but it might have been easily derived from Rom. i. 19, τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φανερόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἐφάνέρωσε τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα κ.τ.λ., coupled with what is said in the second chapter about the work of the law written in the hearts of the Gentiles. It might, also, have been supposed from 1 Cor. i. 21, ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔγνω ὁ κόσμος διὰ τῆς σοφίας τὸν Θεόν, that though the world had failed by its wisdom to know God, that wisdom was still the wisdom of God, his gift to the Greeks who sought after wisdom. He goes on then to say, that as God had given the prophets to the Jews for their salvation, so he had raised up for the Greeks the most excellent amongst them as prophets, so far as they were capable of receiving the benefit. In support of this, he adduces an apocryphal saying of St Paul, πρὸς τῷ Πέτρῳ κηρύγματι. Whether this means, in addition to what he had just cited from the *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, or that this saying of St. Paul, appealing to the Sibylline verses and Hystaspes, was to be found in the *Κήρυγμα*, we need not dwell on the saying itself, as it is not attributed to St. Peter. It is succeeded, however, by another saying attributed to St. Peter, which is as follows:—φησὶν ὁ Πέτρος εἰρηκέναι τὸν Κύριον τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν τις θελήσῃ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ μετανοῆσαι διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματός μου [καὶ] πιστεῦειν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν, ἀφεθήσονται αὐτῷ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐξέλθετε εἰς τὸν κόσμον, μὴ τις εἴπῃ, οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν. In this passage, Grabe has justly placed the stop as above at ἁμαρτίαι, instead of at ἔτη, as previously printed. The absurdity of supposing that forgiveness of a penitent Israelite was to be deferred for twelve years, as well as the tradition preserved by Apollonius,^a that the

^a *Ap. Eusebium*, v. 18.

Lord commanded the Apostles not to depart from Jerusalem for twelve years, shews that the change was necessary. Whatever value we may attach to the tradition that our Saviour commanded the Apostles not to leave Jerusalem, or rather as we should say, Judea, for twelve years, a tradition, perhaps, founded on the command to begin at Jerusalem in their preaching of the Gospel, coupled with the fact that they really do appear not to have gone out into the world for so long, the reason assigned for the command, in the passage of the *Κήρυγμα* quoted by Clement, seems plainly derived from Rom. x. 14, 18, *Πῶς δὲ πιστεύουσιν οὐ οὐκ ἤκουσαν; Πῶς δὲ ἀκούσουσι χωρὶς κηρύσσοντος;—ἀλλὰ λέγω, Μὴ οὐκ ἤκουσαν; Μενούγγε εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξηλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν.* Thus the Pauline resemblance is kept up here also.

In p. 639 Clement represents St. Peter as saying in the *Κήρυγμα*, that our Lord, after his resurrection, had said to the disciples, *ἐξελεξάμην ὑμᾶς δώδεκα μαθητὰς, κρίνας ἄξιους ἐμοῦ.* The apocryphal character of this saying may be inferred from the consideration that our Lord would never have addressed the eleven after his resurrection as *δώδεκα ὑμᾶς*, with a special commendation of their worthiness, one of the twelve having proved himself unworthy, and the Saviour himself having long before said in almost the same words, *οὐκ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς τοὺς δώδεκα ἐξελεξάμην καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν εἰς διάβολός ἐστιν;* It is true that after the resurrection we read of "Thomas, one of the twelve," but this refers to the body, as originally constituted, without any reference to character. The same may be said of St. Paul's statement, that our Lord, after his resurrection, was seen of the twelve, where the familiar name of the Apostolic body was used. But the case is different when the Lord is represented as saying not even *ὑμᾶς τοὺς δώδεκα*, but *δώδεκα ὑμᾶς*, with special commendation of their faithfulness.

We now come to a passage, the last preserved by Clement, which alone bears any resemblance to anything in St. Peter's canonical writings, if we except the slight similarity between the expression *διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματός μου πιστεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν*, in the extract given last but one, and 1 Pet. i. 21, *τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστεύοντας εἰς Θεόν.* In p. 678, having spoken of the use of figurative language by the prophets who foretold the coming of Christ and the mysteries of the Gospel, and remarked that our Lord's disciples used parables as well as himself, he introduces St. Peter as speaking of himself and the other Apostles as follows:—*Ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῷ κηρύγματι περὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων λέγων φησὶν· Ἐμεῖς δὲ ἀναπτύξαντες τὰς βίβλους, ὡς εἶχομεν τῶν προφητῶν, ἃ μὲν διὰ παραβολῶν, ἃ δὲ δι' αἰνυγμάτων, ἃ δὲ*

αὐθεντικῶς καὶ αὐτολεξεὶ τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ὀνομαζόντων, εὐρομεν καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν θάνατον, καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς κολάσεις πάσας, ὅσας ἐποίησαν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν, καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανούς ἀνάληψιν, πρὸ τοῦ Ἱεροσόλυμα κτισθῆναι, καθὼς ἐγγέγραπτο· Ταῦτα πάντα ἂ ἔδει αὐτὸν παθεῖν, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἂ ἔσται. Ταῦτα οὖν ἐπυγνόντες ἐπιστεύσαμεν τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τῶν γεγραμμένων εἰς αὐτὸν. He says that he presently adds, ἔγνωμεν γάρ, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὰ προσέταξεν ὄντως, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄτερ γραφῆς λέγομεν. Jones is quite mistaken in supposing that predictions such as those of the Sibylline verses are here intended. The connexion in which the passage is introduced, and the reference to Scripture at the conclusion, plainly shew that the Old Testament prophecies were intended, and we think it pretty manifest that the writer had in his mind 1 Pet. i. 10, 11, in which the searching into the date and circumstances of the time to which the predictions of the prophets referred, might have suggested the mention of the parables and enigmas in which some of the predicted particulars were expressed. But, on the other hand, the *ἂ δὲ αὐθεντικῶς καὶ αὐτολεξεὶ τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ὀνομαζόντων* is far from being conceived in the spirit of the same passage of St. Peter's first Epistle, and such as the Apostle himself would scarcely have said. The quotation *ταῦτα πάντα ἂ ἔδει αὐτὸν παθεῖν, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἂ ἔσται* seems also derived from the same passage of the first Epistle, *τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα, καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας*. But we may be sure St. Peter himself would never have thought of referring to his own words in so needless a way, and introducing the reference by *καθὼς ἐγγέγραπτο*. The words *πρὸ τοῦ Ἱεροσόλυμα κτισθῆναι* are also an evident mark of the apocryphal character of the extract. The supposition that the new Jerusalem is here intended, is quite unwarrantable, and Grabe would scarcely have imagined it, except to get rid of the absurdity of saying that the particulars of our Saviour's history and passion had been predicted before the building of Jerusalem. This, however, seems to be the only meaning which can reasonably be assigned to the words, and we may be sure St. Peter would never have referred the more exact and minute predictions relating to Christ, such as are found in the Psalms and later prophets, to a period prior to the building of Jerusalem. The notion, also, that the Apostles had become believers from observing the agreement between the prophecies and the particulars of our Saviour's sufferings, resurrection and ascension, is contrary to the fact that their faith had been established by the miracles before these events took place at all, and afterwards by the fact of the resurrection itself. It could surely not have found expression

in the lips of that Apostle, who had himself, before those events, witnessed the good confession which obtained for him the testimony *tu es Petrus*, however their faith may have been confirmed when the Saviour "opened their understanding, that they might understand the Scripture, and said unto them, thus it is written," *καὶ οὕτως ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν*. Thus the apocryphal character of the extract of the *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, which bears almost the only resemblance to the canonical writings of St. Peter is no less evident than that of the passages that are plainly derived from St. Paul's Epistles.

These are all the remains of this writing preserved by Clement. Two or three other sentences supposed to belong to it are extant. One of these is a saying quoted by Gregory of Nazianzum,^a *Κάμνουσα ψυχὴ ἐγγὺς ἐστὶ Θεοῦ, φησί που θαυμασιώτατα λέγων ὁ Πέτρος*. Gregory does not say from what writing ascribed to St. Peter this saying is taken; the expression *φησί που* implies that he did not recollect from what source it was derived, and only quoted the words from memory. We have already noticed in our former paper on St. Peter's Epistles the metrical sound of the words, which a slight emendation restores to a perfect iambic:—

Ψυχὴ δὲ κάμνους' ἐγγὺς ἐστὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

And considering that Gregory was not sure of the source from whence they were taken, and that the commendation, *θαυμασιώτατα λέγων*, was more likely to be given to a profane writer, in whose mouth such a saying would be more remarkable than in a Christian's, we venture on another emendation, and suggest that *ὁ ποιήτης* should be read instead of *ὁ Πέτρος*. Ignatius^b has *ἐγγὺς μαχαίρας ἐγγὺς Θεοῦ, μεταξὺ θηρίων μεταξὺ Θεοῦ*. But the form of Gregory's quotation forbids our supposing that it was derived from this.

There is another quotation alleged to be taken from St. Peter by Gregory, which his commentator, Nicetas,^c says was taken from the Apostolical Constitutions, but which does not at present exist in any part of them. But as it is given more fully by J. Damascenus as from the *Doctrina Petri*, it is probably from the *Κήρυγμα*. Grabe, l. c., gives the passage as quoted by J. Damascenus, as follows:—*Πλούσιος ἐκείνός ἐστιν ὁ πολλοὺς ἐλεῶν, καὶ ὁ κατὰ Θεοῦ μίμησιν ἐπιδιδούς, ἐξ ὧν ἔχει. Θεὸς γὰρ πάντα πᾶσιν ἔδωκεν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων. Σύνετε δὴ πλούσιοι ὅτι διακονεῖν ὀφείλετε, λαβόντες πλείονα ὧν αὐτοὶ χρῆζετε. Μάθετε ὅτι ἐτέροις λείπει τὰ ὑμῶν περισσεύοντα· αἰσχύνητε κατ-*

^b *Epist. prior ad Cæsar. frat. Ap.* Grabe, i., p. 70.

^c *Ad Smyrn.*, iv.

^d Grabe, i., pp. 70, 71.

έχοντες άλλότρια· μιμήσασθε ισότητα Θεού, και ούδεις έσται πένης. This passage might also be paralleled with some sentences in St. Paul's Epistles, though the resemblance is not so striking as in the passages already considered. It may allowed to stand or fall with the rest, as may also the last sentence supposed to be from the *Κήρυγμα*, which Œcumenius^e quotes in reference to what St. James says of "the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man." He says that, if while others pray for us, we give ourselves up to evil, we counteract the efficacy of their prayers, και γίνεται έφ' ημίν το του μακαρίου Πέτρου. Είς οικοδομών και εις καθαιρών, ούδεν ωφέλησεν η κόπους. This sentence will remind the reader of St. Paul's words in Gal. ii. 18, though they are differently applied; ει γάρ α κατέλυσα ταύτα πάλιν οικοδομώ, παραβάτην έμαντον συνίστημι. These are all the remains of the *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου* preserved in the original Greek.

In the preface to Origen's work, *περι αρχών*, as translated by Ruffinus, mention is made of the *Doctrina Petri*, which was doubtless the same as the *Κήρυγμα*, in which we are informed that our Saviour is represented as saying to the disciples, *quod non sit demonium incorporeum*. This saying is also to be found among the fragments of another apocryphal writing, the Gospel of the Nazarenes, as well as in the epistle to the Smyrnæans of Ignatius, who is supposed by Jerome^f to have borrowed it from that Gospel, though Eusebius says he does not know whence he derived it. The words of the Gospel, as translated by Jerome, are as follow:—*Ego vero et post resurrectionem eum in carne vidi, et credo quia sit, et quando venit ad Petrum et ad eos qui cum Petro erant, dixit eis: Ecce palpate me et videte, quia non sum demonium incorporeale; et statim tetigerunt eum et crediderunt.* The words of Ignatius himself^g are thus:—*έγω γάρ και μετά την ανάστασιν έν σαρκί αυτον οίδα και πιστεύω οντα. Και οτε προς τους περι Πέτρον ηλθεν, έφη αυτοίς· λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με, και ιδετε, οτι ούκ είμι δαιμόνιον ασώματον. Και εύθις αυτού ηήσαντο και έπίστευσαν, κρατωθέντες τη σαρκί αυτού και τώ Πνεύματι.* Now, we think it plain that Ignatius did not borrow this from the Gospel of the Nazarenes. If he borrowed at all, it was not merely the saying that the Lord was not *δαιμόνιον ασώματον*, but the entire passage from *έγω γάρ*, and it is impossible to suppose that Ignatius should have taken what purports to be a statement of personal observation by the writer of the Gospel, and adopted it as an expression of his own experience. If he wished to state his own personal knowledge and belief, he did not need to adopt the language of another writer expressing his personal observation.

^e Ap. Grabe, i. p. 72.

^f Cat. Eccl. Script. in Ignat.

^g Epist. ad Smyrn. iii.

Nor could Ignatius have supposed that *οἶδα* represented any Hebrew or Syriac word that might have been rendered *vidi* by Jerome, while, on the contrary, the writer or an interpolator of the Hebrew Gospel, imperfectly acquainted with Greek, might naturally have supposed that the *οἶδα* of Ignatius, as a form of *εἶδω*, might be translated by the word which required *vidi* in Jerome's translation. It is evident that all are the original words of Ignatius down to the saying which is attributed to our Lord, which doubtless was current as part of the traditional Gospel, or formed part of one of the many written narratives which, as we learn from St. Luke, must have been in circulation. Why Ignatius chose to quote the Saviour's words in this form in preference to that given by St. Luke is plain enough. In the preceding chapter, referring to those who said that our Lord suffered only in appearance, he had just said, λέγουσιν τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονηθῆναι, αὐτοὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ὄντες· καθὼς φρονούσιν καὶ συμβήσεται αὐτοῖς, οὖσιν ἄσωμάτοις καὶ δαιμονικοῖς. Whether Ignatius adopted this latter word of himself, for the sake of its double meaning, or it had already been employed, as we might infer from the words καθὼς φρονούσιν, by people of docetic notions, to illustrate the supposed incorporeal nature of the Saviour's manifestation on earth, there is no doubt that the word would naturally occur to persons of a philosophizing tendency, to whom the *δαίμων* of Socrates might seem to offer an apt illustration. Then there is undoubted evidence that the word was used to denote the soul or disembodied spirit of man, as in *Æsch.*, *Eum.* 297, ἀναίματον βόσκημα, δαιμόνων σκιά, *Eustath. ap. Steph.*, *Thes.*, δαίμων ἐνταυθα ἡ ψυχὴ, κατὰ τοὺς ὕστερον σοφοὺς, δι δαίμονα καὶ τὴν ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχὴν ἔλεγον, *Lucian*, *De Luctu*, ἔασον ἀναπαύσασθαι τοῦ μακαρίτου δαίμονας, where the word answers to the Latin *manes*, in imitation of which the plural form has apparently been used. *Josephus* (*Bel. Jud.* vii. 63) says τὰ γὰρ καλούμενα δαιμόνια, ταῦτα δὲ πονηρῶν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα, τοῖς ζῶσιν εἰσδύόμενα, κ.τ.λ. It is probably only with reference to their possessing living people that he speaks of them as the souls of wicked men. In *Luke* iv. 33, πνεῦμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτον answers to πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον in *Mark* i. 23. The adjective with *δαιμόνιον* in the one case, as with *πνεῦμα* in the other, shews that by itself the former denotes a good or evil spirit indifferently just as the latter, though as it was only evil spirits that possessed other people, the word was usually taken in an ill sense in the Gospels. Ignatius, on account of this acceptance in a bad sense, used the adjective *δαιμονικοῖς*, whether it had been employed by the Docetæ themselves or not; and then,

having used this word, he would naturally be led to quote the Lord's words after his resurrection in the form of *δαιμόνιον ἄσώματον*, instead of the simple *πνεῦμα* of Luke xxiv. 39, either being an adequate representative of the Syriac word actually used by Christ himself. And so in the Syriac version of this passage of Ignatius as quoted by Eusebius (see Cureton's *Ignatius*, p. 59), *δαιμόνιον ἄσώματον* is translated ܕܝܡܘܢܝܘܢ ܐܨܘܡܬܝܢ, the word for *πνεῦμα* in the Syriac version of Luke xxiv. 39, being also ܐܨܘܡܬܝܢ. The expression *δαιμόνιον ἄσώματον* seems to have been in familiar use with persons who speculated on such subjects. Thus in Clement's *Ἐπιτομαὶ ἐκ τῶν Θεοδότου*, p. 791 D.:—τὰ δαιμόνια ἄσώματα εἶρηται, οὐκ ὡς σῶμα μὴ ἔχοντα ἔχει γὰρ καὶ σχῆμα—ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς σύγκρισιν τῶν σωζομένων σωμάτων πνευματικῶν σκία ὄντα, ἄσώματα εἶρηται. And again, p. 800 B., τοῦ πυρὸς τὸ μὲν σωματικόν, σωμάτων ἄπτεται πάντων· τὸ δὲ καθαρὸν καὶ ἄσώματον, ἄσωμάτων φασὶν ἄπτεσθαι, οἷον δαιμόνων. The writer of the *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου* may have borrowed the saying of our Lord in this form from Ignatius himself, whose manner of describing the assembled disciples, as they were standing about St. Peter and listening to his account of the Lord's appearance to him, τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον, would have suggested that this was some special communication to St. Peter in particular, and therefore suitable to be introduced into his account of that Apostle's teaching; or else it may have been derived from the Gospel of the Nazarenes, into which it crept from Ignatius. That the latter is more probable will presently appear, as it will be seen that there are other points of resemblance between this Gospel and the *Doctrina Petri*, if, as it appears, the reference to which we now proceed to advert is to that document.

The treatise *De Rebaptismate*, printed with the works of Cyprian, condemns as spurious a book which it calls *Pauli Prædicatio*. Rigaltius substitutes *Petri* for *Pauli*; but the change was unnecessary, as we shall see reason to think that the names of both Apostles were included in the original title of the *Κήρυγμα*, which being sometimes for brevity called after St. Peter only, may also have been sometimes named in like manner after St. Paul alone. However this may have been, the particulars which the anonymous author cites from amongst the many absurd and shameless inventions with which he says it abounds, are justly relied on by him as proving the spuriousness of the work. One of these instances is that it represents our Lord *contra omnes Scripturas, et de peccato proprio confitentem, qui solus omnino nihil deliquit, et ad accipiendum Johannis baptismi pene invitum a matre sua Mariâ compulsus*. This coincides with an extract from the Gospel of the Nazarenes, which

Jerome^a has given as follows :—*Ecce mater Domini et fratres ejus dicebant ei, Joannes Baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum, eamus ut baptizemur ab eo; dixit autem eis, Quid peccavi, ut vadam et baptizer ab eo? nisi forte hoc ipsum quod dixi ignorantia est.* It will be observed that what in the Gospel is equivalent to a denial of having sinned, except on the supposition of an ignorance which it might be alleged was, notwithstanding, not admitted, seems improved in the *Prædicatio* into an actual confession of sin. Another particular mentioned by this author is the fire seen upon the water at the time of the Saviour's baptism, a circumstance mentioned by Justin Martyr also. Our author says it was mentioned in no Gospel; in none of the canonical Gospels he probably meant, as the Ebionite Gospel, a corrupted form of the Gospel of the Nazarenes, or from which the latter was derived, makes mention, according to Epiphaniusⁱ, that after our Lord's baptism and the descent of the Spirit in the form of a dove and the voice from heaven, εὐθὺς περιέλαμψε τὸν τόπον φῶς μέγα. This mention of the light at the time of our Lord's baptism affords another indication that there existed some connexion between the Gospel of the Nazarenes and the *Prædicatio Petri*. The third particular mentioned by this treatise as contained in the *Prædicatio* is that St. Peter and St. Paul, *post conlationem evangelii in Hierusalem, et mutuam alterationem, et rerum agendarum dispositionem, postremo in Urbe quasi tunc primum invicem sibi esse cognitos.* In Rome is meant of course by *in Urbe*, and this alone would suffice to shew the apocryphal character of the writing to which it belongs.

Lastly, Lactantius^j tells us that *Petrus et Paulus Romæ prædicaverunt, et ea prædicatio in memoriam scripta permansit.* He says that, amongst other remarkable particulars, *alia mira*, they told, *ut post breve tempus immitteret Deus regem, qui expugnaret Judæos et civitates eorum solo adæquaret, ipsos autem fame sitique confectos obsideret. Tum fore, ut corporibus suorum vescerentur, et consumerent se invicem. Postremo ut capti venirent in manus hostium; et in conspectu suo vexari acerbissime conjuges suas cernerent, et violari et prostitui virgines; diripi pueros; allidi parvulos; omnia denique igni ferroque vastari; captivos in perpetuum terris suis exterminari; eo quod exultaverint super aman- tissimum et probatissimum Dei filium.* It is more marvellous that Lactantius should have classed this alleged prediction with the *alia mira* contained in this report of the Apostles' preaching, than that they, or any ordinary person acquainted with our Lord's prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem during the life-time of t

^a *Adv. Pel.*, b. 3, ap. Jones, vol. i., p. 244.

ⁱ *Hæc.*, xxx., *Ebion.*, 15

^j *Institutionum*, iv. 21.

then existing generation, and knowing the customary horrors of the siege and capture of a great city, should have anticipated the fulfilment of the Saviour's prophecy as just at hand, and described it in terms such as Lactantius has thought it worth while to repeat.

We have thus gone through all that has remained of the so-called *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, and have discussed it at length, as it was certainly regarded with respect by some of the ancients, and is supposed by Grabe to contain a true report of St. Peter's preaching, composed by one of his disciples soon after his decease. We think we have shewn its spurious character by sufficient evidence, and on grounds mainly different from those relied on by Jones. The passage of Lactantius, in which the preaching of the two Apostles is spoken of as if reported conjointly, and the mention of the *Prædicatio Pauli* in the anonymous work *De Rebaptismate*, coupled with the comparison we have instituted between so much of the *Κήρυγμα* and the New Testament writings, will probably suggest to the reader the true nature and origin of the work. Some person, familiar with the New Testament writings, and more particularly with the Epistles of St. Paul, resolved to compose a book which should purport to contain a conspectus of the preaching of the two Apostles. Whether or not he was possessed of any traditional reminiscences of their oral teaching, as many such no doubt must have been in circulation, it appears certain from what has remained of the work, that he mainly compiled it from his recollections of their canonical writings. In doing this, he had sufficient caution not to copy directly, but he freely used the phraseology and expressed the ideas which his memory supplied. And then, partly on account of the very great proportion which the Pauline Epistles bear to the two Epistles of St. Peter (and perhaps only the first was known to the writer), and partly, perhaps, from a greater familiarity with St. Paul's writings, the Pauline element came to predominate so largely as we have seen in this composition. The title having been originally *The Preaching of Peter and Paul*, the latter name may have been commonly dropped for the sake of brevity, and the work generally quoted as the *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου*. The small proportion which St. Peter's writings bear to the other parts of the New Testament would naturally predispose ecclesiastical authors to enlarge as much as possible the extent of the remains of so eminent an Apostle; and thus uncritical writers like Clement would come to quote the work as if it were mainly St. Peter's.

XII. There is extant a letter purporting to be from St. Peter to James, Bishop of Jerusalem, in reference to what he calls his *βιβλοι κηρυγμάτων*, which plural form of the title already creates a suspicion of spuriousness. This Epistle is too long for us to

copy it here; the reader will find it in Jones's work on the Canon. It assumes that St. James had got possession of these books, and earnestly entreats (*ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι*) that he would not communicate them to any one, whether a Gentile or one of their own nation, until he had well proved him and found him deserving of such a privilege; just as Moses delivered his books to the seventy elders, by means of which precaution the Jews were preserved from falling into error through the discrepancies of the Scripture, the traditions forming a rule handed down by the seventy elders for the reconciliation of such discrepancies and the right handling of the Scriptures. He recommends the like caution and secrecy with regard to his own books, in the apprehension, not founded, as he says, on any prophetic foreknowledge, but occasioned by what had already taken place, that his books would be misinterpreted; for some of the Gentiles had already rejected his teaching in favour of the observance of the law (*τὸ δι' ἐμοῦ νόμιμον κήρυγμα*) according to the teaching of a certain enemy of his, which he describes as *ἀνομον καὶ φλυαρώδη*. And he complains that some, even while he was yet living, had attempted by various interpretations to construe these discourses of his in a sense favourable to the abrogation of the law, as if he were himself of the same opinion, though he had not openly avowed it; imputing to him sentiments that he had never thought of; and if they did this with such boldness while he was yet living, what would they not do after he was gone? Accordingly, he again beseeches him to use caution after the example of Moses and the seventy, in order that men might keep the faith, interpreting everything according to his tradition. Having thus honestly told him his mind, he bids him do as he thinks well himself.

Now we may observe that St. Peter certainly never would have adduced in favour of the precaution and reserve recommended in this letter the fiction of Moses delivering his books to the seventy to be interpreted in accordance with a tradition which they were to hand down, and to be imparted only to those who should be found qualified to interpret them according to this tradition. The apprehension lest his own book should be misinterpreted and perverted, is perhaps a clumsy imitation of what is said in the second Epistle of St. Peter respecting the wresting of St. Paul's Epistles, or of some things in them that are hard to be understood, as of the other Scriptures, by the unlearned and unstable; but in a very different spirit, as is evident from the absence of any recommendation of reserve in the canonical Epistle, which on the contrary commends the prophetic Scriptures to the study of its readers, as themselves a light shining in a dark place. The Ebionite character of the letter

also a palpable evidence of its apocryphal nature. This was not the case with the *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, which, as we have seen, prohibits worshipping after the manner of the Jews no less than of the Greeks. The *δι' ἐμοῦ νόμιμον κήρυγμα* of the letter is not this work which is all through mentioned in the plural, *βιβλοι κηρυγμάτων*, but denotes the preaching of the Apostle in general, alleged to be in favour of the observance of the law. Jones is therefore mistaken in thinking that the *Κήρυγμα* was also Ebionite. The design of the letter was evidently to counteract its anti-Judaizing tendency in some quarter where it was received as genuine. It was certainly not the work of the same person as the *Κήρυγμα*, differing from it as well as from the canonical Epistles in its entire tone, style, and character.

In speaking of the extant apocryphal writings ascribed to St. Peter, it can scarcely be necessary to advert to another Epistle which bears his name, we mean that which Pope Stephen III. sent to Pepin and his sons, imploring their assistance against the Lombards. This letter, written as from the other world, and appealing to Pepin for assistance, *ne (quod absit) corpus meum, quod pro Domino Jesu Christo tormenta perpassum est, et domus mea, ubi per Dei præceptionem requiescit, ab eis contaminetur*, was only, as Fabricius thinks, a passionate and emphatic way of seeking the desired assistance; and one can scarcely suppose that Pepin believed, or Stephen intended he should believe, it was a genuine Epistle from St. Peter himself. It will suffice, therefore, to refer the reader who wishes to see the document, to Baronius, who gives it at length, *anno 755*, remarking in reference to this proceeding of the Pope, *quid enim importuna et imperiosa necessitas intentatum præterit vel inexpertum relinquit?*

XIII. Having thus dispatched the pretended Epistles, we must advert to one or two sentences of the so-called Apocalypse of St. Peter, which have been preserved by Clement of Alexandria in the *Ἐκλογαὶ ἐκ τῶν προφητικῶν*, and to which Grabe thinks we should refer the prediction of the horrors attending on the siege and destruction of Jerusalem, which, as we have seen, Lactantius ascribes to the *Prædicatio Petri et Pauli*. His reason for this evidently is, that it seems to him to afford a means of explaining some of the ridiculous sayings of the pretended Apocalypse. But a desire to humour Grabe's tenderness towards this production should not weigh against the positive testimony of so early a writer as Lactantius, who assigns the prediction to the then extant *Prædicatio*. But while we see no reason to assign this to the Apocalypse of St. Peter, we shall include in that work a sentence which has not been thought to belong to it, but is attributed by Grabe to some other apocryphal writing.

The sentence to which we refer is in p. 806 D. : ἡ γραφή φησὶ τὰ βρέφη τὰ ἐκτεθέντα τημελούχῳ παραδίδοσθαι ἀγγέλῳ, ὑφ' οὗ παιδεύεσθαι τε καὶ αὔξειν καὶ ἔσονται, φησὶν, ὡς οἱ ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν ἐνταῦθα πιστοί. We do not suppose that the latter sentence is attributed to the same Scripture as the former; the repetition of φησὶ, and the resumption presently with διὸ καὶ Πέτρος, seem to imply that it was taken from a different source, and it appears to be a *memoriter* quotation from Isaiah lxv. 20, just as the sentence which follows is succeeded by another quotation from a different source. But the first sentence we think the reader will presently see, is from the Apocalypse which the author calls *γραφὴ* equally with the authentic Scriptures. He then resumes as follows:—διὸ καὶ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει φησὶ, καὶ ἀστραπὴ πυρὸς πηδῶσα ἀπὸ τῶν βρεφῶν ἐκείνων, καὶ πλήσσοις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν γυναικῶν. Here by ἐκείνων it is evident that the βρέφη ἐκτεθέντα first spoken of are referred to, and the lightning darting from them and smiting the eyes of the women, seems to denote the glory with which they should be invested at the day of judgment, in connexion with which the quotations are introduced, which glory should then, as it were, smite the eyes of the women who had exposed them. This sentence, like the former, is then supported by a quotation from another source, and in like manner given from memory, ἐπεὶ ὁ δίκαιος ὡς σπινθὴρ διὰ καλάμης ἐκλάμπει καὶ κρινεῖ ἔθνη, taken from Sirac. iii. 7, 8. After a considerable digression, the reference to the Apocalypse is resumed thus:—αὐτίκα ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει φησὶν, τὰ βρέφη ἐξαμβλωθέντα, τῆς ἀμείνονος ἐσόμενα πείρας, ταῦτα ἀγγέλῳ τημελούχῳ παραδίδοσθαι, ἵνα γνώσεως μεταλάβοντα, τῆς ἀμείνονος τύχῃ μονῆς, παθόντα δ' ἂν ἔπαθεν καὶ ἐν σώματι γεγόμενα· τὰ δὲ ἕτερα, μονῆς τῆς σωτηρίας τεύχεται ὡς ἡδικημένα ἐληθέντα, καὶ μένει ἄνευ κολάσεως, τοῦτο γέρας λαβόντα. Now Grabe maintains that the extract from the Apocalypse ends at πείρας, the rest having been previously referred to as taken from some other apocryphal writing. He alludes of course to the first sentence quoted above respecting the βρέφη ἐκτεθέντα. This, however, is not ascribed to another writer, but simply to the Scripture, in which no doubt Theodotus included the so-called Apocalypse of St. Peter; and it is strange how Grabe could have supposed that the βρέφη ἐξαμβλωθέντα were the same as the βρέφη ἐκτεθέντα. These latter are the τὰ ἕτερα of the passage last quoted. The abortive infants though to experience, not a better lot as Grabe and Jones seem to think, but *the* better, that is, salvation, τῆς ἀμείνονος ἐσόμενα πείρας, yet not having suffered on earth, must first suffer what they should have suffered had they lived. The others, infants that have been

exposed, are admitted without suffering to the mansions of salvation, obtaining this reward without punishment, through pity for the wrong they have endured. Plainly the entire passage is from the same source, and the account of what is to be the lot of the ἕτερα plainly shews that the first sentence quoted belongs to the same passage. The whole thus restored to its integrity, concludes as follows:—Τὸ δὲ γάλα τῶν γυναικῶν ῥεον ἀπὸ τῶν μαστῶν καὶ πηγνύμενον, φησὶν ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει, γεννήσει θηρία λεπτὰ σαρκοφάγα, καὶ ἀνατρέχοντα εἰς αὐτὰς κατεσθίει. The reason why the Apocalypse is again referred to as the source of this latter quotation, is not that the previous words were not taken from it, as they evidently were, but perhaps that there was a portion omitted after λαβόντα, so that the passage commencing with τὸ δὲ γάλα comes in as a fresh quotation. The punishment of the abortive infants seemed to Grabe so contrary to the Catholic doctrine, and is so much at variance with all that the Holy Scripture might lead us to expect, as well as abhorrent to common sense, that it is no wonder that in his desire to pay respect to this document, he should feel disposed to assign it to a different author; while for the same reason he contrives an expedient which seems to him to give a rational explanation of the remaining parts. Contrary to the testimony of Lactantius, he proposes to refer the passage relating to the sufferings that should attend on the destruction of Jerusalem, which has been already cited, not to the *Prædication*, but to the Apocalypse of St. Peter. The extract with which he supposes the citation of this latter work in the *Ἐκλογία* to commence, namely, that which speaks of the light from the infants smiting the eyes of the women, he supposes to be significant of their consternation when, according to the passage quoted by Lactantius, they should behold the destruction of their children, *diripi pueros, allidi parvulos*. The next quotation he limits to the intimation that abortive infants should experience a better lot, namely, than those that should be thus destroyed; and the carnivorous animals formed from the milk flowing from the women's breasts, are people who in consequence of the famine occasioned by the siege, were to devour their own mothers, by whose milk they had been nourished in their infancy, according to the words of the same prediction, *fore ut corporibus suorum vescerentur, et consumerent se invicem*! As an alternative of this notable interpretation, he will allow us to regard these extracts as altogether interpolations by Theodotus or other heretics, provided we do not discard the Apocalypse of St. Peter, a document which in Sozomen's time was read in some churches of Palestine on Good Friday. Whether

these were orthodox or heretic we are not informed by Sozomen, but he clearly pronounces the book to have been regarded by the ancients, ὡς νόθος παντελῶς, and it was reckoned by Eusebius in the same class of νόθοι. Theodotus, however, appears to have had nothing to do with the Ἐκλογαὶ ἐκ τῶν προφητικῶν, which seems to have been the work that Clement promised in the seventh book of the *Stromata*, p. 699 B., τῶν δὲ λέξεων τῶν προφητικῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος οὐκ ἐπιμνησθησόμεθα, κατὰ τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τοποὺς ὕστερον ταῖς γραφαῖς συγχρησόμενοι, and was a collection from various writings, with Clement's comments interposed. There is no reason to doubt that the extracts he gives from the so-called Apocalypse of St. Peter really belong to that document, which certainly does not appear to be much improved by Grabe's explanation. The light from the children smiting the eyes of the women, plainly denotes the way in which the guilty mothers should be affected when at the judgment, in connexion with which Clement cites the passage, they should behold the glorified children that they had exposed. Clement's comment on the concluding passage which speaks of carnivorous animals formed from the milk flowing from the women's breasts, is that the writer, designing to teach that punishments are the consequence of sins, represents them as springing from the sins themselves, διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας γίνεσθαι τὰς κολάσεις διδάσκων, ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν γεννάσθαι αὐτὰς φησίν. It would appear from this, that Clement possibly did not understand the words in a gross material sense, but rather as indicating the gnawing of remorse, by which the women should be punished for the exposure of their children and the consequent guilty waste of the nutriment intended for their support. Still there is an air of materialism in the circumstantial and absurd minuteness of the description, the flowing of the milk, its coagulation, the θηρία λεπτὰ σαρκοφάγα bred by it, and the way in which these run back upon the women to devour them, that is very unlike our Lord's figure of the worm that dieth not, or St. Paul's reference to the serpents by which the people were bitten, which Clement adduces in illustration of this passage of the so-called Apocalypse of St. Peter. And this character of minute materialism seems to take it altogether out of the class of Scriptural figures, and may be regarded as a very decided indication of its apocryphal origin. But a more indisputable evidence of this is the representation of the abortive infants as undergoing the sufferings which they should have endured on earth if they had lived. And these sufferings must have been regarded as penal and not disciplinary; for the exposed infants are exempted from punishment, μένει ἀνευ

κολάσεως, on account of the injury which they suffered on earth, which surely could not have been supposed to serve the purpose of discipline at their time of life.

XIV. There was once a gospel ascribed to St. Peter, in addition to that of St. Mark for which he was supposed to have supplied the materials. But, as no part of this Gospel has come down to us, it does not concern us to discuss its history. The same may be said of the *Judicium Petri* mentioned by Jerome and Ruffinus, if this were not the same as the *Prædicatio, κήρυγμα*, in a contracted form *κρῆμα*, having, according to Grabe's supposition, been read as *κρίμα*. There existed, also, a book or books, called the *Περίοδοι Πέτρου, Itinerarium Petri* and *Acta Petri*. The former are now wholly lost, except so far as they may have been identical with the so-called *Recognitions* of Clement, a work with which, as not pretending St. Peter's authorship, we have no concern. Of the *Acta Petri*, there remains but one sentence. Isidore of Pelusium, in his *Letter to Aphrodisius*, ii. 99, discusses an objection which some one had made to the hyperbolical manner of speaking in John xxi. 25. Having justified that as such, he then proposes one or two explanations by which the hyperbole might be got rid of entirely. One was, that the Evangelist was speaking in this place not merely of the works of Christ performed while he was on earth, but of the works of the Son of God throughout all creation from its commencement. The other is that St. John speaks more particularly with reference to the greatness and sublimity of the Saviour's doctrines, the word *χωρῆσαι* being used in the sense of *receive* or *comprehend*, which he illustrates by reference to several passages of the New Testament. In explaining this interpretation, he says, οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπόστολοι ἃ ἐχώρησαν ἔγραψαν, καθὼς Πέτρος ὁ κορυφαῖος τοῦ χοροῦ ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ πράξεσι σαφῶς ἀπεφώνητο, ἃ ἐχωρήσαμεν ἐγράψαμεν, ὁ δὲ κόσμος οὐδὲ τὰ γραφέντα ἐχώρησεν· ὁ γὰρ φιλοχρήματος οὐκ ἐχώρησε τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀκτημοσύνης λόγον· οὐδ' ὁ λᾶγνος, κ.τ.λ. Now, it is plain that the words ascribed here to St. Peter are merely ἃ ἐχωρήσαμεν ἐγράψαμεν. The words following, ὁ δὲ κόσμος κ.τ.λ., are evidently the author's, being put in opposition to οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπόστολοι, with which he commences, and of which they are clearly the ἀπόδοσις. With regard, however, to the alleged authorship of this brief sentence, hard as it is to form a judgment from so minute a specimen, we may remark that it bears a very suspicious resemblance to St. Paul's words in 1 Cor. xv. 3, παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν πρώτοις, ὁ καὶ παρέλαβον, and St. John's First Ep., i. 3, ὃ ἐώρακαμεν καὶ ἀκηκόαμεν ἀπαγγέλλομεν. If the succeeding words, ὁ δὲ κόσμος, were attributable to the

same document, they would be a plain imitation of John xxi. 25, a gospel not written till after St. Peter's martyrdom.

Grabe assigns to the *Acta Petri* the saying which Clement of Alexandria,^k ascribes to St. Peter, as addressed by him to his wife, when he beheld her carried to execution, μέμνησ' ὦ αὐτῇ τοῦ Κυρίου. But, as Clement does not say from what source this was derived, but speaks of it as a tradition, φασί, there is no ground to suppose that it existed in the so-called *Acta Petri*. The saying of our Lord, ἀναθὲν μέλλω σταυροῦσθαι, which is supposed to have been contained in the same book, as addressed to St. Peter a short time before his martyrdom, is attributed by Origen to the Acts of St. Paul. It is, therefore, doubtful if more than a vestige of the *Acta Petri*, if a work distinct from the *Recognitions* of Clement just mentioned, now exists.

A great many sayings ascribed to St. Peter are, of course, to be found in other apocryphal apostolical histories, such as that of the Pseudo-Abdias, or *Acta Petri et Pauli* given by Tischendorf, in his *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*. But these do not pretend St. Peter's authorship, and it would be going out of our way to discuss them. We may just mention a few indications of the apocryphal nature of the speeches attributed to these apostles in the latter work. Thus, when St. Paul had come to Rome, a concourse of Jewish and Gentile Christians resorted to him, who (ch. xxviii.) reproached one another on account of their origin. The apostle is represented as bidding them lay aside such contention, οὐ γάρ ἐστιν προσωποληψία παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ· ὅσοι ἐν νόμῳ ἡμαρτον, κατὰ νόμον κριθήσονται, καὶ ὅσοι ἀνόμως ἡμαρτον, ἀνόμως ἀπολούνται. This quotation from the Epistle to the Romans, copied almost verbatim, and put into the mouth of St. Peter as an original saying addressed to these Roman Christians, is a pretty evident mark of the fictitious character of the speech in which it occurs.

In ch. xxix., to give an air of being in character, St. Peter is made to say, ἀκούσατε, ἀδελφοί, τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος περὶ τοῦ Πατριάρχου Δαυὶδ ἐπαγγελιαμένου ὅτι ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς κοιλίας σου τεθήσεται ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου σου, in manifest imitation of St. Peter's words (Acts ii. 29, 30). In the same speech, ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἥτις σπῖλον οὐκ ἔχει οὐδὲ μᾶμον may be suspected as an imitation of Eph. v. 27, while the quotation, "The Lord sware and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedec," so frequently repeated in the Epistle to the Hebrews, we may well suspect was derived from that source.

When the two Apostles were confronted with Simon Magus

^k *Strom.*, vii., p. 736.

(ch. 54), St. Paul is made to say, without any reason whatever why he should have mentioned the circuit in which he had preached, *κύκλῳ ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπλήρωκα τὸν λόγον τῆς εἰρήνης*, a manifestly designed imitation of Rom. xv. 19. And then, in similar imitation of Gal. i. 1, he says that his doctrine was communicated to him, *οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. And the comparison of Simon Magus to Jannes and Jambres in the same speech is in like manner suspicious.

In ch. lx., St. Peter's alleged words, *καὶ γὰρ ἐγένοντο πρὸ ἡμῶν ψευδόχριστοι, ὡς καὶ ὁ Σίμων, ψευδαπόστολοι δὲ καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται*, in manifest imitation of 2 Pet. ii. 1, may be regarded as evidence that the writer of this history considered the second Epistle to be genuine, and resorted to this imitation to give character to the speech he attributed to St. Peter; while the concluding sentence of ch. lxix., in which the two Apostles say to Simon, *μηδέποτε εἶη σοι καλῶς, Σίμων μάγε καὶ πικρίας ἀνάμεστε* may be also regarded as an imitation of St. Peter's words to Simon in Acts viii. 23.

XV. The last document to which we are about to advert is the *Apostolical Constitutions*. This work is for the most part written in the person of the Apostles collectively, with an occasional introduction of one speaking singularly, when any circumstance personal to that one is mentioned, as in the account of the conversation respecting our Lord's betrayal, (v. 14); *ἐκάστου ἡμῶν λέγοντος Μῆτι ἐγώ; καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου σιωπῶντος, ἀναστὰς ἐγώ, εἰς τῶν δώδεκα, φιλούμενος πλεῖον τῶν ἄλλων κ.τ.λ.* The eighth book, however, represents the twelve Apostles, St. Paul, James the Bishop, and the other elders, and the seven deacons as assembled, and introduces each Apostle separately delivering a constitution. The first of these is assigned to St. Peter; but it can hardly be thought that the writer intended or expected them to be received as a genuine deliverance by the several Apostles. He seems to have adopted this as a transparent fiction with which he adorned his statement of ecclesiastical constitutions. At any rate, he did not take the slightest pains to give a colour of reality to his representation, for amongst the Apostles introduced as speaking we find, (ch. xii.), St. James the son of Zebedee; *φημὶ δὲ κἀγὼ Ἰάκωβος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ζεβεδαιοῦ*. And yet circumstances are referred to which were certainly subsequent to his decease, as, for instance, the attempt of the sons of Sceva to cast out evil spirits (ch. ii.). The Gospels, as if already existing and collected, are directed by St. Peter to be laid on the head of the person to be ordained bishop (ch. 4), and "our Epistles, the Acts, and the Gospels," to be read in the churches (ch. 5). Heb. xii. 2, quoted in ch. 1, *σταυ-*

ρὸν ὑπέμεινεν αἰσχύνῃς καταφρονήσας, is one of many instances in which the writer manifests his acquaintance with the New Testament writings. Moreover the titles of bishop and presbyter have already been appropriated to different offices, subdeacons and the lesser orders are already in existence, and many terms and customs notoriously proper to a later age are mentioned. Perhaps the reference (in ch. 2), to the prophesying of Silas and Agabus, ἐφ' ἡμῶν, in our time, may be regarded as an indication that the author did not mean to have it thought that the Apostles delivered these constitutions while still living. For though the same expression presently after in reference to the prophesying of the daughters of Philip might seem to be opposed to the Old Testament times in which the women previously mentioned had prophesied, yet where it first occurs with reference to Silas and Agabus, there was no previous mention of any that had prophesied before their time, and it would seem as if it were intended to represent the Apostles now no longer living, as referring to what had taken place during their lifetime, for an example to those who had, subsequently to their decease, become endued with the prophetic gift. They were to exercise it with humility, as Silas and Agabus in the Apostles' time prophesied without exalting themselves above measure or overpassing the bounds of their proper place. The apocryphal character of the document, however, as a work pretending to contain an authentic record of the words of the Apostles themselves, is sufficiently manifest, and it would not be any addition to the strength of our argument to enter more minutely into the examination of the parts in which St. Peter in particular is introduced as speaking in his individual capacity. Nor would it be of any use to refer to the Liturgies which bear the name of St. Peter. These, and others named after other Apostles, were never pretended to be written by those whose names they thus bear, and were evidently the growth of after ages, whatever of apostolical tradition they may contain.

We have now seen how fully the internal character of those apocryphal writings has justified the early Church in its deliberate rejection of them. And a comparison of their failure with the firmness with which the second Epistle withstands a like criticism will strengthen our conviction of the wise discernment with which that Epistle, as it became generally known, was assigned its place in the Canon, notwithstanding the superficial objection with which it was attacked at an early period, and will make us the less ready to give heed to the still more superficial and flimsy objections with which it has more recently—

J. Q.

**THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, AS FORETOLD IN THE BOOK
OF GENESIS.**

WHEN Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon had spoiled Jerusalem once, and was preparing for his second visit of final desolation, and when Jeremiah heard already with the quick ear of prophecy "the snorting of his horses from Dan," Hananiah the son of Azur of Gibeon, took upon him to assure the people of Israel that the yoke of the Chaldean was broken, and that within two full years the captivity should return. A very solemn scene followed. Jeremiah answered him, "Amen, the Lord do so, the Lord perform thy words! Nevertheless, hear thou this word. The prophets that have been before me and before thee of old, prophesied both against many countries and against great kingdoms, of war and of evil and of pestilence. The prophet which prophesieth of peace, when the word of the prophet shall come to pass, then shall the prophet be known that the Lord hath truly sent him." It happened so in this case. Hananiah's word perished, and he himself died: Jeremiah's word lived, and was accomplished; the cities of Judah were made desolate without inhabitant.

It is evident that this principle applies to the written prophecies of Scripture. Prophecy is a miracle of knowledge, and accomplished prophecy announces Divine prescience. It is impossible therefore to overestimate the importance of the prophetic evidence of Holy Scripture. But if it can be shewn that prophecies were written after the events to which they refer; or that having been written before, they have failed of accomplishment, this evidence of their Divine origin is of course destroyed. Both methods accordingly have been tried, nay, are being tried at this moment. The argument of Porphyry in the second century, that the famous prophecies of Daniel were written after the events had come to pass, is reproduced in the midst of us now: and great pains are being taken to shew that the prophets of Scripture have spoken many times without any corresponding fulfilment.

It may not therefore be lost labour to select a prophecy which occurs at the very commencement of the history of the human race,—that of Noah respecting his three sons. This prophecy cannot have been written after the event, for the event has been in all past ages, and is now. And we find the prophecy in the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament three hundred years before Christ, and in the Samaritan Pentateuch seven hundred years before him. And as to its fulfilment, every

honest-minded inquirer must acknowledge that it has been as minute, special and particular, as the most exacting faith can demand.

We have said that this prophecy occurs at the commencement of human history ; it was uttered just after the deluge. That terrible act of judgment, of which traces are to be found in the traditions of every people, makes a break in the story of our race. The world before the flood had no prophetic chart of its fortunes, and its history was but a tale of violence and blood. The human family, prevented from its natural increase by the internecine strife which filled the world, seems never to have extended beyond the regions of Central Asia. But other destinies were in store for man. And before, in fulfilment of these destinies, the sons of Noah began to overspread the earth, He, to whom the end is known from the beginning, prophesied the fortunes of the infant race.

The prophecy is in the form of a poem, in three stanzas :

“Cursed be Canaan,
A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.
Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Shem,
And Canaan shall be his servant.
God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem :
And Canaan shall be his servant.”

Before however proceeding to the illustration of these words, we have a few remarks to make. The word which we have translated “enlarge,” may also be rendered “persuade.” Again, as the passage stands in the original and in the Septuagint, it may be either Japheth or the blessed God who is to dwell in the tents of Shem. The words will bear both renderings ; the fulfilment justifies both. Finally, according to eminent critical authority, “Cursed be Canaan,” may be considered as equivalent to “Cursed be Ham, the father of Canaan ; this interpretation of Noah’s meaning is, besides, more agreeable to the context.

It may be well to quote at length, in confirmation of these remarks, the versions of this prophecy, given severally by Bishop Lowth and the learned Boothroyd.

The Bishop reads,

“Cursed be Canaan,
A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.
Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Shem,
And Canaan shall be their servant.
God shall enlarge Japheth,
And shall dwell in the tents of Shem,
And Canaan shall be their servant.”

Boothroyd reads,

“Accursed shall Ham be in his son Canaan,
The most abject slave shall he be to his brethren.
Blessed of Jehovah my God, shall Shem be,
Yea, among the tents of Shem shall he dwell,
And to Shem shall Canaan be a slave.
God shall greatly enlarge Japheth,
And to him also shall Canaan be a slave.”

Our course then is very simple. Let us begin with that rendering of the patriarch's words which is in accordance with our Authorized Version. Let us observe the fulfilment of this promise-prophecy, *first*, to Shem the father of the Jew, and *secondly*, to Japheth the father of the Gentile, including, necessarily in this review the predicted curse on Ham. Let us then take the other renderings, following the same course. It is difficult to say which of the renderings is most accordant with correct philology. They all demonstrate unanswerably the truth of the Word of God.

First Rendering.

I. PROMISE TO SHEM, WITH CURSE ON CANAAN.

“Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Shem,
And Canaan shall be his servant.”

It is a remarkable characteristic of the words of God, that while triumphantly true in the end, their progress towards accomplishment is generally gradual and slow. Noah lived after the delivery of this prophecy for three hundred and fifty years. Before his death therefore he must have seen the earth peopled with his descendants, and its kingdoms divided among them. But he saw nothing which had the remotest appearance of the fulfilment of his words. So far from the children of Ham being in that early age of the world's history, subject to Shem or Japheth, they started first in the race of worldly glory, and first attained to conquest and dominion. We have only to read the tenth chapter of Genesis which narrates the early settlement of the nations, to be satisfied of this; all the names which occur in it, to which any renown attaches, are of the family of Ham. Mizraim the founder of the Egyptian monarchy, and Canaan the father of the Canaanites, were both sons of Ham; whilst the famous Nimrod, whose name passed into a proverb as the earliest conqueror, and who built imperial Babylon and Nineveh, was his grandson. But about the time that Noah was gathered to his fathers, if we follow the chronology of our Authorized Version, Shem's promise began to bud, for Abraham was then born. Never has a single man

exercised so mighty an influence over the destiny of his species. It pleased Almighty God to separate him from the mass of idolatry with which he was surrounded, and of which indeed he formed a part, and to constitute him and his family the depositories of the true religion. By this act of distinguishing grace, He afforded the first development of the meaning of Noah's words, "*Jehovah, God of Shem;*" for he left the families of Japheth and Ham to their own dark and blinded ways, whilst in the line of this illustrious patriarch, he established his covenant with Shem. But the progress of the promise toward completion, was still of the most gradual kind. Jehovah had indeed declared himself the God of Shem; but instead of Canaan, on this account, acknowledging Shem's lordship, he went on rather to increase in worldly glory and power. Nor did Shem attempt to interfere with him. Abraham and his immediate descendants were peaceful men, dwelling in tents and tending their cattle. They bought from the Canaanite a field in which to lay their dead; beyond this they never possessed a footbreadth of land in Canaan. When the family of Jacob went down into Egypt the land of Mizraim, they went down, not as conquerors, but as guests. The haughty children of Ham would not so much as eat bread with them, though from motives of gratitude they shewed them kindness for a season. That season too was very brief; a new dynasty arose over Egypt, and Israel was subjected to grinding and intolerable oppression for 350 years. The period of their sojourn was in all 430; and if to this we add 290, as elapsing from the birth of Abraham to the going down into Egypt, and 360 from the flood to that patriarch's birth, it gives us a period of 1080 years from the delivery of this prophecy by Noah, to its manifest fulfilment by the omnipotent power of God. If that fulfilment had been slow, it was also sure; it began in the glorious Exodus, it was consummated in the conquest of Canaan. Egypt's idol-river was turned into blood; frogs came up into her palaces and defiled the temples of her gods; her dust was turned into lice; her land was corrupted by grievous swarms of flies. Again God's hand was stretched out and all her cattle died; her harvest was destroyed by the hail or devoured by the locust. It was stretched out once more, her first-born were smitten, and Israel was suffered to go free. Egypt's infatuated monarch pursued them into the depths of the Red Sea, but its waters overwhelmed him, "and Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea-shore." Shem's children were thus finally emancipated from the tyrant grasp of Ham. But the prophecy yet rested on them, and demanded further accomplishment. And what it demanded, it received. Having been

tried and disciplined for forty years in the wilderness, Israel under the leading of Joshua, passed into the land of Canaan. Six out of its seven nations, the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, were either exterminated by their victorious sword, or having only a miserable remnant left, were constrained to submit to their authority. And thus Shem became Canaan's Master, inheriting his substance and ruling over his children. Israel came into possession of cities which they had not builded, wells which they had not digged, vineyards and oliveyards which they had not planted; Ham's children had builded, digged and planted in unconscious preparation for these new inheritors. Whilst in those of the Canaanites which yet remained as hewers of wood and drawers of water to the victorious children of Shem, the prophecy of Noah was literally accomplished, "Canaan shall be his servant."

It is not however in the simple fact of Israel's emancipation from Egyptian bondage, nor is it in the simple fact of their subduing the Canaanites and becoming masters of Canaan, that we find the accomplishment of this prophecy of Noah. It is also in the manner, the single and unprecedented manner, in which these things were brought about. The style of the prophecy is altogether peculiar. It intimates, not only that Canaan is to be Shem's servant, but that this is to be because Jehovah is Shem's God. Israel might have shaken off her Egyptian yoke by a determined struggle to be free; she might also have conquered Canaan as imperial Rome conquered the world; but the prophecy would not have been fulfilled. It required for its fulfilment, that facts should develope that connexion between its parts to which reference has just been made. And what it required, it received. When Israel was groaning under Egyptian bondage, her cry of distress, the sacred historian tells us, "came up unto God, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob,"—remembered that He was the God of Shem. And her deliverance was his work. It was He that turned the river of Egypt into blood, and filled the land with darkness; it was He that smote her harvest, her cattle, her first-born. It was He that parted the Red Sea and overwhelmed her chosen warriors in its mighty waters. It was He also that divided the Jordan and gave to Israel a safe passage into Canaan; it was He that delivered its seven nations into the hand of Joshua, and divided its fields and vineyards among his chosen people. When Moses went in unto Pharaoh, it was as God's ambassador; his message was, "Let my people go." And from that hour to the time of Israel's final settlement in the land of their inheritance, the work was so entirely Divine, that

those who saw the end from the beginning, must have been penetrated, as it proceeded step by step, and especially at its close, with the profoundest sense of obligation. We can well conceive Joshua and Caleb, as they looked round in the repose of a quiet old age, upon the green hills and valleys of the land of promise, and saw the remnant of the Canaanites in humble submission at their feet, to have expressed this sense of obligation in the very language of the prophecy, saying, "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, Canaan is our servant."

And the subsequent history of the chosen people presents us with the very same fulfilment of the prophecy. Let us look at Israel in the days of the Judges. As long as they remembered their Covenant-God, the Canaanites continued subject; but as often as they forgot Him, the Canaanites threw off their yoke, and found strength to become their masters. And Israel's successive deliverances from their hands and the hands of the heathen round about them, were achieved, not by their skill and prowess, neither by the valour of their warriors, nor the wisdom of their statesmen, but by successive manifestations on their behalf, of the power of their Covenant-God. And when this chosen people ceased at last to rule in Canaan, it was in punishment of their manifold apostacies. The ten tribes forsook the God of their fathers and were carried captive to Assyria; the two tribes also forsook Him, and were carried captive to Babylon. From this latter captivity, through another manifestation of the power of Shem's God, which made even the heathen stand astonished, they returned after a season; but it was only to consummate their apostacy in the murder of his anointed Messiah. And since that fatal hour, "tribes of the wandering foot and weary breast," masters no longer anywhere, but servants everywhere, they have proved to the world the conditions of Noah's prophecy. Shem was to have dominion by abiding in the covenant of God: his dominion has ceased because he has forgotten that covenant; his crown has fallen to the earth because he has ceased to acknowledge Jehovah.

II. PROMISE TO JAPHETH, WITH CURSE ON CANAAN..

"God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem: and Canaan shall be his servant."

The difference of style here is at once perceptible. Japheth is to be enlarged; he is to dwell in the tents of Shem, he is to have lordship over Canaan; but not one word is said about Jehovah being Japheth's God. His enlargement of territory, his intrusion into the possessions of his elder brother, and his

subjection of the younger, have nothing whatever to do with religious character ; they are to be the fruit merely of superior valour and wisdom, of ordinary circumstances or of the fortune of war. In watching therefore the development of this prophecy, we look for a fulfilment of a totally different kind from the last. And we are not disappointed ; we meet with a fulfilment exactly according to its terms.

The Exodus and the conquest of Canaan, following, as they did, the one upon the other, were a serious blow to the power and greatness of Ham. Egypt, which before had been the first of kingdoms, declined from that fatal hour ; whilst the Canaanites, long renowned for their martial prowess, and esteemed "the terrible of the nations," were all but exterminated by Joshua's victorious sword. Still, though 1100 years had passed since Noah's prophecy had been delivered, there was no sign of God enlarging Japheth. Ham's descendants still ruled in Eastern Africa, whilst some of the Canaanites, escaping from the sword of Joshua, fled across the sea to Western Africa, and there, in process of time, founded Carthage. This latter circumstance is one of the most interesting facts in all history, and there is no want of evidence to prove it. The concurrent testimony, and universal tradition of antiquity, establishes the Phœnician origin of that famous city. When Hannibal, at the close of the second Punic war, abandoned his country and fled to Tyre, he was received there, the historian tells us, with the honours due to a man who had shed such glory on the Phœnician name. The superstitions and religious rites of the Carthaginians were all of Phœnician or Canaanitish origin. We find Hannibal in the crisis of the second Punic war, offering sacrifice to the gods of Tyre ; and when Carthage, during the first Punic war, was attacked by Regulus, the children of her noblest citizens were burnt in the fire to Molech, to save their endangered country. Those who actually founded Carthage, seem to have been Girgashites. For though the name of that people occurs among the seven devoted nations, we have no record of their destruction. We have moreover an ancient Phœnician inscription cited by Procopius, "We are they who flee from the face of Jesus the robber, the son of Nave ;" and other ancient monuments attest the fact that a portion of the Canaanites at that time abandoned their country, and found refuge in Western Africa. The Girgashites inhabited that part of Canaan which lies northward of the lake Gennesareth, and seem to have migrated in a body as victorious Israel advanced. And having thus escaped the sword of the Lord for a season, they continued a great people for more than a thousand years.

Ham was thus humbled, but not subdued; his descendants, the Egyptian and the Canaanite, still held up their heads among the nations, though with diminished glory. If the promise of God to Japheth seemed in the meantime to sleep, it was only because Shem's promise was receiving its accomplishment. But when a thousand years had passed, and the glory of Israel had begun to wane, when the ten tribes were captive in Assyria, and the two tribes were left a subject remnant in Judea, the enlargement of Japheth began. He first passed over into Asia, appropriating to himself the inheritance of his brother Shem; from Asia he passed into Egypt, subduing the descendants of Ham. Nor was this the limit of his enlargement; he attacked the Canaanite in Western Africa, destroyed him and possessed his land. This career of conquest on the part of Japheth, could never have been foreseen by any human sagacity. From the possession on Shem's part, at once of wealth, of numbers and of power, it was much more likely that he should have encroached on his brother than that his brother should have encroached on him. Nor was this encroachment unattempted. The Asiatics were of Shem, the Greeks and Romans were of Japheth. The expedition therefore of Xerxes and his Asiatics into Greece, was an attempt on the part of Shem to dwell in the tents of Japheth. But it only demonstrated the truth of the prophecy; for who has not heard of its discomfiture? Three hundred only of the sons of Japheth stopped at Thermopylae, the innumerable host of Persia from advancing: at Marathon and Plataea, the Asiatics fell by tens of thousands beneath the avenging sword of Greece; and after the destruction of their fleet at Salamis, they returned into their own land, discomfited and overwhelmed with shame. But mere discomfiture was by no means the only result of this attempt; it kindled in the bosom of the Greeks those feelings of undying resentment which expressed themselves afterwards, in ample and terrible retribution. When the states of Greece, through the ascendancy of Philip of Macedon, became in process of time united under one head, her military strength was wielded by his son the famous Alexander. Greece then poured herself into Asia: and with incredible celerity, from the Hellespont to the Indus, from the Indus to the borders of Egypt, Greece made Asia her own. Here was enlargement indeed; the hand of the Lord was on Japheth that he might accomplish the word which had passed on him. And it was more than mere enlargement; it was in the language of the prophecy, a dwelling in the tents of Shem. For nothing could be more unlike the ephemeral conquests of Napoleon than the enduring successes of Alexander. Asia

Minor and Syria, in consequence of these successes, were pervaded in every part, by the laws and institutions of Greece; Greek was the language of the court, of the government and of literature, and there was spread over Asia, from the shores of the Ægean to the Indus, an outer covering at least of Greek civilization and character. Nor was this impression temporary; it lasted for centuries, having been effaced only by the Saracen and Turk after the lapse of nine hundred years.

But Japheth was not satisfied even with this measure of enlargement. Having conquered Asia, Alexander passed into Egypt which, almost without a struggle, owned him for its sovereign. This arose from the deadly hatred with which Egypt regarded her Persian rulers, for her race of native princes had long been destroyed, and Shem's children were masters in the land of Ham. They were now however compelled to relinquish their conquest, and Egypt became the inheritance of Japheth. It continued under the Ptolemies the successors of Alexander, for three hundred years; from them it passed to the Romans who held it for six hundred years more; from their hands, at the period of the Saracenic conquests, it passed again under the dominion of the children of Shem, who bare rule over it at the present hour. But from the fatal era of the Persian conquest, five hundred years before Christ, no prince of the race of Ham has occupied the throne of the first and greatest of Ham's ancient kingdoms. Well has Israel's quarrel been avenged on Egypt! Trodden down alternately by Shem and Japheth, that unhappy land has fulfilled to the letter, the word of the Lord concerning Ham, "a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren."

God had thus enlarged Japheth; Asia and Egypt were his. But the promise had only begun to be fulfilled; nobler fortunes awaited him. The generation which had witnessed the successes of Alexander, had not yet passed away, when his kinsman Pyrrhus king of Epirus, was invited by the Tarentines into Italy, to protect them from a barbarous enemy who aimed at the dominion of the entire Peninsula. That barbarous enemy was the Roman people, the most illustrious of the descendants of Japheth, to whom God gave afterwards, in ample fulfilment of his promise, the dominion, not of Italy only but of the whole civilized world. Pyrrhus could do nothing against them; they drove him back to his own land, subjected those whom he came to aid, and made Italy their own. Having done this, they looked abroad, meditating new conquests. Accidental circumstances, if any thing in this world can be called accidental, brought them then into collision with the Carthaginians, the descendants of

Canaan on the western coast of Africa. And through the three dreadful Punic wars, and in many a hardly contested and well fought field, the question was tried at length, whether Ham or Japheth was to be master of the world. God decided it in Japheth's favour, and in doing so, kept his word.

In the whole range of ancient history there is no subject so replete with interest as this contest between Rome and Carthage. At the commencement of that contest, Carthage was a great city, containing more than half a million of inhabitants, possessed of an abundant and fertile country at home, and mistress of Sicily and Sardinia. She was able to add Spain to these possessions after the contest had begun, so that had she been permitted in the providence of God, to have overwhelmed Rome and added Italy to her dominion, she might have achieved the conquest of the world. Greece was then in her dotage, and would have fallen almost without a struggle before her advancing power, and the Canaanite re-appearing in his ancient Asiatic seats, might again have humbled the descendants of Shem. And probabilities, for a season, seemed all in favour of this issue.

No one at all acquainted with ancient history, will require to be reminded of the unprecedented bitterness and mutual animosity which marked this famous contest. When the Roman ambassador Marcus Fabius Buteo, shook out the folds of his toga in the presence of the Carthaginian council, in token that the truce which had concluded the first Punic war was ended and that hostilities were again to commence, he was answered by a shout, "with all our hearts we welcome them." And this spirit marked the deadly struggle from that re-commencement to its end. The heathens themselves seem to have regarded it less as a contest between flesh and blood, than between their respective deities, the tutelary gods of Carthage and of Rome. Nothing is more strongly impressed on the recollections of our boyhood, than the narrative of the remarkable scene that was enacted at Carthage, when Hannibal, then a child of only nine years, was made to swear on the altar of the gods of his country, eternal enmity to the Roman people. And we have a yet more remarkable proof of this in Hannibal's famous dream, when no longer a child but his country's general, the leader of his country's armies. Being about to break up from Saguntum to cross the Alps into Italy, he offered solemn sacrifice to the ancient deities of Canaan, and prayed their blessing on his enterprize — And in the night during sleep, as he narrated afterwards, he fancied himself called into their council. They charged him to invade Italy and destroy their enemies, they favoured him with an appalling vision of its coming desolation, and one of them

went with him and his army to guide them on their way. And, to speak for a moment in the language of heathenism, well did these tutelary gods of Carthage perform their promised part. The passage of the Alps was completed successfully; the Romans were repulsed on the Ticinus, and defeated on the Trebia; and Hannibal still marching southward, routed their army with the death of its general, on the shores of the Thrasymene lake. And these disasters were forgotten, in the fearful overthrow of Cannae. One of Rome's consuls and nearly a hundred of her senators were left dead on that fatal field, and her victorious enemy was within four days march of her walls. It really appeared as if Hannibal had been right in supposing that a spiritual influence guided him; Satan seemed moving hell from beneath to defeat the purposes of God. But though Rome was as far from knowing the true God as Carthage, an Almighty providence watched over her. That providence in former ages, had raised up Cyrus to destroy Babylon: it now raised up Fabius to defend his native city. The storm of the Carthaginian invasion passed by; and after spending many fruitless years in Italy, the urgent peril of his native land constrained her unconquered general to return in haste to Africa.

This is God's world, and nothing happens in it without His special appointment. And it is impossible not to remark the combination of singular providences which prevented the greatest of the sons of Ham from achieving his long-cherished purpose against the children of Japheth. We may note three circumstances in particular, without which, to speak after the manner of men, Rome could not possibly have been saved. Soon after the defeat of the Romans at Cannae, Hannibal concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the second Philip, king of Macedon. Had this alliance been allowed to take effect, there would have been added to his irresistible African cavalry, a body of heavy-armed Macedonians, and a force of artillery and engineers such as Greek science alone could supply. And what could Rome have done to save herself? She was already dejected and dispirited by a series of defeats, and to have met her inevitable fate in a manner worthy of her former glory, was all she could have hoped for. But God averted the danger. The Macedonian ambassadors on their way back to their native land, were taken by the Roman squadron; Rome was made aware of her danger; and before Philip could send another embassy, the opportunity was lost for ever. The second circumstance is equally striking. The weak arm of the Carthaginian was his artillery. Had he been possessed of suitable military engines, he might have advanced on Rome after

Cannae and destroyed her. And there was a man then living, and at no greater distance than Syracuse, who could have enabled him to do so. That man was the illustrious Archimedes. But Hiero king of Syracuse, the strict ally of Rome, was yet alive, though in extreme old age. And though his death happened while Hannibal was still in Italy, Archimedes was almost immediately occupied in defending his native city against Rome, and was slain, in its defence. Had either of these things been otherwise—had Hiero been the ally of Carthage, as all Sicily had once been, or had Archimedes survived the ruin of his country, and in vindication of her wrongs, passed over to the camp of Hannibal, it must have gone hard with Rome. His very name was a terror to the Roman soldiers; they fled even at the sight of his formidable engines of war.^a The third circumstance is the most remarkable of all. The family of Hannibal seem to have concentrated in themselves the whole military genius of Carthage. In the crisis of the second Punic war when the fate of Rome was trembling in the balance, Hasdrubal advanced from Spain through Gaul into Italy, to effect a junction with his brother that they might together march on Rome. The Romans themselves felt that if these redoubted sons of Hamilcar were suffered to meet, their days as a people were numbered, and the intelligence filled them with despair. But God again averted the danger. Hannibal was most unaccountably absent from his usual position in the South of Italy when the messengers of his brother came to seek him; they were in consequence made prisoners and brought before the consul Nero. Apprized by their despatches which most singularly were not written in cipher, of his country's mortal peril, he marched night and day to join his colleague Livius; and attacked by their combined forces, Hasdrubal was overthrown and slain. Hannibal was in consequence left alone in Italy, with a force insufficient for the successful conclusion of the war. The Romans in their blind idolatry offered sacrifices and incense to Jupiter Stator, but we discern in this deliverance that God of truth of whom even an enemy has borne witness, "hath he said and shall he not do it, or hath he spoken and shall He not make it good?"

Defeated thus in the object to which he had been as sacredly devoted, as ever was Joshua to the work of God in Canaan,

^a This may appear to some a little overstrained; let me therefore refer to the very eminent authority of Dr. Arnold. "The Roman army was checked at Syracuse, by an artillery such as they had never encountered before, AND WHICH, HAD HANNIBAL POSSESSED IT, WOULD LONG SINCE HAVE ENABLED HIM TO BRING THE WAR TO A TRIUMPHANT ISSUE. An old man of seventy-four won the pure glory of defending his country successfully against a foreign enemy. This old man was ARCHIMEDES."—*History of Rome*, vol. iii., p. 285.

Hannibal returned to Africa. We need not dwell on the events that followed, so disastrous to Carthage, so glorious to Rome. Zama was Hannibal's first defeat, but it was decisive. Carthage was obliged to sue for peace, to cede all her foreign possessions, and to indemnify her rival for the expenses of the war. And this humbling of her pride and crippling of her power, was only the prelude to her final destruction. Rome had been too thoroughly alarmed by the terrible successes of Hannibal to think herself safe whilst even the name of Carthage existed. And God made use of this feeling for the accomplishment of his own purposes. The second Scipio Africanus, who like Cyrus of old, knew not the God of Israel, was yet like him, his chosen instrument of vengeance. The resistless sword which Joshua had once wielded, was put into his hand, and that remnant of Canaan which had escaped 1300 years before, now fell beneath its edge. Carthage was destroyed as completely as ever Jericho and Ai had been, and made like them, a desolation. Nor was it the city only that was destroyed; the whole nation, with the exception of an insignificant remnant, were cut off by the Roman sword. Of 700,000, her estimated population, 5000 only were found alive when she was taken, and the most of these must have perished during the seventeen days that her temples and palaces were given up to the devouring fire. The country which had owned her sway, was then made a Roman province, and those that remained of her people, became the subjects or slaves of Rome.

Rome was now delivered from the only rival which was at all able to compete with her, and advanced rapidly to universal empire. Corinth was destroyed in the same year with Carthage; and Macedonia the kingdom of the Great Alexander, submitted at the same time. Soon all Greece owned her sovereignty; and after Greece, Asia; and after Asia, Egypt. So that when 150 years after, Augustus Cæsar shut the temple of Janus, Rome was mistress of the world. The words of Noah were then literally accomplished, "God had enlarged Japheth; he dwelt in the tents of Shem, and Canaan was his servant."

A glance at modern history will convince us that these words have been fulfilled to this day. And what makes the fulfilment more remarkable, is that there has been more than one attempt, and these partially successful, on the part of man to defeat it. The Saracens were of Shem. We are familiar with the history of their conquests. Issuing from their desert-home in the fervour of religious zeal, they conquered Asia and Africa, and thence poured into Spain. Though the country of Japheth, Spain yielded to their arms; and advancing beyond the Pyrenees,

the Saracens threatened Europe. It now really seemed as if the prophecy were about to be inverted, and Shem's children were to dwell in the tents of Japheth. But He who had raised up Leonidas and Miltiades and Themistocles to defeat this attempt of old, now raised up Charles Martel; on the field of Tours the Saracens were totally defeated, and though they possessed Spain for seven hundred years, the rest of Europe was never again molested by them. Even from this portion of Japheth's territory they were driven about that time; the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella being permitted the double glory of driving Shem's children from the land of Japheth, and enlarging Japheth's boundaries, by their patronage of Columbus, into new and distant worlds. But while these things were passing in Western Europe, Shem made another attempt in the East to possess himself of Japheth's land. We allude to the Turkish invasion, the subversion of the Roman Empire, the conquest of Constantinople and of Greece by the famous Mahomet II. All Europe trembled at that awful time, and again it seemed for a moment, as if Shem was to be Japheth's master. But the danger passed away, and is no more. The waves of Turkish conquest, instead of advancing, have ever since been receding; Greece at this hour is free; and a very small fraction of Japheth's territory, held with a weak and trembling hand, is all that now remains to these once formidable descendants of Shem.

And, as has been already remarked, about the time that the Saracens were driven from Spain, God began again to enlarge Japheth. That enlargement has ever since been progressing, is progressing still, and is of a character so astonishing as to throw into the shade all former fulfilments of this prophecy. His descendants now possess as their own, two entire quarters of the world, Europe and America; for both in North and South America the aborigines have been driven into corners to make room for them. We are of Japheth. And how amazing is the enlargement which God has granted to us! Our great enemy Napoleon used to say, that England aimed at the sovereignty of three quarters of the globe; and it is at this hour our boast that the sun never sets upon our empire. Besides what belongs to us in North America, we possess the West India Islands; Southern Africa, the land of Ham, is ours; we are colonizing Australia; we have begun to colonize New Zealand; we have gained a footing in China. And this enlargement, from its very nature, must go on to increase. No one who considers the vast amount of fertile and unoccupied territory in some of these regions of the earth, can doubt for a moment that when a few generations have passed, they will be found teeming with popu-

lation, the seats of industry and enterprize, the centres of moral influence and intellectual power. We can indeed see no limit to the enlargement of Japheth. From their superiority in moral and intellectual qualities, his descendants already possess an influence incomparably greater than that of all the rest of mankind put together; and so long as these qualities continue, the word which has passed upon him, must of necessity, fulfil itself. This fulfilment too is hastened and must continue to be so, as that other part of the prophecy which speaks of his dwelling in the tents of Shem, is accomplished in the providence of God. It has begun to be so already, and that in a most singular manner. What an astonishing phenomenon is our Indian Empire! It is not two hundred years since our merchants began to trade to Hindoostan, which then belonged to the Mahometans, and was the empire of the great Mogul. The utmost limit of their first ambition was to establish a lucrative commerce; and when they were driven to take up arms, it was to defend themselves against the perfidy and cruelty with which they were surrounded. In prosecution of this object however they soon found it necessary to conquer and appropriate territory to themselves; and so, by small degrees, we find ourselves now the undisputed masters of India, from the Himalay Mountains to Cape Comorin. Delhi, the royal city of the magnificent and illustrious Aurengzebe, Agra, and Benares the city of gods, places whose very names are associated with the fondest recollections of the children of Shem—all own the sway of Japheth. And what has been remarked already of the Greek conquest of Asia, is still more true of the British conquest of Hindoostan. It is a *dwelling* in the tents of Shem. Were our sceptre now to be broken, the effects of our rule are indelible. We have begun to leaven India with our arts, our sciences, our customs, and above all with our religion; and what has begun must go on, its progress is irresistible. Heathen ignorance and superstition are giving way on every side. Already the more intelligent portion of the Hindoo population, convinced of the folly of everything in which they have hitherto believed, are earnestly soliciting the full benefits of English education: already even the bigotted Brahmins are prophesying the downfall of the old superstitions, and the complete ascendancy of Christianity. May God hasten it in his time! If the presence even of the heathen Greek and Roman, when he dwelt in Shem's tents of old, proved a blessing to the Persian and Assyrian, surely the presence of the Christian Briton should prove the very fulness of blessing to the Mahometan and Hindoo!

And there is yet another most important sense in which

Japheth according to the word passed on him, has dwelt in the tents of Shem. He has not only, as in ancient times, enriched Shem with his arts, his sciences, his laws, and in modern times with his religion also; he has received as well as given. There has been an inter-communion of the races, and Shem has been the greater benefactor, the larger giver of the two. The gods of Japheth were dumb idols; we have forsaken them for ever, and now worship the God of Shem. Of Shem we have received the Saviour; Jesus Christ our Lord was "an Hebrew of the Hebrews," "the Son of David, the Son of Abraham." Of Shem we have received the Bible; no part of God's living oracles was written by a son of Japheth. We read in our churches the words of Moses and Samuel, of Isaiah and Ezekiel; we praise God in the Psalms of David; we are enlightened, cheered and comforted by St. Matthew, St. John and St. Paul. These are the riches *which we have found in Shem's tents*; if he has been permitted for a season to despise them, it is that we may be possessed of them for ever. And it is because we are possessed of them, that we are able to repay the giver.

If the history of the ancient world demonstrates the stern reality of the curse pronounced on Ham, the history of modern times demonstrates it yet more clearly. Africa, Ham's land, has in fact no modern history. Since the day that Egypt sank in the East, when her native dynasty was destroyed by the successors of Cyrus, since the day that Carthage was annihilated in the West, what city, what people, what state of Africa has challenged the attention of the world, or what has her story been save one of degradation and shame? And there is one prominent circumstance in that melancholy story which brings out the truth of the prophecy so clearly that it is impossible to pass it by. We allude to the accursed slave-trade. When the European found that the constitution of the African fitted him for hard labour under a burning sun, he coveted his services in that new world which the discoveries of Columbus had opened to his enterprise. But these services required to be enforced. And so the white man made the negro his victim, sending the ruthless kidnapper to entrap him, establishing slave-depots and factories along his coasts, treating him in all respects as an article of ordinary commerce, and reducing into a regular system the most monstrous iniquity of which the world has ever heard. But monstrous as it is, every European nation whose shores are washed by the Atlantic, have had their share in it, and some to this very hour. It is little more than fifty years since we, as a nation, delivered ourselves from that shame, which our brethren in Christian America still uphold and glory in. But the wicked-

ness of man illustrates the truth of God, by accomplishing his faithful word. And a more exact accomplishment of his word by Noah than that which the slave-trade furnishes, it is not possible to conceive. Let us contemplate the poor Africans hurried in troops to the coast like beasts of burden; stowed on board the slave-ships; sold on landing, to the planters; divided, according to their purchasers' convenience or caprice, between one plantation and another; driven to their work by the lash, and mercilessly kept at it till disease and death ensue! This is more than a condition of servitude; nothing expresses the fullness of its calamity but the words of the prophetic patriarch—"a servant of servants," i. e., the most degraded of servants shall he be. He was to be so, to both his brethren. And whilst the Egyptian has long groaned under the oppression of Shem, the Negro, in whom the word has had its chief accomplishment, has been for the last three centuries the victim of the relentless cupidity of Japheth. God's word to the youngest son of Noah, has thus in all respects been fulfilled. Divine mercy has enlarged him, he dwells in Shem's tents, he is lord of Ham's children.

WE MIGHT now conclude our review of this famous prophecy, were it not for those other renderings of it to which I have already referred. But if we can read without violence to the original, "God shall enlarge Japheth, and shall dwell in the tents of Shem:" if we can also read, "God shall persuade Japheth and shall dwell in the tents of Shem," we cannot pass by words so full of precious meaning, and which in this world's past history, have been so signally fulfilled.

Second Rendering. "God shall enlarge Japheth, and shall dwell in the tents of Shem."

The fulfilment of these words so far as Japheth is concerned, has been already commented on. We need not be reminded of his enlargement by the victories of Alexander and his successors, by which Daniel's vision (Dan. viii. 21, 22) of the rough goat, the great horn between his eyes, and the four horns which stood up when it was broken, was so signally demonstrated as true. Nor need we be reminded of the conquests of the Roman people, "the fourth beast" of Daniel (Dan. vii. 19) "which was diverse from all the others, whose teeth were of iron and his nails of brass; which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet." Never were prophetic words so justified by the event. It has been said and truly, that—

"Learning and Rome alike to empire grew,
And art still followed where her eagles flew."

But it is still more true that

"Beneath her iron hoofs of pride
Where'er they trampled, freedom died.

She literally "devoured, brake in pieces and stamped the residue with her feet." Others had done so before her, but she was "diverse from them all." The conquests of the Chaldean, the Persian, the Greek, were those of individuals; her victories were those of a people. But whilst nation after nation was compelled to crouch at her feet, and she was advancing step by step, to the dignity of sovereign of the world—whilst Japheth's children were thus enlarged, how was God dealing with Shem? He was dwelling in his tents, if we follow the Hebrew; he was abiding among his abodes, if we prefer the Septuagint. Both statements are literally true. From Moses to David, a period of 500 years, the God of Shem, to use his own words (2 Sam. vii. 6) "walked" among his chosen people, "in a tent and a tabernacle." He was found, sometimes at Shiloh, sometimes at Ephratah, sometimes in the fields of the wood (Ps. cxxxii.) David at length found it in his heart, to build an house for his name. And from his days to those of Christ, a period of 1000 years, the God of Shem had his fixed and settled *abode* among the dwellings of Jacob. His chosen and magnificent dwelling-place crowned the hill of Zion, overlooking Jerusalem the city of His love. It was "the house of prayer for all nations;" He commanded His people to seek him there, he promised that none who sought him should go unblessed away.

Shem and Japheth had thus their respective portions meted out to them according to the prophetic word. To Japheth were assigned worldly glory and dominion; but Shem had something far better, in the love and presence of his covenant-God.

Third Rendering. "God shall persuade Japheth, and shall dwell in the tents of Shem." A fulfilment is now forced upon our attention, of an equally striking but totally different kind. We have Shem's God, first dwelling among his own people, and secondly persuading the stranger.

1. "In the beginning," writes St. John, "was the Word, . . . the Word was God, . . . the Word was made flesh, . . . and came unto His own; . . . he PITCHED HIS TENT AMONG US, and we beheld his glory, full of grace and truth." The image here is that of one coming to an encampment, pitching his tent with the others, and dwelling among the people as one of themselves. "Blessed be Jehovah, God of Shem," says the patriarch, "He shall so deal with Shem's children. And it was indeed Jehovah who vouchsafed to stoop so low. "A virgin shall conceive"

writes the prophet, "and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us." "Being in the form of God," says the Apostle speaking of Christ, "he thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself and took on him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself and became obedient." The glory which Shem's children beheld while this blessed One dwelt among them, was the fulness of grace and truth. "He went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed." "Whithersoever he entered, into villages, or city, or country, they laid the sick in the streets, and besought him that they might touch, if it were but the border of his garment, and as many as touched him were made perfectly whole." The multitudes marvelled, they glorified the God of Israel, they said, "He hath done all things well, he maketh both the deaf to hear and the dumb to speak." Nor did they marvel less at the truth which dwelt in him, as it poured itself forth in his continual teaching. They "were astonished at his doctrine, for he taught them as one that had authority;" they "bare him witness and marvelled at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth;" they said, "never man spake like this man." This leads us to remark the most amazing feature in this prophecy—one which stamps it indelibly with the impress of Divine foreknowledge. When Isaiah declared that these things should be,—that Immanuel should come of a virgin, that at his coming the eyes of the blind should be opened, and the ears of the deaf unstopped, that at his command the lame man should leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing, that at the opening of his mouth the waters of life and truth should break out in the wilderness, till the parched ground became a pool,—he uttered what required the utmost stretch of faith to believe. But those who did believe him, would naturally be led to conclude that when such gracious things were done, the most blessed results would follow. When God shall thus visit his own, they would say, his own will of necessity return to him and seek his face; the most determined prejudice, the most hardened unbelief, the most inveterate love of sin, will yield to a demonstration so surpassingly gracious: if God dwells in Shem's tents, it cannot be but that Shem will be persuaded by him. But what says the prophetic patriarch? "God shall PERSUADE JAPHETH, and shall dwell in the tents of Shem." This silence is emphatic and ominous; Shem was not to be persuaded. And they were accomplished; he was not persuaded. When Shem's God came unto his own, "his own," writes the apostle, "received him

not." And these words tell only half a tale; Calvary must tell the rest. They desired a murderer instead of the Prince of life; they sought the heathen Cæsar for their king instead of the Lord of glory; they said of him who had pitched his tent among them to bless them, "his blood be on us and on our children;" they nailed him to the accursed tree. And even these dreadful acts were but the commencement of their rejection of him. After he had passed through death and risen to immortality and was about to leave this world to go to the Father, he charged his apostles when they proclaimed his forgiving mercy, to begin at Jerusalem. And they obeyed his command. "Ye are the children of the prophets," they reminded their countrymen, "and of the covenant which God made with our fathers; unto you first, God having raised up his Son Jesus, hath sent him to bless you." And it did indeed seem for a season as if they would accept the blessing. Three thousand of them received the word at its very first proclamation by St. Peter; within a few days there were five thousand believers in Jerusalem; multitudes both of men and women were soon after added to the Lord: and so steadily did this advance, that when St. Paul visited Jerusalem thirty years afterwards, he found many myriads of Jews believing. And we can conceive both him and his fellows to have been encouraged exceedingly by such manifestations of God's grace, and to have looked for still greater things. We can conceive them to have said, surely our fears are to be disappointed, and our hopes exceeded, Israel shall yet be gathered; God hath dwelt in Shem's tents, and Shem shall be persuaded by him. But alas, it was not so to be. The generation which had rejected the Saviour, furnished indeed a people to bear witness for his name, but the mass of the Jewish nation sank into deeper impenitence and more determined unbelief. The Roman came at length to fulfil their own frantic imprecation; the sacred blood of Jesus was required at their hands, and returned on their guilty heads; and Shem unpersuaded of his God, was driven forth a fugitive and a vagabond. As such, still unpersuaded, he still wanders bearing on his forehead the mark of Noah's truth. For of him, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, and yet he is shut up in unbelief till the promised day of mercy.

2. And in what condition was Japheth when God was thus visiting Shem? Was there anything about him morally or spiritually to lead to the conclusion that when his elder brother rejected the Most High, he would receive with open arms the revelation of His grace? Let an inspired Apostle answer. He describes Japheth at that period of the world's history, "a

filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness," as "full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity," as a whisperer, a backbiter, a hater of God, as without understanding, without natural affection, implacable and unmerciful. Judging therefore from human probabilities we should have said, if Shem will not hear, there is no hope for the world, for Japheth will most certainly despise the message of God. But here again is the remarkable feature of the prophecy before us—it contradicts these probabilities. God shall persuade Japheth, is the patriarch's express assurance. And this assurance has been fulfilled. The circumcised children of Shem who thanked God that they were neither extortioners, unjust nor adulterers, who fasted twice in the week, and gave tithes of all that they possessed, saw no beauty in the Saviour and rejected him; whilst the sons of Japheth brutalized by idolatry, debased by licentiousness, and steeped in crime, turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven. The word of mercy was first declared and believed also in the house of Cornelius. It was published next in the provinces of Asia; it passed into Greece, Italy and Spain; it reached the farthest bounds of the West, even the isles in which we now dwell. And wherever it was published, the same Divine blessing attended it. It gathered families, cities, nations to the obedience of Christ, it went on conquering and to conquer, till the banner of the cross waved over the capitol, and the false gods and deified heroes of antiquity gave place to that name which is above every name. And the conquest has been permanent. Two thousand years have passed, and 280 millions of the children of Japheth acknowledge Jesus to be Lord. He is still the persuaded One, while beside him are unbelieving Shem, and Ham the servant of servants. Surely these coincidences so marvellous in their character, are not the result of accident. From whom can they have proceeded save "from the Lord of Hosts who is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working"?

HAVING now considered this prophecy in all the renderings of its meaning, we may put it to all candid and fair-judging men, does the past history and present condition of the human race agree or not with the prophetic chart of its fortunes given in the book of Genesis, while yet that race was in its cradle? If only one answer can be returned to this question, and that answer in the affirmative; if, moreover, we bear in mind that this earliest prophecy contains the germ of all that have succeeded it, and that salvation itself is developed out of the pregnant words, "Jehovah, God of Shem," the prophecies of Scripture become one of the pillars of our faith. They

enable us not only to stand on the defensive when attacked, but to carry the war into the camp of the sceptic; for he is unable, and he knows it, to account for their fulfilment?

A scoffing infidel remarked that the patriarch was surely still under the influence of his wine, when he could pronounce upon one member of his family so unreasonable a curse, and promise to the others, blessings so disproportioned to anything they had done to deserve them. Our only answer to this profanity, is, Go and do thou likewise. Pronounce a curse upon one of thy children when he offends thee, and upon his descendants to the latest posterity; make large promises of blessing to another when he pleases thee, and to his children's children with him; and see whether the God of nature and providence will confirm thy words. He has beyond all contradiction, confirmed the words of Noah; instead of scoffing therefore, let us be filled with awe. The destruction of the old Canaanite by Joshua, and of Carthage by Scipio, the existence to this hour, of the slave trade with all its horrors, admonish us to tremble before his words of wrath, and to fear exceedingly to bring down the edge of these words upon ourselves. Whilst the call of Abraham, the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the conversion of the Gentile world to the faith of his blessed name, give delightful evidence of the truth of his promises of mercy, inviting us to put our trust in them for time and for eternity.

To conclude:—if the Bible has proved so true, as far as this world is concerned, in its revelations of the past and the present, we may trust its prophetic intimations of the future destiny of our race. And blessed be God, these destinies are glorious: darkness has long brooded over this wretched earth, but at evening time it shall be light. Shem shall not be always unpersuaded: he shall yet return and be reconciled to the God of his fathers, and be a blessing in the midst of the earth. “Again I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, oh virgin of Israel,” is the promise of Shem's God. “Thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and go forth in the dances of them that make merry. They shall come with weeping, and with supplications will I lead them; they shall look upon Me, whom they have pierced, and mourn.” And when the Jew shall thus return to God, the other nations who have come of Shem, shall follow in his train. If God says by Isaiah, looking to the prophetic future, “Blessed be Israel mine inheritance,” He adds in the same Divine sentence, and “Assyria the work of mine hands.” “For if the casting away” of the Jew, says St. Paul, “has been the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead!” Nor shall Ham always

be the servant of servants. He shall yet be made free with the glorious liberty of the gospel, and the yoke of the oppressor shall be broken from off his neck. His children are expressly included in that Divine sentence to which I have just referred. "In that day," says the prophet, "shall Israel be a third *with Egypt* and with Assyria, whom the Lord of hosts shall bless, saying, blessed be *Egypt my people*." The Egyptian then shall yet acknowledge Jehovah; and with the Egyptian, all the descendants of Ham, for the kingdoms of *this world*, we are assured in the Apocalypse, shall in that day be the kingdoms of our God. We already see the budding of these glorious purposes; and we see what is most cheering of all, Japheth of whom we are, Japheth the persuaded, the enlarged one, used by Almighty God for their furtherance and accomplishment. Look at the zeal for the Jew, which of late years He has put into our hearts; look at our labours among Shem's other children, in Eastern India, in Persia and in China. And how signally have these labours been owned! India is now beginning to stretch out her hands unto God. Nor have Ham's descendants been forgotten. The names of Wilberforce, of Clarkson, of Buxton, —all sons of Japheth, are identified for ever with the cause of injured Africa. And many of the sons and daughters of our country, whose names are not chronicled by man, have left their bones in her soil, in fulfilment of that mission of love which impelled them to seek her shores. These labours moreover, begin to be largely acknowledged. The oppressor's arms, in God's mercy, are now turned against himself. The sable sons of Africa redeemed by our cruisers from the slave-ships and painfully instructed by our missionaries, are carrying back to their own land the glad tidings of salvation. It is delightful to remember that some of these have had the hands of our own metropolitan bishop laid on them; it presents the cheering spectacle of Japheth blessing Ham.

"Heavily every bosom pineth
Heavily oh, heavily oh!
Where the bond of slavery twineth."

Long has unhappy Africa proved the truth of these words.

"Merrily every bosom boundeth
Merrily oh, merrily oh!
Where the song of liberty soundeth."

And soon shall Africa, soon shall all the nations of the earth prove that this is true; they shall prove it when redeemed from the tyranny of Satan, and brought into the liberty of the sons of God. Noah's children shall then cease their vain contests

for power and glory, they shall hang the trumpet in the hall, and study war no more. The only strife shall be who shall best do God's will, who shall minister most largely to his fellow's blessing; precedence either of nations, families or individuals, shall be desired only as increasing the power to bless. May God hasten that day; may his kingdom come!

W. T.

THE GENEALOGY OF CHRIST.*

THERE is a class of commentators on the New Testament, but confined almost exclusively to modern times, who maintain that of the two genealogies of our Lord which are contained in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, the former only is on the side of Joseph, his father according to the law, and that the latter is on the side of Mary his mother. These hold the establishment of the latter genealogy, as that of Mary, to be of great importance, in order, according to their view of the case, to shew that our Lord was "of the seed of David according to the flesh," a character which by the prophecies must belong to the Messiah. The argument is indeed stated with a good deal of obscurity, and its links are in a great measure assumed, instead of being proved, arising from the circumstance that, quite unaccountably on the basis on which the view in question depends, our Lord's connexion with David through Joseph, David's undoubted descendant, appears to be set forth on the face of the Scripture narratives as the fulfilment of those prophecies, and little is said of Mary in this respect except in connexion with Joseph. In consequence of this difficulty, the assumed necessity of evidence of Mary's descent from David, if it does not take the place of the actual evidence required, is at least held to give a decisive weight to articles of evidence, which of themselves infer various degrees of probability only, and often very slight ones, of what Mary was, and so to make up for the absence of what may be deemed satisfactory proof. We propose to examine this question, which has recently been the subject of a good deal of discussion. The point at issue is interesting, and it would be momentous, could it be made out that the Lord must be shewn to have descended from David through Mary. We shall state in the sequel our reasons for the contrary, and for the conclusion that Mary's descent from David is not only not mentioned in

* By G. M. Clelland, New York. From *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April, 1861.

the New Testament as a fact (whatever may be its probability), and consequently is not the basis of the fulfilment of the promises to David's seed, but that, in accordance with the character of our Lord's mission, her pedigree was purposely intended to be left unnoticed and without positive establishment.

We have hardly any light on this subject but what the Scriptures themselves afford us, and this is confined to what is required for their own ends. This is a feature which is characteristic of the Scriptures. They record enough in every instance to show that the events which came in the way of the sacred historians were real, that is, pertained to actual and known human interests, and this in a more intense degree, as regards expression and genuine form, than is found in any portion of secular history. But no care is taken merely to convey information, or to gratify curiosity. Wisely, and, we doubt not, purposely, the sacred narrative is guarded from being mingled with the stream of the secular annals of the human race; which are too often both superficial and full of errors, the record of the vain imaginations of men, subserving at best only temporal ends, and altogether failing to show the truth regarding the condition of men as God sees it. The mere matter of fact set forth in the Scriptures, genuine as it is, is constantly kept subordinate to the spiritual purpose. We have no expectation that there will ever be much success in perfectly harmonizing sacred and secular history; the objects of the several writers, and the points of view from which they wrote, having been so essentially different as to make such a result as unattainable as undesirable. Subject to this guard from the insuperable heterogeneousness of the materials, we have no desire to discourage such partial illustration of Scriptural statements, as can be obtained from the facts of nature or the secular records of history. On the contrary, this, wisely done, is fitted to lead to more enlarged views of the truth and wisdom of the written word of God; only, we insist, the subject-matter and the mere natural judgment of men are both treacherous, and will deceive, if in the examination the purifying eye-salve do not purge the mental sight.

At the time when a pure and powerful influence from God is on the minds of men, as at the chief events of the Jewish and Christian dispensations, those engaged have their thoughts too much absorbed by interests transcending the things of the earth, to admit of their caring for the mere material scenes where they were transacted; and before the opposite feeling sets in—which it is sure to do as soon as the religious feeling has lost its high tone, and become worldly—the usual effect of lapse of time and

of imperfect memorials is to spread a veil over the outward circumstances, and to cover them with uncertainty. Providence would thus kindly dissuade men from making too much of the mere outward material of great events, and confine them to the spiritual substance; but too often in vain; for there is a proneness in the natural mind to the idolatry of such things. We need not dwell on what is so well known,—the uncertainty as to the precise scenes of many of the most important events of sacred history. Let two instances suffice. The exact place of the sensible manifestation of the presence of God to the thousands of Israel among the singular mountain cluster which forms the peninsula of Sinai—the most imposing public event, perhaps, ever witnessed by the eyes of men—is the subject of keen controversy; and the disputants appear to be governed in their conclusions rather by the fitness of particular places to exhibit the appearances in what they would deem the most effective manner, than by what may be regarded as sober evidence as to the actual locality. Nay, Mr. Fergusson, of London, in his work on Jerusalem, has startled every one by maintaining the positions, backed by an array of authorities from Scripture and ancient travellers, that the real Zion was the temple eminence, and that the site of the temple was not what is now commonly but erroneously termed the mosque of Omar, but was at the south-western end of Mount Moriah, chiefly on the spot where stands the mosque of Aksa; and, more surprising still, not merely that the locality of Calvary and of the Holy Sepulchre is not indicated by the church at present bearing the latter name—which had been questioned by Robinson, Barclay, and others—but that the bare rock known to lie within the mosque of Omar, and the cavern underneath, which have ever been held by the Mohammedans in superstitious veneration, are the real Calvary and sepulchre, and that the mosque itself, instead of being on the site of the temple, is the monumental church built by Constantine over them! If the evidence adduced by Mr. Fergusson should be held adequate—a subject we do not enter upon—one could not but admire the righteous retribution, that those who have been foremost in casting out the faith of Christ, should thus have been made to bow down in prostrate adoration to the place sanctified by his death.

It is exactly the same as to persons, in their relation beyond the need of Scripture. We know nothing as to the private history of such personages as Abraham, Isaac, and Solomon, as soon as, after having satisfied the ends of instruction and type for which they were used, they drop into the background of the inspired recital. To come lower down—who were “the Lord’s

brethren," repeatedly mentioned in the evangelists? Some think they were the children of Joseph by a former marriage; some, the children of a deceased brother, Alpheus; some, the children of another Mary, a widowed sister of Mary the Lord's mother; some, that they were children of Joseph and Mary; and there are other suppositions still. Similar difficulties surround the question: "Who was James the Lord's brother," mentioned in Galatians? To all such questions, and many others, no answers can be given. Scripture is either silent or undecided, and tradition is quite unsatisfactory. There was no practical end for the faith to be answered by the solution of such questions.

Returning backwards to a generation earlier than that of our Lord and his brethren, we find no such difficulties in regard to the position in which Joseph stood in his nation and tribe. Because it was a point of high scriptural importance that his descent should be perfectly known, the particulars are minutely and emphatically dwelt on. But as to Mary, we find nearly an absolute blank of information of this kind; for we shall shew that the apparent absence of such information on the face of the narratives is not obviated on a closer scrutiny of its import. Scripture and tradition are as uncertain as to Mary's descent and connexions, as in regard to those of "the Lord's brethren." This is a state of facts just the opposite of what ought to have appeared on the views adopted by the class of commentators mentioned at the outset. They would say that Joseph's kindred and pedigree were matters of no importance, but Mary's all-important. But God's ways are not as man's; and it is our part reverently to bend to his, and to give our best endeavours to discover the reasons for them.

When we turn to the New Testament, nothing can be more natural and engaging than the pictures presented of the families and individuals whom the course of events brings up to view. Every notice, while brief and undesigned, has the stamp of truth and reality, and there is nothing forced or exaggerated. The glimpses of the genuine ways of men in the narratives, compared with the blank before and after, may not unaptly be likened to those of the private ways of the Romans at a period not long subsequent, which have been furnished so wonderfully in consequence of the drawing aside of the rocky screen of ages from the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii; saving that in the former the view has the forms of life, while in the latter it has those of death. While every trait is characteristic and full of humanity, the notice of mere external events is rigidly kept within the closest compass that would admit of the due exhibition of the facts and doctrines, which it was the ultimate design of the record

to set forth ; and hence many minor difficulties, of no importance in themselves, are left unanticipated and unresolved. The narrative has manifestly flowed from a pre-existing life, and not the life from the narrative. The mouth has spoken out of the fulness of the heart. It has always appeared to us a striking internal proof of the truth of the gospels, that the statements which convey such momentous realities for the faith of men in order to their salvation, should be so restrained and temperate in their details, and, while presenting facts with a power and a naïveté unapproached in any work of mere human authority, should have referred to persons, places, and incidents, in ways so little intended to beget credence by the arts of composition, and so unlike those of persons engaged in making or explaining a story.

A blank occurs. The Gospel has been sown, and has taken root in the hearts of men. So intent are the believers on the working of the new life, of which they have been made partakers ; so surpassingly weighty do they find the truth by which they had been made free, and so trivial in comparison not only the aims of men in the world around them, but the mere earthly relations of the persons and events through whose means that truth had been conveyed,—that we hardly find in the church, beyond its authoritative documents, a word of record regarding such topics for two or three centuries after the establishment of the Gospel. Generations pass away, leaving untold their remembrances of the worldly connexions of the founders of the faith ; and the destruction of Jerusalem, and the troubles of the lands which had been the seat of the Lord's residence and ministry, with the outward violence to which Christians were subjected from proscriptions and persecutions, add their influence in extinguishing evidence regarding such matters, as well as in indisposing the minds of believers from being careful about them.

A new condition of things emerges. The churches are found in some stability, and growing formidable in numbers. Something of a more cultivated intellectual condition appears in them. The members begin to inquire, to dispute, to impugn, to write for the instruction or conviction of one another, and of the Jew and the heathen around. But with this a new mind appears in the churches. The word transmitted from the past in purity and simplicity, does not now satisfy them. They give unmistakable proofs, that "having begun in the spirit," they are desirous of being "made perfect in the flesh." With other vanities, out of place here to mention, they "give heed to fables and endless genealogies, which minister questions rather than godly edifying which is in faith," as their fathers had been inclined to do even in the days of Paul, but which the early vigor

of a higher life, and the authoritative teaching of the heads of the church, had restrained for a time. This is the period when, in the natural course of things, myths, legends, traditions and fleshly conjectures and plausibilities regarding facts, will attempt to make a lodgment in the church, and will partly succeed: while there may also be expected some slight admixture of tradition of a character less questionable.

With the myths and legends, which arose in the early centuries succeeding the apostolic period of the church, in relation to our Lord's earthly connexions and the lives and actions of the individuals brought into notice by this means, we have no intention of detaining our readers. Writings of this character appear to have been numerous, but the greater part of those whose titles are found in the writings of the Fathers have entirely disappeared, having sunk into oblivion under the weight of their inherent untruth and folly. A few specimens only, and these probably not of the worst sort, still remain in such works as *The Gospel of the Birth of Mary*, *The Protoevangelion*, a pretended account of our Lord's birth by James the Lesser, cousin and brother of the Lord Jesus, chief apostle and first bishop of the Christians in Jerusalem; *The Gospels of the Infancy of Jesus Christ*, and one or two others. But their contents are so puerile and incredible, at once so unlike nature, and the truth and simplicity of the Gospel narratives, as to betray their distance from the apostolic age, and give ground to doubt whether (excepting what is palpably borrowed from the New Testament) there is in them the slenderest vein of tradition regarding the persons and times professed to be treated of. Whatever of this there may be is so mixed with and overborne by palpable fictions, as to be inextricable.

From the materials which we have described, and which, as we have said, must be limited almost entirely to the information contained in the books of the New Testament, we have to inquire what was the genealogy of the Lord which the Scriptures set forth as connecting him with the house of David, of whose seed the prophecies of old declared the Messiah should be. This will best be done by a simple classification of the facts, accompanied by notices of difficulties which have been experienced in explaining them.

1. Joseph, the husband of Mary, the Lord's mother, was the known descendant of David, and recognized by his countrymen as of his royal seed. This fact is substantiated so largely on the face of the gospels, as to make details almost unnecessary. Joseph is so described at the outset of the narrative. The record of the annunciation bears, that the angel Gabriel was sent "to

a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary" (Luke i. 27). Here the words "of the house of David," naturally belong to Joseph. And the words of the angel to Joseph, when he was pondering what to do as to Mary (Matt. i. 20), applied to him the title, doubtless familiar to his own ear and thoughts: "Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife."

2. The narrative of the events of this time embraces, as if regarded as an essential part of it, the position of Mary, as being the affianced spouse of Joseph. We have seen this in the record of the annunciation. In like manner the narrative in Matthew i. 18, bears: "Now the birth of Jesus was on this wise: When as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together," etc. In both these passages the espousals of Mary (a tie having much of the obligation of marriage, and not capable of being dissolved except in a formal way) is made a pointed part of the narrative.

3. Before the birth of Jesus, Joseph was commanded to take Mary to his house as his wife. It is not enough to say, that this was in order to protect Mary. Joseph and Mary, previously joined together by the act of espousals, by this further act became perfectly one in God's sight; and it conferred on Joseph the title of father, according to the law, of the child about to be, and some time afterwards born of Mary. The gift of a son, in a most important sense, was to Joseph as well as Mary. And God, in so dealing with Joseph's wife, doubtless intended that it should be so. God could give Joseph such a gift, and he could accept it; and its character and relations the law was at hand to define and maintain.

It appears to us that, in considering this matter, sufficient weight is not allowed to the inevitable result that Jesus, in consequence of the marriage of Joseph to Mary, really became the son of Joseph, "by the law and according to the flesh." What was thus scripturally expressed,—which means, not the law of physiology according to our modern scientific language, but just the natural law of human society, and the rules of the Jewish law applied thereto, as distinguished from the law of the higher and purely spiritual life revealed by Christ,—could in such matters deal only with the outward fact; and its conclusion for its own ends was not meant to be traversed by a supernatural fact proceeding from God, and supernaturally revealed. The supernatural fact has its own effects, to those who believe it, for its own sphere, according as its consequences shall be developed; but in regard to earthly things (which succession in the fleshly line of David was), the law according to human ways and the

outward fact, so long as the facts abide in that sphere, must take effect according to its own principle. Any rule which would operate otherwise, and cause the supernatural to overthrow the natural, within the proper sphere of the latter, would produce inextricable confusion. Overlooking this, some allow the thought to take shape in their mind, as if the knowledge of the supernatural conception, which has been certainly conveyed to us by supernatural revelation, would make Jesus, as it were, a supposititious child in regard to Joseph and the line of descent through him, with the privileges appertaining, if anything were claimed by inheritance in consequence of such sonship. This appears to us a notion altogether erroneous. While our Lord's supernatural origin secured to him everything which was to be his inheritance in a sense higher than what was promised to the seed of David in the literal kingdom of Israel, it did not exclude him from that natural benefit which the law gave to him as the son of Joseph, and which no Jew or Jewish tribunal bound by the law could object to his receiving. Jesus was not the less the son of Joseph according to the flesh, that he was the direct gift to him from God.

It may be proper to notice the light indirectly thrown by the Scripture on this subject. By a provision of the Jewish law (Deut. xxv. 5—10), when a brother died childless, his surviving brother was commanded to marry the widow: "and it shall be that the firstborn son which she beareth shall succeed in name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not put out of Israel." By this means the Jews were familiar with the idea of an heir being given to one who was not the real father. In their eyes the heir from such a source was as truly such as if born naturally to the deceased. That they remained familiar with this case in our Lord's time, appears from the question put to him by the Sadducees, mentioned by Matthew, xxii. 23—28, as well as by Mark and Luke. This levirate law, as it is termed, is brought into notice in regard to an early portion of our Lord's genealogy in Ruth iv.; and we shall afterwards find that it is again forced on our attention by the earliest, and probably on the whole (notwithstanding the disparaging view of it taken by some modern commentators) the most tenable of the interpretations of the genealogy of our Lord in Luke.

We are inclined to think that there is something more than a mere analogy between the point of the Jewish law to which we have been adverting, and the gift of a son to Joseph on the part of God. The grand truth of Christianity is, that man being dead through sin, and incapable by himself of recovery, God gave redemption and salvation by sending his own Son, the Lord

of life, into his nature, to serve as a quickening seed therein by his Spirit to all who should receive him. Of this truth the scriptures teem with types and illustrations, and it was interwoven with the whole law and customs of the Jews. What more apt figure can we find of it than in Joseph, the husband after the flesh of her of whom the Messiah was to be born, taken as representing either the fallen man after the flesh, or the Jew under the law, or both of them, to whom as in himself impotent for good and dead in trespasses and sins, God as the living One raises up the true seed who shall save and perpetuate the race about to perish? The figure is exactly the same as that which Paul makes use of in Rom. vii. 1—4, with this difference only, that in the application we have made of it, it embraces the act of God in sending his son into our nature for our salvation, while in that made by Paul, it embraces the act by which believers in Christ are enabled to lay hold by faith of what Christ has done,—the one the root, the other the application, of the same truth. we thus see that from the fact of a son being given to Joseph by God through Mary, important meaning may be drawn, in close harmony with the fundamental truth of God's revealed dispensations towards man, and that it throws light upon a pointed rule of the Jewish law, not otherwise capable of easy explanation.

But, however deserving of consideration may be these views of the type and antitype of the levirate marriage, we rest nothing upon them in our present argument. All we contend for are the two following propositions:

(1) That by the birth of Jesus to Mary, Joseph's wife, a son was given by God to Joseph, and accepted by him, who thus was his "according to the law and after the flesh;" that is, that according to the common laws of humanity and the Jewish rules, which could take cognizance only of external conditions and events, Jesus was the lawful son of Joseph, and entitled, as such, to all the rights and privileges arising from that relation.

(2) That Jesus was consequently of the seed of David according to the flesh, and capable, as such, of receiving in his person the fulfilment of all the promises made to that seed.

4. Jesus, who was at the due time presented in the temple, and recorded in the national register and tables of genealogy, must have been so presented and recorded as the lawful son of Joseph by Mary, and thus must have appeared on the face of the books of the temple as the first-born of their marriage according to the law, by evidence irrefragable by man.

5. Joseph and Mary are called the "parents" of Jesus in Luke ii. 27 and 41, and in v. 48 Mary calls Joseph his "father."

This shews the continuation of the state of things commencing at birth. To the same effect,

6. To the Jews, and to his brethren in the flesh, Jesus was the son of Joseph, as appears both from what has been noticed, and from the current of the narrative of the Gospels; as in John vi. 42, "Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph and Mary, whose father and mother we know? How is it then that he saith, that I came down from heaven?"—also in Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3, and Luke iv. 22. The conclusion is the stronger, that in these instances Jesus was at Nazareth or Capernaum, the places of the residence of the family, where they were well known. The saying, "We know this man whence he is" (John vii. 27),—by which was meant his known position as the son of Joseph and Mary at Nazareth,—seemed to the Jews a conclusive argument against the claims of Jesus.

7. Jesus was familiarly known to the Jews as "the son of David," which could have arisen only from his being taken to be the son of Joseph, who was known to be of David's line (Matt. ix. 27; xv. 22; xx. 31).

In passing from these details regarding our Lord's personal condition and relations in the sight of his kindred and people, we add, that we consider it a mistake to suppose that the supernatural characters of our Lord's assumption of human nature were any part of the Gospel preached to the Jews in his lifetime. As to this, we agree with what is said by Dr. Thiersch, in his *History of the Christian Church*, in accounting for the absence from the Gospel according to Mark (which is now generally recognized as being the earliest in date of composition of all the Gospels), of notice of any event connected with Jesus previous to his baptism by John (p. 95),—

"Granting that the wonderful birth of the Redeemer had been already related to the Apostles by the Holy Virgin before they left Jerusalem; granting that they had already possessed that information out of the bosom of the holy family which Luke has adopted in his first and second chapters; the time to publish these mysteries, that Christ was conceived of the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin, had not arrived. Even though these things might be talked over within the circle of the faithful, they were such as could not be committed to writing, and exposed to the risk of coming into strange hands."

It does not appear, from the narratives of the evangelists or from any other source, that these circumstances were known in our Lord's lifetime outside of the family to which they had been entrusted. "Mary kept all these sayings, and pondered them in her heart" (Luke ii. 19, 51). In the multitude of our Lord's

addresses, he never alludes to his supernatural origin in such a way as that the Jews could understand the literal truth in regard to it, or as founding on it his claims to their faith. On the contrary, he evaded the literal conclusion, and referred sometimes to his words and sometimes to his works as the ground of the faith, through which the Jews might savingly understand that he was sent forth from God, as in John x. 34—8. In the mood in which the Jews were towards him, they could not but have made the circumstances in question the subject of reproach, had they known of them. But in all their questions and cavils at his doctrine; in their indignation at his testimony, and rejection of his claims; in the betrayal, the accusation, the judgment, and the infliction of death; and in their eager inculpation of their victim, and justification of themselves, there is not an allusion to what they would readily have stigmatized as evidence of imposture, and made the occasion of obloquy. We see the same manner of dealing with the subject in the addresses of the apostles, as recorded in Acts; as of Peter in chapter 2d, 3d, and 10th; and of Paul in chapters 13th and 17th; where, combined with hints of a higher truth regarding the Messiah whom they preached, such as could find a full response only in the hearts of the faithful, the testimony which reached the ears of the people at large from them was to Jesus as “a man approved among you by miracles, and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know,”—“whom God had raised up, having loosed the pains of death,”—the man of whom David knew that “God had sworn with an oath to him that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne.” Such is the combined truth and wisdom with which Jesus is presented to the Jews,—as the son of Joseph, the undoubted seed of David, their own records and the acknowledged fact among their own people being witnesses; but, at the same time, the accredited messenger of God, whose true nature and dignity those should learn who recognized the words and the works of his Father proceeding from him.

It is plain that the supernatural generation was not a miracle for the conversion of men, but was a fact necessarily flowing from the dignity of our Lord's divine person. There never was preaching from this fact to faith in Jesus, but, conversely, from faith in him to the reception of this fact.

8. There are two genealogies of Jesus to be found in the first chapter of Matthew and in the third chapter of Luke; the first to shew his descent from David and Abraham by the line of Solomon, and the second both to shew the same by the line of

Nathan, another son of David, and to carry the descent back to the creation. In both of these the descent is traced through Joseph alone, as the last link of the chain leading back to David. But we are here brought to a stage of the inquiry of so much importance as to call for a separate and special notice of the two genealogies.

It is not our intention to notice questions regarding the extension or abridgment of these lists, arising from the various readings of manuscripts and other considerations, because they do not enter into the matters we propose to discuss in this Article.

It is admitted on all hands that the genealogy in Matthew is that of Joseph; among the many questions as to matters of fact, this has never been disputed. It begins with Abraham, and proceeds downwards, through David, along the line of the kings of Judah to Jechonias, when the Babyloish captivity took place. Then come Salathiel and Zorobabel, names which are found also in 1 Chron. iii .17 19, as well as others of the later books of the Old Testament; after which follow nine names, from Abiud to Jacob, the latter being the father of Joseph, which fill up the period from the close of the Old Testament till the time of Joseph. This genealogy was doubtless extracted from the accredited lists preserved by the proper Jewish officers. The Jews must have instantly detected and exposed any erroneous entries, which indeed there is no conceivable motive for any one to have inserted, for Joseph's descent from David was known and commonly admitted. This genealogy, then, never having been called in question, must be taken as correctly setting forth what appeared in the temple register, which is also certain from its being inserted in an inspired composition, and from the use made of it there.

At the beginning, this genealogy has the following title: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham;" meaning that the genealogy which follows shews this to be the case. The genealogy ends thus: "and Jacob begat Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus who is called Christ." This notice of Mary's union with Joseph is the only interest ascribed to her in this genealogy of her son in the kingly line. And then occurs the statement, that the genealogy before detailed comprises three series of fourteen generations each, viz., from Abraham to David, from David to the captivity, and from the captivity to Christ. Whatever might be the full design of this summary, it at least indicates that Jesus was intended to be pointed out, bound up in the threefold series of the genealogy, as having his descent thereby

shewn through Joseph both to David and Abraham; and perhaps what was chiefly in view was in this way to express the fact emphatically at the close, as it had been at the beginning.

Here then, as plainly as words could express it, we have the statement that by the links of this genealogy through Joseph and the line of the kings of Judah, our Lord was of the seed of David and Abraham. It is God's own explanation to this effect, and of the manner of it, given in the most formal way, and shewing that, in the light of the divine purpose, the Lord Jesus Christ was thereby in a condition to receive the fulfilment of the promises made to the seed of these two fathers.

The other genealogy contained in Luke iii. begins with the Lord, and proceeds upwards, in this way: "Jesus began to be about thirty years of age, being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph, which was the son of Heli," etc. This genealogy equally runs through Joseph, Heli however being represented as his father, and not Jacob, as in the other genealogy. Seventeen names are then reckoned backward after Heli, none of them agreeing with the names in Matthew; and after Rhesa, the seventeenth, come Zorobabel and Salathiel, the same as in Matthew; but instead of Salathiel being represented as the son of Jechonias, the last of the kings, and of the list being continued through the line of kings to Solomon, he is said to be the son of Neri, from whom the line runs through eighteen private persons till it reaches Nathan the son of David; beyond whom it proceeds to Abraham and the creation. The difference between the two genealogies is, in substance, this: that while the one is in the line of Solomon, and the other in that of Nathan, there is the remarkable feature, that Salathiel and Zorobabel appear as father and son in the middle of both, the former in the one having as his father Jechonias, and in the other Neri; and the other in the one having as his son Abiud, and in the other Rhesa.

Of the genealogy in Luke it may be said, as in regard to the other, that no reasonable doubt can be entertained that it was taken from the tables of descent extant in the Jewish archives, and that the circumstances forbid the supposition of any unfairness in this respect, and of all motive for attempting any. Its very difficulties are a proof of genuineness.

In considering this second genealogy, the first question that meets us is the force of the words "as was supposed," attached to the relation of sonship ascribed to Jesus in regard to Joseph. The original words are *ὡς ἐνομίζετο*, a verb derived from the noun *νόμος*, which, in the lexicon of Hedericus, is explained to mean: 1. *lex, jus*; and, 2. *consuetudo, mos, institutum*. Fol-

lowing its root, *νομίζω* is said to mean, 1. *lege sancio*; 2. *puto, existimo, arbitro, reor*. Taking the primary sense Matthew Henry says that the phrase means "*uti lege sancitum est*—as we find it in the books, as it is on record;" and the spirit of this interpretation seems most in harmony with the nature of the case. If it should be preferred to assign to the term a slighter and more general meaning, such as it frequently bears, viz. "as was supposed or reckoned," we submit that this should not be held to infer any question of the reality of the sonship of Jesus to Joseph for the ends of the genealogy; for this (besides violating the letter of the genealogy in Luke) would vacate of substantial meaning the genealogy in Matthew through Joseph, the terms of which shew that it is the principal genealogy, and that to which the genealogy in Luke is subordinate and supplemental. It sufficiently accounts for these words, and that they were necessary to save the supernatural origin of our Lord.

What we have said opens the way to the great difficulty of the case: How is it that the Lord had two genealogies through his legal father Joseph? The genealogies themselves give no answer to this question. They have, indeed, different characters. The one, beginning with Abraham, embraces patriarchs and kings and the heirs of kings. This genealogy may be said to have on it the stamp of Christ the ruler, in the threefold series marked in the genealogy itself, and realized in Jewish history: first, in the form of faith as giving worthiness to rule; second, in that of rule attained in the dignity of king; and third, in the same seen in decay. The other genealogy, again, which, as far as possible, takes private names and avoids official persons, and which mounts beyond Abraham up to the creation, seems to denote Christ as the subject one, the representative of the whole race of man, whose nature he took as comprehensively as the first Adam had it, "who is the figure of him that was to come" (Rom. v. 14). These characters, however, do not explain the difference of the contents of the genealogies, and according to what often occurs in scripture, they may have been engrafted on lines of descent, the divergence of which had arisen from an independent cause.

In the examination of this question we naturally betake ourselves first to the views held on the subject by the early church; for theirs was the time for what have long ceased,—real conflicts with the Jews, who were familiar with and directly concerned in the genealogies, as well as the time when tradition and opinion might throw light on this subject. We have important information regarding this matter in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, bk. i., c. 7; the more so that, instead of giving any state-

ment of his own, and the views of his own time, the third century, he quotes largely from an epistle (not now extant) to Aristides from Africanus, born at Emmaus, or Nicopolis, in Palestine, near a century earlier, setting forth the tradition which had come down to this day, and which appeared to solve the difficulty in a satisfactory manner.

The explanation of Africanus has reference to that reading of the genealogy in Luke, supported by ancient copies and approved by some commentators, which omits Matthat and Levi, the father and grandfather of Heli, and goes to Melchi, as Heli's father. The substance of his prolix statement is that Matthan (Joseph's grandfather, in the line of Solomon) and Melchi (his grandfather, in that of Nathan) married, successively, a woman named Estha, by whom the former had Jacob and the latter Heli, who were thus brothers uterine. Heli married and died childless, whereupon Jacob married his widow, and had Joseph, who was naturally the son of Jacob in the line of Solomon, but by the levirate law was accounted the son of Heli in that of Nathan. Africanus gives this account, not as an ingenious speculation, but as a positive tradition derived from the *Desposyni*, the name given in the early church to those who were in affinity with the family of Jesus. He explains the double record thus:

"It was customary in Israel to calculate the names of the generations either according to nature or according to the law; according to nature, by the succession of legitimate offspring; according to the law, when another raised children to the name of a brother who had died childless. For as the hope of a resurrection was not clearly given, they imitated the promise which was to take place by a kind of mortal resurrection, with the view to perpetuate the name of the person who had died. Since, then, there are some of those who are inserted in this genealogical table, that succeeded each other in the natural order of father and son, some again being born of certain persons, and ascribed to others by name, both the real and the reputed fathers have been recorded. Thus neither of the gospels has made a false statement, whether calculating in the order of nature or according to the law."

This view of the matter received credence in the early church, and governed the common opinion for ages. Jerome (on Matt. i.), in answer to the emperor Julian, says: "Julianus Augustus, in this place, attacks the evangelists on the ground of discrepancy. Matthew calls Joseph the son of Jacob, whereas Luke calls him the son of Heli. Had Julian been better acquainted with the mode of speech of the Jews, he would have seen that the one evangelist gives the natural, and the other the

legal pedigree of Joseph." Augustine expresses himself strongly in support of the explanation of Africanus. In a treatise against Faustus Manichaeus, he had said that his objection on the ground of discrepancy was obviated by the fact that the one father was by adoption, and the other natural, but he had not explained the kind of adoption. In his *Retractationes* (bk. 2, cap. 7), he supplies the omission, having now read the work of Africanus, which he had not done when he made that statement. "Hoc in eorum litteris monitum est," he says, "qui recenti memoria post adscensionem Domini de hac re scripserunt. Nam etiam nomen ejusdem mulieris quae peperit Jacob patrem Joseph de priori marito Matthan, qui fuit parter Jacob avus Joseph, secundum Matthaeum; et de marito posteriore peperit Heli, cujus erat adoptivus Joseph, non tacuit Africanus."

If the facts were well founded, the explanation of the double genealogy which satisfied the early church sufficiently accounts for it. "The best hypothesis," says Dr. Wall, "that has been given for reconciling the two catalogues, is the old one of Africanus." It is true the explanation rests only on a tradition; but it conflicts with no other facts; it states nothing but what is credible, and in accordance with the usages of the people; and it has, perhaps, as much of the marks of authenticity as any other tradition of that age bearing upon such events. In regard to the relation of this to the other genealogy, it might have sufficed to say, without the explanation of Africanus, that the fact of such an explanation being possible, was enough to shew that there might be no inconsistency between them.

Some modern writers have endeavoured to explain these genealogies on other principles. We shall first notice one of those schemes which still supposes that the genealogy in Luke is that of Joseph. Grotius had said that the genealogy in Matthew was meant merely to exhibit the successive heirs reigning or entitled to reign, including Joseph, and ending with Christ. The Rev. Lord Arthur C. Hervey, a recent English writer on the subject, who gives, in Dr. Smith's valuable *Dictionary of the Bible*, in course of publication in London and Boston, under the title "Genealogy of Jesus Christ," the substance of a treatise he had formerly written, adopts this suggestion, and maintains that the genealogy in Matthew does not shew the direct descent of Joseph from David, but only the successive heads of the families entitled to the throne; and that the genealogy in Luke contains the private genealogy of Joseph. He concludes (as had been previously contended for by Dr. Lightfoot, in the second series of his *Harmony of the New Testament*) that Salathiel and Zorobabel, who appear as de-

scended from Jechonias both in the genealogy in Matthew and in 1 Chron. iii. 17, 19, could not have been his natural issue, because it had been declared in Jer. xxii. 30 that he should be childless, and that none of his seed should sit upon the throne of David, or rule in Judah; and that, the line of Solomon being supposed to have thus failed, the names in question, which, as the genealogy in Luke seems to shew, represented persons descended from Neri, of the family of Nathan, must have been transferred from the genealogy of Nathan's family to the royal line of Solomon. He represents Joseph as descended through his grandfather Matthan, or Matthat—names in the two genealogies which he considers as denoting the same individual,—from a younger son of Abiud, the eldest son of Zorobabel (the same, he says, as the Juda of Luke iii. 26, getting rid of Rhesa and Joanna as interpolations); this Matthan having become head of the royal line on the failure of the elder branch. And finally he alleges that Matthan, or Matthat, had two sons, Jacob (Matt. i. 15) and Heli (Luke iii. 23), the former of whom having died childless, Joseph the son of Heli, who had predeceased, became the heir of his uncle, and the head of the royal line. To this scheme we state the following objections:

(1) That it throws aside, without adequate reason, the explanations of Africanus and the opinion of the early church. Hervey, indeed, says that this explanation does not account for the meeting of the two lines in Salathiel and Zorobabel. But Africanus did not need to do this. These names necessarily remained, even on Hervey's principles, in both the tables, and his explanations of the transfer to the royal line, if just, serves as well for Africanus's view as for his own.

(2) That it seems to deny the character of a proper genealogy to the table in Matthew, although claimed by its title, its contents, and the summary at the close. Down to Jechonias, and including all the kings, this is unquestionably a proper genealogy, excepting as to certain omissions or condensations not affecting this character, and at variance with Hervey's principle. Lightfoot's supposition (for it is no more) of the transfer of Salathiel and Zorobabel from Nathan's family, is not acquiesced in by all; some holding that the promise to Solomon's seed in 2 Chron. vi. 12—16 precludes the supposition of the failure of his line, explain the entries by the suggestion of a marriage between Salathiel as son of Jechonias and a daughter of Neri; but even were it well founded, it respects only a single link in an exceptional case, and the concluding links ought to be held the links of a proper genealogy, unless the contrary is shown.

(3) It seems quite unlikely that, besides the proper gene-

alogies of families from generation to generation, the priesthood should have kept a table of assorted names, patent to the people, shewing the individuals entitled to the throne throughout the whole period from the Babylonish captivity down to the time of our Lord. This would have been a dangerous practice under their jealous masters, both for the priesthood and for the individuals so pointed out.

(4) The state of the families from Abiud down to Matthan, the blending of Matthan and Matthat as one, and the holding Jacob and Heli to be his sons, and so forth, are all speculation and hypothesis, without proof. The scheme consists of the re-arranging the names under an assumed thesis, so that no manifest inconsistency appears; it is *not impossible* but that the scheme may be true, but its truth is not necessarily implied, and there is no proof of it.

We do not go more minutely into the theory of Hervey, because, in truth, his views arrive at the same conclusion, practically, as that which we maintain,—that the genealogies, both in Matthew and Luke, are those of Joseph. We hold that Christians are not bound now to explain every difficulty connected with the genealogies. And in regard to our own position, it is enough that there are two genealogies in the sacred records, professing to justify the Lord's claims to be the Messiah on the ground of his descent from David, and not necessarily irreconcilable; published at a time when it might be easy to reconcile them, and when their falsity must have been capable of easy proof; agreeing as to Joseph's descent from David with the common belief of the nation at the time,—and both bearing on their face that Jesus was descended from David, through Joseph his legal father.

But some maintain another mode of obviating the apparent inconsistency between the genealogies, by supposing that the genealogy in Luke is through Mary, the Lord's mother. There is hardly any trace of this opinion in the early church, and it has been held chiefly by writers subsequent to the Reformation. The less simple character of the modern mind, which binds sequences to physical or semiphysical causes, with little respect to a law ~~that~~ so realized, and which tends towards science rather than faith, accepts with favour a supposition which obviates the difficulty that Joseph, not being the natural father of Jesus, could not serve as a link connecting him with David; and, in consequence, the opinion that the genealogy in Luke is that of Mary, has at present obtained a somewhat wide acceptance. This is a plausible and popular way of solving the problem, rather than, in our judgment, a solid one.

We have already said that the words "as was supposed," at the beginning of this genealogy, are sufficiently explained as having been necessary to save the supernatural origin of Jesus. They are, in fact, the equivalent of Matt. i. 16. Some of those who claim the genealogy for Mary say that the words should be read thus: "as was supposed (but erroneously, and really) of Heli," etc.; Heli having been, as they assume, Mary's father; but this is at once too subtle and too violent. No writer, meaning to be intelligible, would make his expressed contradict his real meaning, and trust the discovery of the latter to an ellipsis not hinted at; but to be assumed from unstated facts. Such a style, which makes language a riddle, is far removed from the simplicity of the evangelists. Others make Joseph a name substituted for that of Mary, under the rule of the Jews to exclude women from their genealogies, and substitute their husbands. But, besides that it is not to be supposed that the genealogy of Mary would be presented in this form without notice, there is no apparent reason for Joseph getting his name inserted in the genealogy of his wife's family. For there is no ground to suppose that this was ever done by a husband, unless there was an inheritance belonging to the wife, as provided in Numbers xxxvi., of the existence of which, in this case, there is no evidence or hint. This was what the kinsman of Naomi refused to do, "lest he should mar his own inheritance" (Ruth iv. 6).

Nor is there any evidence that Mary was the daughter of Heli. In apocryphal writings and in some of the Fathers, it is said that her parents were named Joachim and Anna, a statement which may have been derived from a common tradition. This is made consistent with the supposed parentage of Heli, by saying that Joachim is convertible, in Hebrew usage, with Eliakim, of which Eli, or Heli, is the contraction. The reasoning might be fair, if it had been shewn that Mary's father was one in the position which Heli holds in the genealogy in Luke in all respects, except as to the name; but this is only an assumption, it is idle; it merely paves the way to a possibility.

The words of the angel to Mary, and her answer in Luke i. 30—34, are thought to shew that she was addressed independently as a descendant of David. But her betrothal to Joseph, of the house of David, was carefully mentioned just before, and Mary could not but have understood the address of the angel as having reference to her position in regard to him. Although, then, she might have been of David (of which we shall speak in the sequel), the angel's address would not infer that she was regarded as independent of Joseph. Even the announcement in verse thirty-five, of the exact meaning of which Mary must have had

a very imperfect apprehension, must be construed in consistency with the context and with the genealogies.

In the same sense are to be understood the terms in which the apostles speak of Jesus as the promised seed of David according to the flesh. Take, for instance, the language of Peter in Acts ii. 30, which is as strong as can be conceived: "Therefore being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne, he knowing this," etc. Now, Peter could not have meant to signify anything else by these words than the known descent of Jesus from David through Joseph. The occasion was on the day of Pentecost, next after the ascension, when every hint of the miraculous conception must have been absent from the minds at least of the Jews addressed, who had known Jesus familiarly as the son of David through his connexion with Joseph only, and who could not have understood Peter except in this sense. The different parts of the records of inspiration cannot but agree. The words of Peter and Paul merely adopt as true what they found authoritatively declared in the genealogies in Matthew and Luke. "It is evident," says Paul, "that our Lord sprang out of Judah" (Heb. vii. 14). How could this be evident, but in the mode which the Gospels point out,—the public facts and the public records and genealogies?

Observations are made, as if the references to our Lord's supposed connexion with Joseph were meant merely, as it were, to humour the peculiarities of the Jews as to the preference of male descent, and the exclusion of female; while the truth behind was, that the genuine link of our Lord with David, according to the flesh, was his mother. We object, decidedly, to this manner of dealing with the Scriptures. What the Jews looked for in the Messiah was one of the seed of David truly according to the law; and what God gave them was one justly answering this description. The fulfilment may not have been in the very way the Jews expected, for they were not capable of comprehending the fulfilment which God purposed; but then the mode of fulfilment was beyond their expectation, and not beneath it.

What really gives occasion to the efforts to discover a line of descent for Jesus to David through his mother, is the secret thought that the line through Joseph is not genuine, but pretended. We do not pause longer on the inconsistency of such an impression with the plain terms of Scripture which connect the promise with a definite person in the line of David's seed; so that, if that line went by Joseph, as the genealogy in Matthew

testifies, to find it in Mary would be to vacate that genealogy ; if it went by Mary, which is nowhere said, then all that is so anxiously declared regarding Joseph was fallacious and unmeaning ; and if somehow it went by both, this would be to satisfy the requirements of positive prophecies by surmises and doubtful possibilities, instead of by means of clear issues of fact, which the fulfilment of prophecies requires. But we pass by all this, in order to state the grounds on which it appears to us that the demand of a line of natural descent for our Lord from David by his mother, is not only a mistake in regard to interpretation and the matter of fact, but involves a doctrinal error.

The assumption is, that if Mary is shewn, from the Scriptures, to be of the line of David, Jesus her son will then appear as his promised seed, the prophecies will be fulfilled, and the strong language of the Apostles' description of his relation to David will be justified. It appears to us that there is a vital error at the basis of this way of speaking. We are now considering the case, not from the point of view of the Jew, who saw in Jesus only the son of Joseph, but from that of the Christian, seeing him as, supernaturally, both son of Mary and son of God. In this point of view we are closed up to contemplate him as God and man in one person. Though, then, all had been as before supposed, Jesus would not have been the seed of David in a natural sense. The seed of David, as the subject of promises, means a human person, and not a mere nature as one of the elements of a person. But Jesus was never, at any time of his being, a human person. We quote from the Athanasian creed, which on this point has ever been regarded as being as orthodox as it is distinct.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and man. He is God, of the substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds ; and he is man, of the substance of his mother, born in the world ; perfect God and perfect man of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting ; equal to the Father as touching his Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching his manhood ; who although he be God and man, yet he is not two, but one Christ ; One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God ; One altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person ; for as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ."

Jesus the Messiah, in the substance of his being as thus described, could never, in a natural or any other than a legal sense, have been the seed of David according to the flesh. The human ancestry of his person could not ascend higher than his mother. There was no power in any human descent, or in all

humanity together, could it have been concentrated as one, to give birth even to the human nature of Jesus in the manner in which it was conveyed to him (though the same in substance as that of all men), and still less to his whole person. Nor was there any such power in Mary of herself, any more than in any other of the daughters of the race, for in no respect was she in essence different from or superior to any one of them. Lightfoot (*Harmony*, second series, § 10) says that Jesus "looked on as the seed promised to Adam, 'the seed of the woman,' was to be looked after by the line of his mother." Why so? He was not to derive his personality through the line of his mother, or to receive virtue from it more than from the line of Joseph. Mary's ancestors were not in any sense the derivation of "the seed of the woman." They were themselves the seed of Eve, as all men are; but Eve was not the woman in the view of the promise, although she may have vainly thought so when at the birth of Cain she said, "I have gotten a (or rather, the) man from the Lord" (Gen. iv. 1). Mary was that woman, and yet of herself no more a plant fit to yield such seed than Eve had been. The act of God by which Jesus was born of Mary was altogether special, unique, and transcendent. It was pre-eminently "a new thing" which "the Lord *created* in the earth," when "a woman compassed a man" (Jer. xxxi. 22). Indeed, the words "the seed of the *woman*" imply, even in regard to his humanity, the original and underived source of Jesus. Consequently the Messiah could naturally have no grandfathers or line of human ancestry; he was the seed of no man in this sense. Without a mother he could not have taken hold of the nature in which it was the divine will that God should be manifested. Yet even as to this, the Scripture takes the form of paradox, striving to express by this means what ordinary language fails to do, and in order to shew how exclusively and directly Jesus came forth by God's power, figures him (as represented by Melchisedek) as without even a human mother as well as father, and without a genealogy: "without father, without mother, without genealogy (*ἀγενεαλόγητος*), having neither beginning of days nor end of life" (Heb. vii. 3).

While Jesus thus could not be naturally of the seed of David, all question as to any supposed rights of his mother was, by that far-sighted wisdom of God by which the Scriptures provide for every emergency, removed by means of the rule of the Jewish polity, that a woman could not of herself head a family, or appear in a genealogy. As to this, Lightfoot (*Harmony*, first series, § 4) says:

"There were two remarkable maxims among the Jewish na-

tions : 1. That there was to be no king of Israel but of the house of David and line of Solomon ; and 2. That the family of the mother is not called a family. Hereupon hath Matthew most pertinently brought the pedigree through the house of Solomon, and ended it with Joseph, a male, whom the Jews looked upon as the father of Jesus.”

It followed from this rule, that all Mary’s rights in respect to her own family passed over to and were represented in the person of Joseph her husband. How then, could Jesus be of the seed of David according to the flesh, as Scripture required him to be and represents him to have been ? In no other way than that which the evangelists Matthew and Luke set forth—through his being the son of Joseph according to the law, in consequence of Joseph’s union with Mary his mother. This was the result of the law of the flesh,—that is, of earthly humanity under the Jewish law,—above that of mere physiology, and constituted the nearest possible approach our Lord could make as a person to be of the seed of David according to the flesh, and it made him legally of that seed.

To say that Jesus, having been born of Mary, who (as assumed) was of the seed of David, must have been of his seed also, is to attribute an ancestry to one of his personal elements, instead of his person itself ; an element, moreover, which itself had originated supernaturally. This language logically involves the principle of what is termed the Nestorian heresy, which consisted in the alleged denial, by Nestorius, that Mary was the mother of the whole person of Christ, and in the assertion that she was the mother only of his human nature, thus dividing his person into two parts, with personal qualities to both. It is to build upon and carry backward this error, to hold Jesus as to his human nature to be of the seed of David, and to have, as such, a line of human progenitors. There was an irreconcilable difference between the person of Jesus and the fleshy line of David in whatever form. The motherhood of Mary was a relation towards the Lord peculiar in all its features, which could not be traced backward to her line of ancestry, because they could not have originated there.*

* We must not be held as meaning that those who claim a pedigree for Mary from David, are chargeable with the Nestorian heresy. We regard constructive heresy to be as great an offence against true charity as constructive treason against just law. The fault is as likely to be confused thinking as anything deeper ; but those who have fallen into it, when laudably, though erroneously, endeavouring to substantiate the statements of Scripture, will remember that it is not the less for this an element of weakness. Neither do we express any opinion on the point whether Nestorius was guilty, of which doubt is entertained. The question arose in an unfavourable way. Nestorius had refused to Mary the name

Hence, we conceive, the care with which Mary's connexions and ancestors are kept out of view in the whole of the New Testament, and our Lord's connexion with David represented as the legal one through Joseph. There was a divine necessity that Jesus should have a human mother, a fact which, without question, will be held in everlasting remembrance. But we must not be unmindful of the warning which, in view of the death of Christ, Paul found not unneeded by himself: "Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more" (2 Cor. v. 16). That was the fact of the incarnation, seen as realized in time, rather than its depths and sources in the divine counsel. As Jesus was "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" (Rev xiii. 8), Christians, who now know the whole truth concerning him, are to recognize him in his power and dignity as the Messiah, not as born from any earthly source, in which relation we should see him encompassed with sorrow and weakness, but as born from the Father out of the grave, the first-fruits of the dead, once the "offspring," but now the "root of Jesse; who, indeed, "was made of the seed of David according to the flesh," but who is "declared to be the Son of God with power according to the Spirit of holiness by the resurrection from the dead" (Rom. i. 3, 4); "whose name," in the relations of the eternal kingdom, "shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father" (Isa. ix. 6).

Who, then, was Mary? We have already stated our reasons for believing that her origin was purposely kept in obscurity. In the case of Melchisedek the obscurity was total; in order that he might fitly represent, typically, Christ as underived, isolated,

of "the Mother of God,"—a refusal with which we sympathize, especially as this manner of speaking arose in the Church when the spirit was busily at work to elevate Mary above humanity, and make her an object of worship almost on a level with God, and was one of the proofs and symptoms of its existence. To us it seems that what the term rejected by Nestorius in itself implied, and the fault imputed to him, are complements of one and the same error: the one supposing the division of the divinity from the humanity, and the other the division of the humanity from the divinity. The Christ of whom, by the ineffable act and inconceivable humiliation of God, Mary was made mother, is not God simply, but God humbling himself to exist and act in the form of man, to whose nature the Eternal Son joined himself in order to constitute his person in this new form. The mother of such a one is a term which conveys a very different impression from that of the Mother of God without qualification. While those who justified the use of this language may not have received the error into their minds, it was an unsafe dallying with the unlawful thought, which enters into all false religions and all corruptions of religion, and which has since borne abundant fruit,—that the creature can somehow possess a merit or obtain a standing-ground of vantage as towards God; the utter extinction of which thought lies at the root of Christianity, and is the seal of its divine origin. Extremes generate each other. Mary has been made an idol of by the Romanists; and Protestants have been ready to forget that "all generations should call her blessed."

independent. In the case of Mary the reason was not subservient to any type, but was the practical one of not seeming to connect the Lord naturally with any human line of descent. This purpose did not require that any mystery should attach to Mary's descent, but only uncertainty. That she was a Jewess appears as undoubted as such a fact can from circumstances. If we dare not speak of a necessity in such a case, still it would be quite too violent to suppose that God, who never acts capriciously, should have suddenly so passed by the Jewish element as at last, without apparent reason (for the Jews were still under trial), to betake himself, for his crowning act, to a strange root. Mary's marriage to Joseph, whose character and descent preclude almost the thought of his marrying a stranger; her being cousin to Elisabeth, the wife of Zechariah, a priest (Luke i. 36); her observance of all the rites of the law; and what is perhaps decisive above all the other grounds of belief, the total absence of reproach on account of the mother of Jesus being a stranger to Israel—all this, without the slightest counteracting evidence, makes Mary's nationality free from doubt. But here certainty ceases. Eusebius, indeed, asserts loosely that, according to the Jewish law, Mary must have been of the same family with her husband. But this is not the fact; and the utmost that can be said is, that the husband should take his wife out of the same tribe (Num. xxxvi.). How far this was in observance in the changed condition of the Jewish people, when their original rights of inheritance had ceased, and when, as in Joseph's case, he was living out of the bounds of his tribe in a district substantially heathen, it is impossible to say. It is remarkable that the only certain note of relationship attached to Mary carries our attention away from Judah; yet the irregularity may possibly have been on the side of ancestors of Elisabeth only. The angel's address to Mary is at best rendered a doubtful testimony by the careful mention of Mary's betrothal to Joseph. There seems to have been an opinion or belief, in early times, that Mary was of the family of David; but whether this arose from genuine tradition, or from the desire that it should be so, is hard to determine. The statement seems not sustained by any peculiar marks of reality, and it assumes various forms. Take away the latent persuasion that a Davidic descent was indispensable for Mary, and it will appear that not only no clear evidence of such descent exists, but that, on the contrary, a studied reserve is held in regard to it; that her being of Judah is no more than a probability; and that the only point certain as to her lineage is, that she was a Jewess of the race of Israel.

We do not say that Mary was not of the tribe of Judah and

of the house of David. She may have been of both ; but the Scripture does not allege either, or state facts from which one or both may, with any certainty, be inferred ; while it provides distinctly, in another way, for the end supposed to be answered by her having this origin. Its leaving these points unsettled shews that it was not through Mary that the promises to the seed of David were intended to be fulfilled ; for prophecy must have a certain, and not merely a probable or conjectural fulfilment.

The Christian church and the Jews seem to us to have now nothing to do with the letter of the genealogies beyond what we have pointed out. The question as to the truth of Christianity, has, in one respect, a new aspect from what it had eighteen hundred years ago. Christianity is, and has been, during that period, *a fact* in every way in which the minds of men can be so addressed—historically and providentially, as well as morally and spiritually. The power and blessing of God have been manifestly with the Christian nations. Christianity has been set forward to speak to the Jew as a living thing, and in some measure it has done so. Its appointed office now is, “to provoke the Jews to jealousy” (Rom. xi. 11). Let the Jews ponder the warning which, with whatever shortcomings, has been held up before them during so many centuries of the long-suffering of God. Let the Christian churches, too, ponder their ways, and remember their responsibility to draw the Jews back within the fold of the Lord by their faithful witness.

NEW TRANSLATION OF THE BOOK OF JOB.

I. 1. THERE was a man in the land of Uz, whose name *was* Job ; and that man was perfect and upright, even fearing God, and turning aside from evil. 2. And to him are born seven sons and three daughters. 3. And his substance *is* seven thousand of a flock, and three thousand camels, and five hundred pair of oxen, and five hundred she-asses, and a very great service ; and that man is greater than any of the sons of the east.

4. And his sons went and made a banquet *at* the house of each *in* his day, and they sent and called for their three sisters to eat and to drink with them. 5. And it cometh to pass, when they have gone round the days of the banquet, that Job sendeth and sanctifieth them, and he rose early in the morning, and offered burnt-offerings the number of them all—for Job said, “Perhaps my sons have sinned, and blessed the gods in their heart.” Thus doth Job continually.

6. And the day cometh that the sons of God enter to station themselves near the LORD, and the Adversary also entereth in their midst. 7. And the LORD saith unto the Adversary, "Whence comest thou?" And the Adversary answereth the LORD and saith, "From going to and fro in the land, and from walking up and down in it." 8. And the LORD saith unto the Adversary, "Hast thou set thine heart against my servant Job because there is none like him in the land, a man perfect and upright, fearing God, and turning aside from evil?" 9. And the Adversary answereth the LORD and saith, "For nought doth Job fear God? 10. Hast thou not made a hedge for him, and for his house, and for all which he hath round about? 11. The work of his hands thou hast blessed, and his substance hath spread abroad in the land, but, nevertheless, send forth thine hand, I pray thee, and strike against anything which he hath: if not—to thy face he will bless thee!" 12. And the LORD saith unto the Adversary, "Behold, all which he hath *is* in thine hand, only to himself send not forth thine hand." And the Adversary goeth out from the presence of the LORD.

13. And the day cometh that his sons and his daughters are eating, and drinking wine in the house of their brother, the first-born. And a messenger cometh unto Job and saith, 14. "The cattle were plowing, and the she-asses feeding by their side. 15. And Sabeans come down, and take them, and the young men they have smitten by the edge of the sword, and I am escaped—only I alone—to tell thee." 16. While this *one* is speaking another also cometh and saith, "The fire of God hath fallen from heaven, and burneth among the flock, and among the young men, and consumeth them, and I am escaped—only I alone—to tell thee." 17. While this *one* is speaking another also cometh and saith, "The Chaldeans have made three heads, and they rush on the camels, and take them, and the young men they have smitten by the edge of the sword, and I am escaped—only I alone—to tell thee." 18. While this *one* is speaking another also cometh and saith, "Thy sons and thy daughters are eating, and drinking wine in the house of their brother, the first-born. 19. And behold a great wind cometh from beyond the wilderness, and striketh against the four corners of the house, and it falleth on the young men, and they are dead, and I am escaped—only I alone—to tell thee!"

20. And Job riseth and rendeth his robe, and shaveth his head, and falleth to the earth, and worshippeth, and saith, 21. "Naked came I out from my mother's belly, and naked I return thither; the LORD hath given and the LORD hath taken, let the

name of the LORD be blessed." 22. In all this Job sinned not, nor gave praise to the gods.

II. 1. And the day cometh that the sons of God enter to station themselves near the LORD, and the Adversary also entereth in their midst to station himself near the LORD. 2. And the LORD saith unto the Adversary, "From whence comest thou?" And the Adversary answereth the LORD and saith, "From going to and fro in the land, and from walking up and down in it." 3. And the LORD saith unto the Adversary, "Hast thou set thine heart towards my servant Job, because there is none like him in the land, a man perfect and upright, fearing God, and turning aside from evil? and still he keepeth hold on his integrity, and thou dost move me against him to consume him for nought." 4. And the Adversary answereth the LORD and saith, "A skin for a skin, and all a man hath he giveth for his life. 5. Nevertheless, send forth, I pray thee, thine hand, and strike against his bone and against his flesh :—if not, to thy face he will bless thee!" 6. And the LORD saith unto the Adversary, "Behold he *is* in thine hand ; only preserve his life."

7. And the Adversary goeth out from the presence of the LORD, and smiteth Job with sore ulcers from the sole of his foot unto his crown. 8. And he taketh to himself a potsherd to scrape himself with it, and he sitteth in the midst of ashes. 9. And his wife saith to him, "Still thou keepest hold on thine integrity ; bless God and die." 10. And he saith unto her, "As one of the foolish women speaketh, thou speakest ; yea, the good we receive from God, but the evil we do not receive." In all this Job sinned not with his lips.

11. And three of the friends of Job hear of all this evil which cometh upon him, and they come each from his place, (Eliphaz the Temanite, and Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite,) yea they are met together to come in to bemoan him and to comfort him. 12. When they lift up their eyes from afar and recognized him not, then they lift up their voice and weep, and they rend each his robe, and sprinkle dust on their heads heavenward. 13. And they sit with him on the earth seven days and seven nights ; and none speaketh a word unto him when they saw that the pain became very great.

III. 1. After this Job opened his mouth and revileth his day.

2. AND JOB ANSWERETH AND SAITH :

3. Let the day perish in which I was born,
And the night which said :

"A man-child hath been conceived."

4. THAT DAY—let it be darkness,
Let not God require it from above,
And let not light shine upon it!
5. Let darkness and the shadow of death redeem it;
Let clouds dwell upon it;
Let them terrify it as the most bitter of days!
6. THAT NIGHT—let thick darkness seize it,
Let it not rejoice among the days of the year,
Into the number of the months let it not enter!
7. Lo! THAT NIGHT—let it be gloomy,
Let not singing enter into it!
8. Let the cursers of day mark it,
Who are ready to wake up leviathan.
9. Let the stars of its twilight be dark,
Let it wait for light, while there is none,
Yea, let it not look on the eyelids of the dawn!
10. Because it shut not the doors of my *mother's* womb,
That it might hide misery from mine eyes!
11. Why from the womb did I not die?
From the belly I have come out and gasp!
12. Wherefore were knees before me?
And why breasts that I might suck?
13. (For now, I have lain down, and am quiet;
I have slept—then there is rest to me!
14. With kings and counsellors of earth,
Who build wastes for themselves!
15. Or with princes who have gold,
Who fill their houses *with* silver!)
16. Or *why* as a hidden abortion am I not?
As infants *who* have not seen light.
17. There the wicked have ceased troubling,
And there rest the wearied of power.
18. Together the prisoners are at ease,
They have not heard the voice of an exactor!
19. Small and great *are* there the same!
And the servant *is* free from his master!
20. Why giveth he to the miserable light,
And life to the bitter of soul?
21. Who wait earnestly for death, but it is not:
And seek it above hid treasures.
22. Who rejoice even to joy—they joy when they find a grave.
23. To a man whose way hath been hidden,
And whom God shutteth up?
24. For before my food, my sighing cometh,
And poured out as waters *are* my roarings!

25. For I have feared a fear, and it meeteth me,
Even that which I was afraid of is come to me!
26. I have not been safe,—nor have I been quiet—
Nor have I been at rest,—yet trouble cometh!

IV. 1. AND ELIPHAZ THE TEMANITE ANSWERETH AND SAITH :

2. Should we try a word with thee, wilt thou become weary?
But to keep in with words who is able?
3. Behold thou hast instructed many;
When feeble hands thou dost make strong,
4. The stumbling thy words raise up,
And the bowing knees thou strengthenest.
5. But now, it cometh unto thee, and thou art weary;
It striketh against thee, and thou art troubled!
6. Is not thy reverence thy confidence?
Thy hope even the integrity of thy ways?
7. Remember, I pray thee, who, being innocent, hath perished?
And where have the upright been cut off?
8. As I have seen—ploughers of iniquity,
And sowers of misery reap the same!
9. From the breath of God they perish,
And from the spirit of his anger they are consumed;
10. The roaring of a lion, even the voice of a fierce lion,
And the teeth of young lions have been broken!
11. The old lion perisheth without prey,
And the lioness' whelps separate themselves!
12. And unto me a word is secretly brought,
And mine ear receiveth a little of it!
13. In thoughts from visions of the night,
When deep sleep falleth upon men,
14. Fear met me and trembling
And caused the multitude of my bones to fear!
15. And a spirit before my face passeth,
The hair of my flesh standeth up,
16. It standeth: but I discern not its appearance,
A form *is* before mine eyes; silence! then a voice I hear:
17. "Is mortal man than God more righteous?
Than his Maker is a man cleaner?"
18. Behold, in his servants he putteth no credence,
Nor in his messengers setteth praise!"
19. The inhabitants also of houses of clay,
Whose foundation is in the dust, are bruised before a moth;
20. From morning to evening they are beaten down,
Without any regarding for ever they perish!
21. Hath not their excellency in them departed?

They die, but not in wisdom !

- V. 1. Call, I pray thee, is there any to answer thee ?
And unto which of the holy ones dost thou turn ?
2. For provocation slayeth the perverse,
And envy putteth to death the simple !
3. I—I have seen the perverse taking root,
And I mark his habitation straightway ;
4. Far are his children from safety,
Yea, they are bruised in the gate, and there is no deliverer !
5. Whose harvest the hungry eateth,
And even from the thorns taketh it,
While the thirsty have swallowed up their strength !
6. For sorrow cometh not out from the dust,
Nor from the ground springeth up misery !
7. But man to misery is born, and the sparks go high *as* a bird.
8. Nevertheless I—I enquire for God ;—
And for God I give my word !
9. He doeth great things and there is no searching,
Wonderful things till there is no numbering !
10. He giveth rain on the face of the land,
And sendeth waters on the face of the out-places !
11. Even setting the low on a high place,
While the mourners have been high *in* safety !
12. He maketh void the thoughts of the subtle,
And their hands execute not *their* plan !
13. He captureth the wise in their own subtilty,
And the counsel of the wrestling ones hath been hastened !
14. By day they meet darkness—
And as *at* night they grope at noon !
15. And he saveth the wasted one from their mouth,
And from the hand of the strong the needy.
16. And there is hope for the poor,
And perverseness hath shut her mouth.
17. Behold the happiness of mortal man ! God reproveth him !
So the chastisement of the Mighty One reject thou not !
18. For he paineth and he bindeth up ;
He smiteth and his hand healeth !
19. In six distresses he delivereth thee,
Yea, in seven evil striketh not against thee !
20. In famine he redeemeth thee from death,
And in battle from the power of the sword :
21. In the scourging of the tongue thou art hid.
And thou art not afraid of destruction when it cometh !
22. At destruction and at hunger thou mockest,
And of the beast of the earth thou art not afraid !

23. For with the sons of the field *is* thy covenant,
And the beast of the field hath been at peace with thee,
24. And thou hast known that thy tent *in* peace *is*,
And thou hast inspected thy habitation, and errest not!
25. And thou hast known that numerous *is* thy seed,
And thine offspring as the herb of the earth:
26. Thou comest in a full age unto the grave,
As the increase of a shock of corn in its season!
27. Behold this—we have searched it out—it is right; hearken!
And thou, know *it* for thyself!

VI. 1. AND JOB ANSWERETH AND SAITH:

2. O that my provocation were thoroughly weighed,
And my calamity in the balances they would lift up together!
3. For now, than the sand of the seas it is heavier,
Therefore my words are rash!
4. For the arrows of the Mighty One *are* within me,
Whose poison drinketh up my spirit.
The terrors of God set themselves in array *against* me!
5. Brayeth a wild ass over the tender grass?
Or loweth an ox over his provender?
6. Eaten is an unsavoury thing without salt?
Or is there sense in the drivel of dreams?
7. *The things* my soul refuseth to touch,
They are as the medicine of my food!
8. Who will grant *that* my request may enter,
That God may grant my hope?
9. That God would begin and bruise me,
Loose his hand and cut me off?
10. And yet it is my comfort!
That I exult in pain: let him not spare,
For I have not hidden the sayings of the Holy One!
11. What *is* my power though I wait with hope?
And what mine end though I prolong my life?
12. Is my strength the strength of stones? Is my flesh brazen?
13. Is not my help with me,
Though substance hath been driven from me?
14. To the despiser of his friend *there* is shame,
Seeing the fear of the Mighty One he forsaketh!
15. My brethren have dealt treacherously as a brook,
As a stream of the valleys, they pass away!
16. Which are black—because of ice,
By means of them snow hideth itself!
17. By the time they become warm they have been cut off,
By its being hot they have been extinguished from their place!

18. Turn aside do the paths of their way ;
They ascend into emptiness and are lost !
19. The passengers of Tema looked expectingly,
The travellers of Sheba hoped for them !
20. They have been ashamed becaused they trusted—
They have come unto it and are confounded !
21. SURELY, NOW, YE HAVE BECOME THE SAME :
Ye see a downfall, and are afraid !
22. Is it because I said, " Give to me ?
Or, By your power bribe for me ?
23. Or, Deliver me from the hand of an adversary ?
Or, From the hand of terrible ones redeem me ?"
24. Shew me, and I keep silent !
And how I have erred, cause me to understand !
25. How powerful have been sayings of uprightness !
But what doth reproof from you reprove ?
26. As reproof, do you reckon words ?
While as wind *are* the sayings of the desperate !
27. Anger on the fatherless ye cause to fall,
And are strange to your friend !
28. And, now, begin, look upon me,—even to your face do I lie.
29. Return, I pray you, let it not be perverseness,
Yea, return again—my righteousness *is* in it !
30. Is there in my tongue perverseness ?
Or discerneth not my palate desirable things ?
- VII. 1. Is there not a warfare to man on earth ?
Even as the days of an hireling *are* his days ;
2. As a servant desireth the shadow,
And as an hireling expecteth his wage,
3. So have I been caused to inherit months of vanity,
And nights of misery have been numbered to me !
4. If I have lain down then I said, " When shall I arise ?"
And the evening hath been measured,
And I have been full of tossings till the dawn !
5. Clothed hath been my flesh *with* worms, and clods of dust,
My skin hath been shrivelled and is loathsome,
6. My days have been swifter than a weaving machine,
And are consumed without hope !
7. Remember that my life *is* a breath,
Mine eye turneth not back to see good !
8. The eye of my beholder beholdeth me not,
Thine eyes *are* upon me : and I am not !
9. Consumed hath been the cloud, and it goeth,
So the goer-down to Sheol ascendeth not !
10. He turneth not back again to his house,

- Nor doth his place know him any more !
11. I also withhold not my mouth—
I speak in the distress of my spirit,
I talk in the bitterness of my soul.
 12. Am I a sea-monster, or a dragon,
That thou placest over me a guard ?
 13. When I have said, "My bed doth comfort me,"
He taketh away in my talking my couch !
 14. Yea, thou hast affrighted me with dreams,
And from visions thou terrifiest me !
 15. And my soul chooseth strangling; death rather than my bones.
 16. I have wasted away—not for ever do I live !
Cease from me, for my days *are* vanity !
 17. What *is* man that thou magnifiest him ?
And that thou settest thy heart towards him ?
 18. And inspectest him in the mornings—
In the evenings triest him ?
 19. How long dost thou not look away from me ?
Thou dost not desist, till I swallow my spittle !
 20. I have sinned, what shall I do to thee, O watcher of men ?
Why hast thou placed me for a mark to thee ?
That I am become a burden to myself ?
 21. And why dost thou not take away my transgressions ?
And cause to pass away mine iniquity ?
 22. For, now, in the dust I lie down ;
When thou hast sought me—then I am not !

VIII. 1. AND BILDAD THE SHUHITE ANSWERETH AND SAITH :

2. Until when dost thou speak these things ?
Yea, a strong wind *are* the sayings of thy mouth,
3. Doth God pervert judgment ?
Or doth the Mighty One pervert justice ?
4. If thy children have sinned before him :
Then he sendeth them away by their transgression !
5. If thou seekest early unto God—
And unto the Mighty One makest supplication ;
6. If thou *art* pure and upright, surely now he awaketh for thee,
And hath completed the habitation of thy righteousness !
7. Yea, thy beginning was small, but thy latter end is very great.
8. For ask, I pray thee, at a former generation,
And prepare for the search of their fathers,
9. (For we *are* of yesterday and know nothing,
For a shadow *are* our days on earth.)
10. Do they not shew thee, speak to thee,
And from their heart bring out words ?

11. "Doth a rush rise without mire?
Doth a reed increase without water?
12. While it *is* in its budding, uncropt,
Even before any herb it withereth!
13. So *are* the paths of all who forget God,—
And the hope of a hypocrite perisheth,
14. Because his confidence is loathsome,
And the house of a spider *is* his trust,
15. He leaneth on his house, but it standeth not,
He taketh hold on it—but it abideth not!
16. Green he *is* before the sun,—
And over his garden his tender branch goeth out.
17. Near a spring his roots are wrapped together—
A house of stones he looketh for.
18. If *one* destroy him from his place,
Then it hath feigned concerning him: 'I have not seen thee!'
19. Behold this *is* the joy of his way,
And from the dust others spring up!"
20. Behold God rejecteth not the perfect,
Nor taketh hold on the hand of evil doers!
21. While he filleth with laughter thy mouth,
And thy lips *with* shouting,
22. Those who hate thee are clothed with shame,
And the tent of the wicked is not!

IX. 1. AND JOB ANSWERETH AND SAITH :

2. Truly I have known that *it is* so;
But how shall man be just with God?
3. If he delight to strive with him—
He answereth him not one of a thousand!
4. Wise of heart and strong of power—
Who hath hardeneth *himself* against him and is at peace?
5. Who removeth the mountains while they knew not,
Who hath overturned them in his anger!
6. Who shaketh earth from its place,—
And its pillars move themselves!
7. Who speaketh to the sun, and it riseth not,—
And sealeth up the stars!
8. Who stretcheth out heaven by himself,—
And treadeth on the heights of the sea,
9. Who appointeth Osh, Kesil, and Kimah,
And the inner chambers of the south!
10. Who doeth great things till there is no searching,
And wondrous things till there is no numbering!
11. Behold he goeth over me, and I see not,

- And he passeth on, and I attend not to him !
12. Behold he snatches away, who bringeth it back ?
Who saith unto him,—“What dost thou?”
13. God turneth not back his anger ;
Under him bowed have the proud helpers !
14. How much less do I answer him ?
Choose out my words with him ?
15. Whom, though I have been righteous, I answer not ;
For my judgment I make supplication.
16. Though I have called and he answereth me,
I do not believe that he giveth ear *to* my voice !
17. For with a tempestuous shower he bruiseeth me,
And hath multiplied my wounds for nought !
18. He permitteth me not to refresh my spirit,
But filleth me with bitter things.
19. If *I speak* of power, behold, *he is* strong !
And if of judgment—who conveneth me ?
20. If I be righteous mine own mouth condemneth me,
Perfect am I?—then am I become perverse !
21. Perfect am I? I know not my soul ! I despise my life !
22. It is **THE SAME THING**, therefore I have said :
“The perfect and the wicked he consumeth.”
23. If a scourge put to death suddenly,
At the trial of the innocent he laugheth !
24. The earth hath been given into the hand of the Wicked One !
The face of its judges he covereth ! if not—where, who *is* he ?
25. And my days have been swifter than a runner ;
They have fled, they have not seen good !
26. They have passed on with ships of reed,
As an eagle darteth on prey !
27. Though I say, “ I forget my talking, I forsake my corner,
And I brighten up?”
28. I have been afraid of all my griefs,
I have known that thou dost not acquit me !
29. I—I am become wicked ; why *is* this—I labour *in* vain ?
30. If I have washed myself with snow-water—
And purified with soap my hands—
31. Then in corruption thou dippest me,
And mine own garments have abominated me !
32. But if a man like myself, I would answer him !
We would enter together into judgment !
33. O that there were between us an umpire,
Placing his hand on us both.
34. Let him turn aside from me his rod,
And let not his terror make me afraid,

35. I speak and do not fear him—
Though I am not right with myself!
- X. 1. My soul hath been weary of my life,
I leave off my talking to myself,
I speak in the bitterness of my soul,
2. I say unto God, "Do not condemn me!
Cause me to know wherefore thou strivest *with me*!
3. Is it good for thee that thou dost oppress?
That thou dost despise the labour of thy hands;
And on the counsel of the wicked hast shone?
4. Eyes of flesh hast thou? as man seest—seest thou?
5. As the days of man *are* thy days? thy years as the days of man?
6. That thou inquirest for my iniquity, and seekest for my sin?
7. Surely thou knowest that I am not become wicked,
And there is no deliverer from thy hand!
8. Thy hands took pains about me,
And made me together round about,
Yet thou consumest me.
9. Remember, I pray thee, that as clay thou hast made me,
And unto dust thou bringest me back.
10. Dost not thou as milk pour me out? and as cheese curdle me?
11. Skin and flesh thou putttest on me,
And with bones and sinews thou fencest me.
12. Life and kindness thou hast maintained with me,
And thine inspection hath preserved my spirit.
13. And these *things* thou hast laid up in thy heart,
I have known that this *is* with thee!
14. If I have sinned, then thou hast observed me,
And from mine iniquity thou dost not acquit me!
15. If I have done wickedly—wo is to me,
And righteously, I lift not up my head!
Full of shame—then see my affliction: that it riseth;
16. As a fierce lion thou huntest me,
And thou turnest back—
Thou shewest thyself wonderful on me.
17. Thou renewest thy testimonies against me,
And multiplieth thine anger with me,
Changes and warfare are with me!
18. But why from the womb hast thou brought me out?
I expire, and no eye seeth me!
19. As I had not been, I am;
From the belly to the grave I am brought;
20. Are not my days few?—cease then, and put from me,
While I brighten up a little,
21. Before I go, and return not, unto a land of darkness,

- And of the shadow of death,
 22. A land of weariness as thick darkness,
 A shadow of death—without *any* order,
 While the shining *is* as thick darkness !”

XI. 1. AND ZOPHAR THE NAAMATHITE ANSWERETH AND SAITH :

2. Is not the multitude of words answered ?
 Or is a talkative man justified ?
3. Thy devices make men keep silent ;
 Yea, thou scornest, and none causeth *thee* to blush !
4. And thou sayest, “ My doctrine *is* pure,
 And clean I have been in thine eyes.”
5. But, nevertheless, O that God would speak !
 And open his lips with thee !
6. And tell to thee the secrets of wisdom,
 For wisdom hath doublings.
 And know that God causeth thee to forget
Some of thine iniquity.
7. By searching dost thou find out God ?
 Unto perfection dost thou find out the Mighty One ?
8. The heights of heaven !—what doest thou ?
 Deeper than Sheol—what knowest thou ?
9. Longer than the earth *is* its measure ;
 And broader than the sea.
10. If he pass on, and shut up, or congregate,—
 Who then bringeth it back ?
11. For he hath known men of vanity, and he seeth iniquity—
 And doth he not consider ?
12. But empty man is bold,
 While the colt of a wild ass man is born !
13. If thou hast prepared thine heart,
 And spread out unto him thine hands,
14. If iniquity *is* in thine hand, put it far off !
 And let not perverseness dwell in thy tent !
15. For then thou liftest up thy face from blemish,
 Yea, thou hast been firm, and fearest not.
16. For thou forgettest misery,
 As waters passed away thou rememberest *it* !
17. And than the noon *thine* age riseth ;
 Thou fliest—as the morning thou art !
18. And hast trusted because there is hope, and hast searched ;
 In confidence thou liest down !
19. Yea, thou hast lain down—and none causeth trembling,
 But many have entreated thy face !
20. While the eyes of the wicked are consumed,

And refuge hath perished from them,
And their hope *is* a puff of breath !

XII. 1. AND JOB ANSWERETH AND SAITH :

2. Truly, ye *are* the people, and wisdom dieth with you !
3. I also have a heart like you ; I am not fallen more than you !
And with whom is there nothing like these ?
4. The derided one of his neighbour I am ;
"He calleth to God, and he answereth him,"
Derided *is* the perfect righteous one !
5. A torch despised in the thoughts of the secure
Is the ready to slide with the feet !
6. The tents of spoilers are at peace,
And those who provoke God have confidence,
Because God hath brought *it* unto their hand !
7. But, nevertheless, ask, I pray thee,
The beasts, and they shew thee,
And the fowl of the heavens, and they tell to thee !
8. Or talk to the earth, and it sheweth thee ;
Yea, fishes of the sea declare unto thee :
9. " Who hath not known in all these,
That the hand of the LORD hath done this ?
10. In whose hand *is* the breath of every living thing,
And the spirit of all mankind."
11. Doth not the ear try words ?
And the palate taste food for itself ?
12. With the very aged *is* wisdom,
And *with* length of days understanding !
13. With Him *are* wisdom and might ;
He hath counsel and understanding !
14. Behold ! he breaketh down, and it is not built up,
He shutteth against a man and it is not opened.
15. Behold ! he keepeth in the waters, and they are dried up,
And he sendeth them out, and they overturn the land !
16. With him *are* strength and plans,
His *are* the deceived and the deceiver !
17. He causeth counsellors to go away spoiled,
And judges he maketh foolish !
18. The band of kings he hath opened,
And he girdeth a girdle on their loins !
19. He causeth ministers to go away spoiled,
And strong ones he overthroweth.
20. He turneth aside the lip of the stedfast,
And the reason of the aged he taketh away !
21. He poureth contempt upon princes,

- And the girdle of the mighty he hath caused to fall !
22. He removeth deep things out of darkness,
And bringeth out to light the shadow of death !
23. He magnifieth the nations, and destroyeth them !
He spreadeth out the nations, and quieteth them !
24. He turneth aside the heart of the heads of the people of
the land,
And he causeth them to wander in vacancy without way !
25. They feel darkness and not light,
Yea, he causeth them to wander as a drunkard !
- XIII. 1. Lo, all *this* mine eye hath seen,
Mine ear hath heard, and attendeth to it !
2. According to your knowledge I have known—even I.
I am not fallen more than you !
3. Nevertheless, I for the Mighty One do speak,
Yea, to argue for God I delight !
4. But, nevertheless, ye *are* forgers of falsehood,
Physicians of nought all of you !
5. O that ye would keep perfectly silent,
And it would become your wisdom !
6. Hear, I pray you, mine argument !
And attend to the pleadings of my lips,
7. For God do ye speak perverseness,
And for him do ye speak deceit ?
8. His person do ye accept, if for God ye strive ?
9. Is *it* good that he search you,
If, as one mocketh at a man, ye mock at him ?
10. He surely reproveth you, if in secret ye accept persons !
11. Doth not his excellency terrify you ?
And his dread fall upon you ?
12. Your remembrances *are* similitudes of ashes,
Even high places of clay your heights !
13. Keep silent from me while I speak ;
And let pass over me what *will* !
14. Wherefore do I take my flesh in my teeth ?
And my life put in my hand ?
15. Though he slay me—I wait not ;
Only my ways to his face I argue !
16. Even this becometh my salvation,
That a hypocrite cometh not in before him.
17. Hear diligently my word,
And my declaration with your ears !
18. Behold, I pray you, I have set the cause in order,
I have known that I am righteous !
19. Who *is* he *that* striveth with me ?

- For now I keep silent and gasp !
20. Only two things, O God, do with me ;
Then from thy face I am not hidden !
21. Thy hand put far off from me,
And let not thy terror terrify me.
22. And call thou, and I will answer ;
Or I will speak, and answer thou me.
23. How many iniquities and sins have I ?
My transgression and my sin cause me to know !
24. Why hidest thou thy face ?
And reckonest me for an enemy to thee ?
25. A leaf driven away dost thou terrify ?
And the dry stubble dost thou pursue ?
26. For thou writest against me bitter things,
And causeth me to possess the iniquities of my youth !
27. Yea, thou puttest in the stocks my feet,
And observest all my paths ;
On the soles of my feet thou settest a print !
28. And it, as a rotten thing, weareth away ;
As a garment, a moth eateth it.
- XIV. 1. Man born of woman *is* of few days, and full of trouble.
2. As a flower he hath gone out, and is cut off !
Yea, he fleeth as a shadow, and remaineth not !
3. On him also thou hast opened thine eyes,
And bringest me into judgment with thee.
4. Who giveth out a clean thing from an unclean ? Not one !
5. If his days are determined,
The number of his months are with thee.
His limit thou hast made, and he passeth not over !
6. Turn away from him that he may cease,
Till he enjoy as an hireling his day !
7. For there is hope of a tree if it be cut down,
That again it changeth,
That its tender branch ceaseth not ;
8. If its root wax old in the earth,
And its stem die in the dust ;
9. From the fragrance of water it flourisheth,
And hath yielded a crop as a plant !
10. But man dieth, and becometh weak ;
Yea, man exireth, and where is he ?
11. Waters have gone away from a sea,
And a river becometh waste and dried up !
12. And man hath lain down, and riseth not ;
Till the wearing out of the heavens
They awake not, nor are aroused from their sleep !

13. O that in Sheol thou wouldst hide me !
Hide me till the turning back of thine anger,
Set for me a limit and remember me !
14. If a man die—doth he revive ?
All the days of my warfare I wait, till my change come !
15. Thou dost call, and I answer thee !
To the work of thine hands thou hast desire,
16. But, now, my steps thou numberest,
Thou watchest not over my sin,
17. Sealed up in a bag *is* my transgression ;
Yea, thou sewest up mine iniquity.
18. But, nevertheless, a falling mountain wasteth away—
And a rock is removed from its place.
19. Waters have worn away stones,
Their outpourings wash away the dust of earth,—
And the hope of man thou hast destroyed !
20. Thou prevailest *over* him for ever and he goeth,
He changeth his countenance, and thou sendest him away !
21. Honoured are his sons, but he knoweth not ;
Yea, they become little, and he attendeth not to them !
22. Only his flesh on him is pained, and his soul in him mourneth !
(*End of the first series of discussions.*)

XV. 1. AND ELIPHAZ THE TEMANITE ANSWERETH AND SAITH :

2. Doth a wise man answer *with* vain knowledge ?
And fill *with* the east wind his belly ?
3. Reason with words not useful ?
And speeches in which are no profit ?
4. But thou makest reverence void,
And diminishest meditation before God !
5. For thy mouth sheweth thine iniquity ;
That thou choosest the tongue of the crafty !
6. Thine own mouth condemneth thee, and not I,
And thine own lips testify against thee !
7. The first man wast thou born ?
Or before the heights hast thou been formed ?
8. Of the secret counsel of God dost thou hear ?
Or withdrawest thou unto thyself wisdom ?
9. What hast thou known that we know not ?
Understandest thou that is not with us ?
10. Both the gray-headed and the very aged *are* among us—
Greater than thy father *in* days !
11. Are the comforts of God too few for thee ?
While a gentle word *is* with thee,
12. Why doth thine heart take thee away,

- And why are thine eyes high ?
13. That thou turnest back thy spirit against God ?
And hast brought out words from thy mouth ?
14. " What *is* man that he should be pure,
And that he should be righteous *who is* born of a woman ?
15. Behold in his holy ones he putteth no credence,
And the heavens are not pure in his eyes !
16. Surely also man hath been abominable and filthy,
Drinking perverseness as water."
17. I shew thee—hearken to me—
Yea, this I have seen and declare :
18. Which the wise tell from their fathers, and have not hid !
19. To them alone the land was given,
And a stranger passed not over into their midst :—
20. " All the days of the wicked he paineth himself,
And a reckoning of years
Hath been laid up for the terrible one !
21. A dreadful voice *is* in his ears—
In peace a destroyer meeteth him !
22. He believeth not *in* returning from the darkness,
Seeing a watched one he *is* for the sword !
23. He wandereth for bread—' Where *is* it ?'
He hath known that ready at his hand is a day of darkness !
24. Adversity and distress terrify him,—
They prevail *over* him as a king ready for the boaster !
25. For he hath stretched out against God his hand—
And against the Mighty One he maketh himself mighty !
26. He runneth unto him proudly,
With the thick bosses of his shields !
27. For he hath covered his face with his fat—
And maketh mouths over *his* confidence.
28. And he inhabiteth cities cut off,
Houses not dwelt in—which were ready to become heaps !
29. He is not become rich, nor doth his wealth abide—
Nor doth he stretch out on the earth their continuance !
30. He turneth not aside from darkness—
His tender branch a flame drieth up,—
And he turneth aside at the breath of His mouth !"
31. Let not the deceived one put credence in vanity,
For vanity is his recompence !
32. Not in his day is it completed,
And his bending branch is not green !
33. He shaketh violently off as a vine his unripe fruit,
And casteth off as an olive his blossom !
34. For the company of the hypocrite *is* silent,

- And fire hath consumed the tents of the briber !
35. Conceiving misery, and bearing iniquity,
Their heart also prepareth deceit !

XVI. 1. AND JOB ANSWERETH AND SAITH :

2. I have heard many such things,
Miserable comforters *are* ye all !
3. Is there an end to words of wind ?
Or what emboldeneth thee that thou answerest ?
4. I also, like you, might speak,—
If your soul were in my soul's stead !
I might join against you with words,
And nod at you with my head !
5. I might harden you with my mouth,
And the moving of my lips might be restrained !
6. If I speak, my pain is not restrained,
And *if* I cease—what goeth from me ?
7. Surely now he hath wearied me,—
Thou hast desolated all my company !
8. And thou dost wrinkle me—it hath been for a witness,
And my feigning riseth up against me ; in my face it testifieth !
9. His anger hath torn, and he hateth me—
He hath gnashed against me with his teeth—
My adversary sharpeneth his eyes upon me !
10. They have gaped upon me with their mouth—
In reproach they have smitten my cheek—
Together they set themselves against me !
11. God shutteth me up unto the perverse,
And to the hands of the wicked he turneth me over !
12. I was at ease, but he breaketh me ;
And he hath laid hold on my neck, and scattereth me ;
And raiseth me up for a mark to himself !
13. His archers go around against me,
He splitteth my reins, and spareth not,—
He poureth out on the earth my gall !
14. He breaketh me—breach upon breach,—
He runneth against me as a mighty one !
15. Sackcloth I have sewed on my skin,—
And have rolled my horn in the dust !
16. My face is foul from weeping—
And on mine eyelids *is* the shadow of death !
17. Not for *any* violence in my hand, seeing my prayer *is* pure !
18. O earth, cover not thou my blood !—
And let there not be a place for my cry !
19. Even now, behold ! in heaven *is* my witness—

- And my record *is* in the high places!
20. My scornors *are* my friends,—to God mine eye hath dropped!
21. And *one* reasoneth for a man with God,
Even the son of man for his friend,
22. When years of reckoning come—
Then a path I return not do I go!
- XVII. 1. My breath hath been corrupt,
My days have been extinguished—the graveyard *is* for me—
2. Are there not mockers with me?
Yea, in their provocation mine eye lodgeth!
3. Place, I pray thee, my pledge with thee;
Who *is* he that striketh hands with me?
4. For their heart thou hast hidden from understanding;
Therefore thou exaltest them not!
5. For a portion he sheweth friendship—
But the eyes of his children are consumed!
6. Yea, he hath set me up for a proverb of the peoples,
And a wonder before them I am!
7. And dim from sorrow is mine eye—
And my members *are* all of them as a shadow!
8. Astonished are the upright at this,—
And the innocent against the hypocrite stirreth himself up—
9. And the righteous layeth hold *on* his way,—
And the clean of hands increaseth strength!
And dumb are they all.
10. Return ye, I pray you, come ye in,
Though I find not a wise man among you!
11. My days have passed—my devices have been broken off,
The possessions of my heart!
12. Night for day they appoint—light *is* near because of darkness.
13. If I wait—Sheol *is* my house,—
In darkness my couch I have spread out!
14. To corruption I have called—"Thou *art* my father!"
To the worm, "My mother," and "my sister!"
15. And where *is* now my hope? yea, my hope, who beholdeth it?
16. To the bars of Sheol they go down,—
If together on the dust we may rest!

XVIII. 1. AND BILDAD THE SHUHITE ANSWERETH AND SAITH:

2. When will ye make an end of words?
Consider ye, and afterwards let us speak?
3. Wherefore have we been reckoned as beasts?
Have we been defiled in your eyes?
4. (He teareth himself in his anger!)
For thy sake is the earth forsaken?

- Or removed is a rock from its place?
5. Yea, the light of the wicked is extinguished—
Nor doth a spark of his fire shine!
6. The light hath been dark in his tent—
And his lamp over him is extinguished!
7. Straited are the steps of his strength—
And his own counsel casteth him down!
8. For he is sent into a net by his own feet,
And on a snare he walketh habitually!
9. A snare seizeth on the heel;
The thirsty prevail against him.
10. His cord is hidden in the earth,—and his trap on the path!
11. Round about terrors have terrified him,
And have scattered him to his feet!
12. His sorrow *is* hungry, and calamity is ready at his side!
13. It consumeth the bars of his skin—
The first-born of death consumeth his bars.
14. Drawn away from his tent is his confidence—
And *that* causeth him to step to the king of terrors!
15. *That* dwelleth in his tent—out of his provender;
Scattered over his habitation is sulphur!
16. Beneath his roots are dried up—and above his crop is cut off!
17. His memorial hath perished from the land—
And he hath no name in the street!
18. They thrust him from light into darkness—
And from the habitable earth he is cast out!
19. He hath no continuator nor successor among his people,
And there is not a remnant in his dwellings!
20. At his day the westerns have been astonished—
And the easterns have *been* seized *with* fear!
21. Surely these *are* the tabernacles of the perverse—
And this the place God hath not known!

XIX. 1. AND JOB ANSWERETH AND SAITH:

2. Until when will ye afflict my soul? and bruise me with words;
3. These ten times ye cause me to blush,—
Ye are not ashamed; ye make yourselves strange to me.
4. And though, truly, I have erred,—
With me my error remaineth!
5. If, indeed, ye magnify yourselves against me—
And decide against me my reproach!
6. Know ye, now, that God hath turned me upside down—
And hath set round his net against me!
7. Behold, I cry out *of* violence, and I am not answered,
I cry and there is no judgment!

8. My way he hath hedged up, and I pass not over,—
And on my paths he placeth darkness!
9. Mine honour from off me he hath stripped,—
And turneth aside the crown *from* my head!
10. He breaketh me down round about, and I go,—
And removeth my hope like a tree!
11. And he kindleth against me his anger—
And reckoneth me to him as his adversary!
12. His troops come in together—
And raise up against me their way,
And encamp round about my tent!
13. My brethren from me he hath put far off,
And mine acquaintances surely have been estranged from me!
14. My neighbours have ceased—
And my familiar friends have forgotten me!
15. The sojourners of my house and my maids—
For a stranger reckon me;
A stranger I have been in their eyes!
16. To my servant I have called and he answereth not—
With my mouth I make supplication to him!
17. My breath hath been strange to my wife—
And my favours to the children of my *mother's* belly,
18. Even sucklings have despised me—
I arise and they speak against me!
19. All my counsellors have me in abomination,
And those I have loved have been turned against me!
20. To my skin and to my flesh my bones have cleaved—
And I deliver myself with the skin of my teeth!
21. Pity me, pity me, O ye my friends;
For the hand of God hath stricken against me!
22. Why do you pursue me as God?
And without my flesh are not satisfied?
23. Who will grant, now, that my words may be written?
Who will grant that in a book they may be graven?
24. With a pen of iron and lead—
For ever in a rock they may be hewn!
25. That "I have known my living redeemer,
That at last for the dust he riseth!"
26. And after my skin hath compassed this *body*,
Even from my flesh shall I see God!"
27. Whom I shall see on my side,
When mine own eyes have beheld *him*,
And it is not strange *that*
My reins have been consumed in my bosom!
28. But say ye: "Why pursue we after him?"

- Seeing the root of the matter hath been found in me ;
29. Be afraid for yourselves, because of the sword,
For furious *are* the punishments of the sword,
That ye may know there is a judgment !
- XX. 1. AND ZOPHAR THE NAAAMATHITE ANSWERETH AND SAITH :
2. Therefore my thoughts cause me to answer,
And because of my sensations in me,
3. The chastisement of my shame I hear,
And the spirit of mine understanding causeth me to answer:
4. This hast thou known from antiquity ?—
Since man was placed on earth,—
5. That the singing of the wicked *is* short,—
And the joy of the hypocrite for a moment,
6. Though his excellency go up to heaven,
And his head strike against a thick cloud,—
7. As his own dung for ever he perisheth ;
His beholders say : “ Where *is* he ? ”
8. As a dream he fleeth, and they find him not,
And he is driven away as a vision of the night !
9. The eye hath scorched him and addeth not,
And not again doth his place behold him,
10. His children amuse the poor,
And his hands give back his wealth,
11. His bones have been full of his youth,
And with him in the dust it lieth down.
12. Though he sweeten evil in his mouth, hide it under his tongue,
13. Have pity on it, and forsake it not,—
Yea, keep it back in the midst of his palate ;—
14. His food in his bowels hath been turned,
The bitterness of asps *is* in his heart.
15. Wealth he hath swallowed, but he vomiteth it,
From his belly God driveth it out !
16. Gall of asps he sucketh,—the tongue of a viper slayeth him !
17. He looketh not on rivulets of oil,
Flowings of the valleys of honey and butter !
18. He giveth back *that which* which he laboured for,
And consumeth *it* not ; as a bulwark *is* his exchange,
But he exults not !
19. Because he oppressed—he forsook the poor,
A house he took violently away, which he buildeth not !
20. Surely he hath not known ease in his belly !
With his desirable things he delivereth not himself !
21. There is no remnant of his food, therefore his good stayeth not !
22. In the fulness of his sufficiency he is straitened,

- Every perverse hand meeteth him !
23. At the filling of his belly,
The LORD sendeth against him the fierceness of His anger,
Which he raineth on him in his eating !
24. He fleeth from an iron weapon —
A bow of brass passeth through him :
25. He hath drawn, and it cometh out from the body,
And the glittering sword from his gall proceedeth ;
On him *are* terrors !
26. Every calamity *is* hid for his treasures ;
Cousume him doth a fire not blown,—
Broken is the remnant in his tent !
27. The heavens reveal his iniquity,
And the earth raiseth itself up against him !
28. The increase of his house removeth,
Running away in a day of His anger !
29. This *is* the portion of a wicked man from God,
And the inheritance appointed him by God !

XXI. 1. AND JOB ANSWERETH AND SAITH :

2. Hear diligently my word, and let this be your consolations,
3. Bear with me while I speak,
And after my speaking, laugh to scorn !
4. I—to man *is* my complaint ?
And if not, wherefore is my temper become short ?
5. Turn unto me and be astonished, and put hand to mouth !
6. Yea, when I have remembered, then I have been troubled,
Even my flesh hath *been* seized *with* trembling.
7. Wherefore do the wicked live ? they have become old,
Yea mighty *in* wealth ;
8. Their seed is established with them in their sight,
And their offspring before their eyes !
9. Their houses *are at* peace without fear,
Nor *is* the rod of God upon them !
10. Their bullock hath eaten corn, and loatheth not,
Their cow bringeth forth safely, and miscarryeth not !
11. They send out their sucklings as a flock,
And their children skip,
12. They lift *themselves* up at timbrel and harp,
And rejoice at the sound of a lute !
13. They wear out in good their days,
And in the evening *to* Sheol they go down !
14. Yet they say to God, “ Turn aside from us,
Yea, the knowledge of thy ways we desire not.
15. What *is* the Mighty One that we should serve him ?

- And what do we profit when we meet with him?"
16. Behold, their good *is* not in their own hand,
The counsel of the wicked hath been far from me!
17. How oft is the light of the wicked extinguished—
And cometh on them their calamity?
Pangs He apportioneth in his anger!
18. They are as straw before wind,—
And as chaff which a hurricane hath stolen away!
19. God layeth up for his children his sorrow,
He giveth recompence unto him; that he knoweth!
20. His own eyes see his destruction,
And of the wrath of the Mighty One he drinketh!
21. For what *is* his delight in his house after him,
Seeing the number of his months hath been halved?
22. To God doth *one* teach knowledge,
Seeing the high he judgeth?
23. This *one* dieth in his perfect strength,
Wholly at ease and quiet!
24. His breasts have been full of milk,
And marrow his bones moisten!
25. And this *one* dieth with a bitter soul,
And hath not eaten with gladness!
26. Together in the dust they lie down,—
And the worm covereth them over!
27. Behold, I have known your thoughts,
And the devices ye do wrongfully against me!
28. For ye say, "Where *is* the house of the noble?
And where *is* the tent—the tabernacles of the wicked?"
29. Have ye not asked the passers-by of the way?
And their signs do ye not know?
30. That to a day of calamity the wicked is spared,—
To a day of wrath they are brought!
31. Who declareth to his face his way?
And *for* that which he hath done—
Who giveth recompence to him?
32. And he to the grave-yard is brought,
And over the heap a watch is kept!
33. Sweet to him have been the clods of the valley,
And after him every man he draweth—
And before him there is no numbering!
34. How then comfort ye me *with* vanity,
Seeing *in* your answers trespass hath been left?

(End of the second series of discussions.)

XXII. 1. AND ELIPHAZ THE TEMANITE ANSWERETH AND SAITH :

2. To God is a man profitable,
Because a wise man is profitable to himself?
3. Is it a delight to the Mighty One that thou art righteous?
Or is it gain that thou makest thy ways perfect?
4. Because of thy reverence doth he reason *with* thee?
He entereth with thee into judgment.
5. Is not thy wickedness great?
Yea, there is no end to thine iniquities !
6. For thou takest a pledge of thy brother for nought,
And the garments of the naked thou strippest off !
7. Thou causest not the weary to drink water,
And from the hungry thou withholdest bread !
8. (As to the man of strength—he hath the earth,
And the accepted of face—he dwelleth in it !)
9. Widows thou hast sent away empty,
And the arms of the fatherless are bruised !
10. Therefore *are* snares round about thee
And fear troubleth thee suddenly !
11. Or darkness—thou seest not ;
And abundance of waters cover thee.
12. Is not God high *as* heaven ?
See, then, the top of the stars, that they are high.
13. Yet thou hast said, “What hath God known?
Through the thick darkness doth he judge?”
14. Thick clouds *are* a secret place for him, and he seeth not,”
Yet the circle of the heavens he walketh habitually.
15. The path of old dost thou watch,
Which men of iniquity have trodden ?
16. Who have been cut down even unexpectedly,
A flood is poured out *on* their foundation !
17. Who say to God, “Turn aside from us ;”
Yet what doth the Mighty One to them ?
18. Yea, he hath filled their houses *with* good,
And the counsel of the wicked hath been far from me.
19. The righteous see and rejoice,
And the innocent mocketh at them :
20. “Surely our substance hath not been cut off,
But their excellency fire hath consumed.”
21. Acquaint thyself, I pray thee, with him, and be at peace,
Thereby thine increase *is* good.
22. Receive, I pray thee, from his mouth a direction,
And put his words in thy heart.
23. If thou return unto the Mighty One thou art built up,
Thou putttest iniquity far off from thy tents.

24. And hath placed on the dust a defence,
And on a rock of the valleys a covering !
25. And the Mighty One hath been thy defence,
And silver *is* strength to thee !
26. For then on the Mighty One thou delightest thyself,
And liftest up unto God thy face !
27. Thou makest supplication unto him, and he heareth thee ;
And thy vows thou completest.
28. And thou decreest a thing, and it is established to thee,
And on thy ways light hath shone,
29. When they have made low, then thou sayest, " Lift up,"
Seeing the bowed down of eyes he saveth.
30. He delivereth *him who is* not innocent,
Yea, he hath been delivered by the cleanness of thy hands !

XXIII. 1. AND JOB ANSWERETH AND SAITH :

2. Even to-day *is* my complaint bitter ;
My hand hath been heavy because of my sighing.
3. O that I had known, that I might find him !
I would go in unto his seat !
4. I would arrange the cause before him
And fill my mouth *with* arguments !
5. I would know the words he would answer me,
And understand what he would say to me !
6. In the abundance of power would he plead with me ?
No ! surely that he would put in me.
7. There the upright would reason with him,
And I would escape for ever from my judge !
8. Behold ! forward I go—and he is not !
And backward—and I perceive him not !
9. *To* the left in his working—but I see not !
He is covered *on* the right—and I behold not !
10. For he hath known the way with me,
He hath tried me—as gold I go out !
11. On his steps my foot layeth hold ;
His way I have kept and I turn not aside !
12. *From* the command of his lips also I depart not ;
Than my allotted portion I have laid up
The sayings of his mouth !
13. And he *is* in one *mind*, and who turneth him back ?
What his soul desireth—that he doeth !
14. For he completeth my portion ;
And many such things *are* with him.
15. Therefore, from before him I am troubled,
I consider, and am afraid of him !

16. For God hath made my heart soft,—
And the Mighty One hath troubled me !
17. For I have not been cut off before the darkness,
Even before me he hath covered the thick darkness.
- XXIV. 1. Wherefore from the Mighty One
Times have not been hidden,
And he knoweth that they have not seen his days :
 2. The borders they reach,
A drove they have taken violently away, and do evil,
 3. The ass of the fatherless they lead away,
They take in pledge the ox of the widow.
 4. They turn aside the needy from the way ;
The poor of the earth have hidden together !
 5. Behold *as* wild asses in a wilderness,
They have gone out about their work, seeking early for prey,
A mixture for themselves—food for the young ones !
 6. In the field his provender they reap ;
And the vintage of the wicked they gather.
 7. The naked they cause to lodge without clothing,
And there is no covering in the cold !
 8. From the inundation of the mountains they are wet,
And without a refuge they have embraced a rock !
 9. They take violently away the orphan from the breast,
And on the poor they lay a pledge !
 10. The naked they have caused to go without clothing,
And *of* the hungry—they have taken away the sheaf !
 11. Between their walls they make oil,
Wine-presses they have trodden, yet they thirst !
 12. From the city men groan—and the soul of pierced ones crieth,
And God giveth no praise !
 13. They have been among the rebellious ones of light.
They have not known His ways, nor remained in His paths.
 14. At the light the murderer ariseth—
He slayeth the poor and needy,
And in the night he is as a thief !
 15. And the eye of the adulterer hath observed the twilight,
Saying, “No eye beholdeth me,” and hath hidden his face;
 16. They have dug in the darkness *through* houses,
By day they have shut themselves up,
They have not known the light !
 17. When together—morning *is* to them the shadow of death,
For he knoweth the terrors of the shadow of death.
 18. Light he *is* on the face of the waters,
Vilified is their portion in the earth,
He turneth not the way of the vineyards.

19. Drought—also heat—consume the snow-waters,
Sheol *those who* have sinned !
20. Forget him doth the womb,—sweeten on him the worm !
He is not remembered any more,
And wickedness *is* broken as a tree !
21. He evil entreateth the barren *who* beareth not,
And *to* the widow he doeth no good !
22. And he hath drawn the mighty by his power,
He riseth and believeth not in the living !
23. He giveth confidence to himself ;
And is supported, and his eyes *are* on their ways :
24. High they have been *for* a little—and they are not,
And have been brought low !
As all *others* they are shut up ;
And as the head of ears of corn they are cut off !
25. And if not now, who proveth me a liar,
And maketh of nothing my word ?

XXV. 1. AND BILDAD THE SHUHITE ANSWERETH AND SAITH :

2. Rule and fear *are* with Him :
He maketh peace in his high places.
3. Is there *any* number of his troops ?
And on whom ariseth not his light ?
4. But how shall man become righteous with God ?
And how shall he become pure *who is* born of a woman ?
5. Behold even to the moon, and it shineth not,
And the stars have not been pure in his eyes.
6. How much less man—a worm ! and the son of man—a worm !

XXVI. 1. AND JOB ANSWERETH AND SAITH :

2. How hast thou helped the powerless !
Saved the arm not strong !
3. How hast thou given counsel to the unwise !
And wise plans abundantly made known !
4. Unto whom hast thou declared words ?
And whose breath hath come out from thee ?
5. The Rephaim are brought forth from under the waters,
Their neighbours also.
6. Naked *is* Sheol before him !
And there is no covering to perdition !
7. He stretcheth out the north over desolation,
He hangeth the earth upon nothing !
8. He bindeth up the waters in his thick clouds,
And the cloud hath not been rent under them !
9. He taketh hold of the face of the throne,
He hath spread over it his cloud !

10. A limit he hath placed on the face of the waters,
Until the completion of light and darkness !
11. The pillars of heaven tremble,
And wonder because of his rebuke !
12. By his power he hath quieted the sea,
And by his understanding he hath smitten the proud !
13. By his spirit he hath beautified the heavens ;
His hand hath formed the fleeing serpent !
14. Behold ! these *are* the borders of his way,
And how little a matter hath been heard of him !
Yea, the thunder of his might who understandeth ?

XXVII. 1. AND JOB CONTINUETH TO LIFT UP HIS PARABLE, AND

SAITH :—

2. God liveth ! he hath turned aside my judgment,
And the Mighty One hath made my soul bitter !
3. Though all the while my breath *is* in me,
Even the breath of God in my nostril.
4. Do my lips speak perverseness ?
Or doth my tongue utter deceit ?
5. *It is* pollution to me if I justify you :
Till I expire I turn not aside mine integrity from me !
6. On my righteousness I have laid hold, and I let it not go :
My heart reproacheth *me* not while I live !
7. My enemy is as the wicked,
And my withstander as the perverse.
8. For what is the hope of the hypocrite,
Though he gaineth dishonestly—
When God casteth off his soul ?
9. Doth God hear his cry when distress cometh on him ?
10. On the Mighty One doth he delight himself ?
Doth he call God at all times ?
11. I shew you by the hand of God ;
That which *is* with the Mighty One I hide not,
12. Behold ye—all of you—have seen,—
And why *is* this—ye are altogether vain ?
13. This *is* the portion of a wicked man with God,
And the inheritance of terrible ones
From the Mighty One they receive !
14. Though his children multiply—for them *is* a sword !
And his offspring *are* not satisfied *with* bread !
15. His remnant are buried in death, and their widows weep not !
16. Though he heap up silver as the dust,—
And as clay prepare clothing !—
17. He prepareth—but the righteous putteth *it* on,
And the innocent apportion the silver !

18. He hath built his house as a moth,
Even as a booth the watchman hath made !
19. The rich lieth down, but is not gathered ;
His eyes he hath opened, and he is not !
20. Terrors overtake him as waters,
At night a whirlwind hath stolen him away !
21. Take him away doth an east-wind, and he goeth ;
And he frighteneth him from his place !
22. And he casteth at him, and spareth not ;
From his hand he diligently fleeth—
23. He clappeth at him his hands,
And hisseth at him from his place !
- XXVIII. 1. Surely there is for the silver an outlet,
And a place for the gold they refine ;
2. Iron from the dust is taken, and *from* the firm stone brass.
3. An end he hath set to darkness,
And he searcheth for all perfection :
Stones of thick darkness and of the shadow of death !
4. A stream hath broken out from a sojourner,
The forgotten ones of the foot have been low ;
From man they have wandered ?
5. The earth ! from it cometh out bread ;
And its under part is turned like fire !
6. Its stones *are* a place of sapphires, and it hath dust of gold !
7. A path—the ravenous fowl hath not known it,
Nor scorched it hath the eye of the kite !
8. Not trodden it have the sons of pride—
Nor passed over it the fierce lion !
9. Against the flint he hath sent forth his hand,
He hath overturned mountains from the root !
10. Among the rocks he hath cleaved brooks,
And every precious thing hath his eye seen !
11. Floods he hath bound from overflowing,
And the hidden thing he bringeth out *to* light !
12. BUT THAT WISDOM—whence is it found ?
And where *is* this—the place of understanding ?
13. Man hath not known its arrangement,
Nor is it found in the land of the living !
14. The deep hath said, “ It *is* not in me ! ”
And the sea hath said, “ It is not with me ! ”
15. Gold is not given for it—nor is silver weighed *as* its price !
16. It is not valued with pure gold of Ophir—
With precious onyx and sapphire !
17. Gold and crystal do not equal it,
Nor is its exchange vessels of fine gold !

18. Corals and pearls are not remembered,
Yea, the acquisition of wisdom *is* above rubies !
19. Not equal it does the topaz of Cush,
With pure gold it is not valued !
20. AND THAT WISDOM—whence cometh it ?
And where *is* this—the place of understanding ?
21. Seeing it hath been hid from the eyes of all living,
Even from the fowl of the heavens it hath been hidden !
22. Perdition and death have said :
“ With our ears we have heard its fame ; ”
23. God hath understood its way, and he hath known its place !
24. For He to the ends of the earth looketh attentively,
Under the whole heavens he looketh :
25. To make for the wind a weight ;
While the waters he hath meted out by measure,
26. In his making for the rain a limit,
And a way for the brightness of the thunder,
27. Then he saw and declareth it :
He prepared it, and even searched it out.
28. And he saith to man :—
“ Behold, the fear of the LORD, that *is* wisdom,
And to turn aside from evil *is* understanding.”

XXIX. 1. AND JOB CONTINUETH TO LIFT UP HIS PARABLE AND
SAITH :—

2. Who shall make me as *in* months past !
As *in* the days of God's preserving me !
3. In his causing his light to shine upon my head,
By his light I walk *through* darkness !
4. As I have been in the days of my maturity—
And the secret counsel of God upon my tent !
5. When yet the Mighty One *is* with me—
My young ones round about me !
6. When washing my steps with butter,
And the firm rock *is* with me rivulets of oil !
7. When I go out the gate by the city—
In a broad place I prepare my seat !
8. Youths have seen me, and been hidden,
And the very aged have risen,—they have stood up !
9. Princes have kept in words—
And placed a hand on their mouth !
10. The voice of leaders hath been hidden,
And their tongue hath cleaved to their palate !
11. When the ear hath heard, then it eulogizeth me,
Or the eye hath seen, then it testifieth *to* me !

12. That I deliver the afflicted who crieth,
And the fatherless who hath no helper!
13. The blessing of the perishing cometh upon me,
And the heart of the widow I cause to sing!
14. Righteousness I have put on, and it clotheth me.
As a robe and a diadem *is* my justice!
15. Eyes I have been to the blind, yea, feet to the lame *am* I!
16. A father I *am* to the needy,
And the cause I have not known I search out.
17. And I break the jaw-teeth of the perverse,
And from his teeth I cast away prey.
18. And I say, "With my nest I expire,
And as the sand I multiply days."
19. My root is open near waters—
And dew remaineth on my harvest.
20. My honour *is* fresh with me—
And my bow in my hand is renewed!
21. To me they have hearkened,
Yea, they wait, and are silent for my counsel.
22. After my words they change not,
When on them my speech droppeth!
23. Yea, they wait for me as *for* rain,
And their mouth they have opened wide *as* for the latter rain!
24. I laugh at them—they give no credence,
And the light of my face they cause not to fall!
25. I choose their way, and sit head—
And I dwell as a king in a troop—
When mourners he comforteth!
- XXX. 1. But, now, laughed at me have the younger than I—
Whose fathers I loathed to set with the dogs of my flock,
2. Yea, the power of their hands—what *is it* to me?
On them old age hath perished,
3. With want and with famine gloomy,
Who flee into a dry place—formerly a desolation and waste!
4. Who crop mallows near a shrub—
Even the root of junipers *is* their food!
5. From the nation they are cast out,
(They shout against them as a thief)!
6. In a frightful place of valleys to dwell,
Holes of earth and clefts!
7. Among shrubs they groan—
Under nettles they are gathered together!
8. Children of folly, yea, children without name,
They have been smitten from the land.
9. But, now, their song I have been,

- Yea, I am become a bye word to them !
10. They have abominated me—they have kept far from me,
And from before me they have not spared spitting !
 11. Because he hath loosed his cord, and afflicteth me,
The bridle also from before me they have sent away !
 12. On the right hand the insolent rise,
My feet they have sent away,
And they raise up against me the paths of their calamity !
 13. They have broken down my paths,
By my calamity they profit :
“ He hath no helper ! ”
 14. As a wide breach they come,
As desolation they have rolled themselves !
 15. Who turn against me terror,
It pursueth as the wind mine abundance,
And as a thick cloud my safety hath passed away !
 16. And now, my soul in me poureth itself out,—
Days of affliction seize me.
 17. At night my bones have been pierced in me,
And mine eyelids lie not down !
 18. By abundance of marrow my clothing is changed,
As the mouth of my coat it girdeth me !
 19. He hath cast me into the mire—
And I am become like dust and ashes !
 20. I cry unto thee and thou answereth me not ;
I have stood up that thou mayest consider concerning me !
 21. Thou art become fierce to me—
With the strength of thine hand thou opposest me.
 22. Thou liftest me up, on the wind thou causest me to ride,
And meltest me—levellest me !
 23. For I have known *that to* death thou bringest me,
And *to* the meeting-house for all living !
 24. Surely against the heap he sendeth not out the hand,
Though in its ruin they have safety !
 25. Have I not wept for the hardness of the times ?
My soul hath grieved for the needy !
 26. When good I have expected, then cometh evil,
And I wait for light, and darkness cometh.
 27. My bowels have boiled, and have not ceased,
Days of affliction have gone before me,
 28. I have gone mourning without the sun.
I have arisen, in the congregation I cry.
 29. A brother I have been to dragons,
And a companion to daughters of the owl !
 30. My skin hath been black upon me,

- And my bones have burned from heat !
31. And my harp becometh mourning,
And my lute hath a sound of weeping !
XXXI. 1. A covenant I have made for mine eyes,
And why should I attend to a maiden ?
2. And what *is* the portion of God from above ?
And the inheritance of the Mighty One from the heights ?
3. Is not calamity to the perverse ?
And strangeness to the workers of iniquity ?
4. Doth he not see my ways, and number all my steps ?
5. If I have walked with vanity, or my foot hasten to deceit,
6. Let him weigh me in balances of righteousness ;
And let God know mine integrity !
7. If my step turn aside from the way,
And after mine eyes my heart hath gone,
Or to any hands cleaved hath *any* blemish,
8. Let me sow and another eat,
And let my productions be rooted out !
9. If my heart hath been enticed by a woman,
That by the door of my neighbour I have laid wait,
10. Grind to another let my wife,—and over her let others bend !
11. For this *is* a wicked thing, yea, it *is* a judicial iniquity !
12. For a fire it *is*, to perdition it consumeth,
And would root out all mine increase !
13. If I despise the cause of my man-servant,
Or of my maid-servant, in their contending with me :
14. Then what shall I do when God ariseth ?
And when he inspecteth—what shall I answer him !
15. Did not he that made me in the womb make him ?
Yea, one prepareth us in the womb !
16. If I withhold from pleasure the poor,
Or the eyes of the widow consume,
17. Or do eat my morsel by myself,
And the fatherless hath not eat of it—
18. (For from my youth he brought me up as a father,
And from the belly of my mother I am led,)
19. If I see *any* perishing without clothing,
And no covering to the needy !
20. If his loins have not blessed me,
Or from the fleece of my sheep he warmeth not himself ;
21. If I have waved against the fatherless my hand,
When I see in the gate my help,
22. Let my shoulder from the shoulder-blade fall ;
And mine arm from the bone be broken !
23. For a dread to me *is* calamity *from* God,

- And because of his excellency I am not able.
24. If I have made gold my confidence,
Or to the pure gold have said, "my trust:"
 25. If I rejoice because my wealth *is* great,
And because my hand hath found abundance,
 26. If I see the light when it shineth,
Or the precious moon walking,
 27. And my heart is secretly enticed,
And my mouth kisseth my hand!
 28. Even this *is* a judicial iniquity,
For I had lied before God above!
 29. If I rejoice at the ruin of my hater,
And have stirred up myself when evil found him;
 30. 'But I have not suffered my mouth to sin,
To ask with an oath his life!'
 31. If not—say ye, O men of my tent!
"O that we had of his flesh; we are not satisfied!"
 32. In the street lodgeth not the stranger,
My doors to the traveller I open!
 33. If I have covered as Adam my transgressions,
By hiding in my bosom mine iniquity!
 34. If I fear a great multitude,
Or the contempt of families affright me:
Then I am silent, I go not out of the door!
 35. Who will give me a hearing? behold my mark!
Let the Mighty One answer me,
Seeing a bill mine adversary hath written.
 36. If not, on my shoulder I take it up!
I bind it a crown on myself!
 37. The number of my steps I tell him;
As a leader I approach him!
 38. If against me my land cry out,
Or together its furrows weep,
 39. If its strength I have consumed without money,
Or the life of its owners I have caused to breathe out;
 40. Instead of wheat let thorns go out!
And instead of barley useless weeds!
- THE WORDS OF JOB ARE FINISHED.

XXXII. 1. And these three men cease from answering Job, because he *is* righteous in his own eyes. 2. And the anger of Elihu, son of Barachel, the Buzite, of the family of Ram, burneth:—against Job his anger burned, because of his justifying himself rather than God. 3. And against his three friends his anger burned, because they have found no answer, yet con-

demn Job. 4. And Elihu waited earnestly near Job with words, for they are older than he in years. 5. And Elihu seeth that there is no answer in the mouth of the three men, and his anger burneth. 6. AND ELIHU, SON OF BARACHEL THE BUZITE

ANSWERETH AND SAITH :

- I *am* young in years, and ye *are* very aged,
 Therefore I feared;
 Yea, I am afraid of shewing you my opinion.
7. I said; let days speak,
 And let multitude of years teach wisdom.
8. Surely a spirit *is* in man,
 And the breath of the Mighty One
 Causeth them to understand.
9. The multitude are not wise :
 Nor do the aged understand judgment !
10. Therefore I have spoken : Hearken to me,
 I shall shew my opinion—even I !
11. Behold ! I have waited with hope for your words,
 I give ear unto your reasons till ye search out matter !
12. And unto you I attend,
 And behold, there is no reasoner for Job,
 Or answerer of his sayings among you.
13. Perhaps ye say, " We have found wisdom,
 God will thrust him away, not man."
14. But he hath not set words in array against me,
 And with your sayings I answer him not.
15. (They broke down, they answered not again,
 They have removed from themselves words.
16. And I have waited, but they speak not,
 Yea, they have ceased, they have answered no more.)
17. I answer, even I—my share ; I shew my opinion—even I !
18. For I have been full of words,
 The spirit of my breast hath distressed me !
19. Behold my breast *is* as wine not opened,
 Like new bottles it is broken up.
20. I speak and am refreshed, I open my lips and answer !
21. Pray, let me not accept the person of any,
 Nor to man give flattering titles,
22. For I have not known to give flattering titles :
 In a little my Maker taketh me away !
- XXXIII. 1. But, nevertheless, O Job, I pray thee,
 Hear my speech, and to all my words give ear !
2. Pray, behold ! I have opened my mouth,
 My tongue hath spoken in my palate !
3. Of the uprightness of my heart *are* my sayings,

- And knowledge my lips have clearly spoken !
4. The Spirit of God hath made me,
And the breath of the Mighty One quickeneth me !
 5. If thou art able—answer me !
Set in array before me—station thyself !
 6. Behold, I *am*, according to thy word, for God ;
From the clay I also *am* formed,
 7. Behold ! my terror frighteneth thee not,
And my hands on thee are not heavy !
 8. Surely thou hast said in my hearing,
And the sound of words I hear :
 9. “ Pure *am* I without transgression, innocent *am* I,
And I have no iniquity !
 10. Behold, he findeth occasions against me,
He reckoneth me for an enemy to him,
 11. He putteth in the stocks my feet,
He watcheth all my paths.”
 12. Behold ! *in* this thou hast not been just ; I answer thee :
That God is greater than man !
 13. Wherefore against him hast thou striven,
When *for* any of his matters he answereth not ?
 14. For once God speaketh, yea twice, (he is not his enemy,)
 15. In a dream—a vision of the night,
In the falling of deep sleep on men,
In slumberings on the bed,
 16. Then he uncovereth the ear of men,
And for their instruction terrifieth them.
 17. To turn aside man *from* work,
While pride from man he concealeth.
 18. He keepeth back his soul from corruption,
And his life from passing away by the sword !
 19. And he hath been reprovèd with pain on his bed,
And the strife of his bones is enduring !
 20. And his life hath nauseated bread,
And his soul desirable food !
 21. His flesh is consumed from the spectator,
And his bones *that* were not seen stick out.
 22. And his soul draweth near to the pit,
And his life to the causers of death !
 23. If there is by him a messenger,
An interpreter—one of a thousand,
To declare to man His uprightness :
 24. Then He favoureth him and saith,
“ Ransom him from going down *to* the pit ;
I have found an atonement !”

25. Fresher *is* his flesh than a child's,
He turneth back to the days of his youth !
26. He maketh supplication unto God—and he accepteth him !
And he seeth his face with shouting ;
And he returneth to man his righteousness !
27. He looketh on men who say, " I have sinned,
And uprightness I have perverted,
And it hath not been profitable to me."
28. He hath ransomed his soul from going over into the pit ;
And his life on the light looketh !
29. Behold, all these God worketh, twice—thrice with man,
30. To bring back his soul from corruption,
To be enlightened with the light of the living !
31. Attend, O Job ! hearken to me, keep silent and I shall speak !
32. If there are words—answer me !
Speak, for I have a desire to justify thee !
33. If there are not—hearken thou to me,
Keep silent and I shall teach thee wisdom !

XXXIV. 1. AND ELIHU ANSWERETH AND SAITH :

2. Hear, O wise men ! my speech,
And, O knowing ones ! give ear to me.
3. For the ear trieth words,
And the palate tasteth before eating !
4. Judgment let us choose for ourselves ;
Let us know among ourselves what *is* good.
5. For Job hath said, " I have been righteous,
And God hath turned aside my judgment ;
6. Against my judgment shall I lie ?
Mortal *is* mine arrow without transgression !"
7. Who *is* a man like Job ? he drinketh scorning like water.
8. And he travellet for company with workers of iniquity,
Even going with men of wickedness,
9. For he hath said, " It profiteth not a man,
When he delighteth himself with God."
10. Therefore, O men of heart ! hearken to me ;
It is pollution to God to do wickedness,
And *to* the Mighty One to do perverseness.
11. For the work of man he recompenseth to him,
And according to the path of each he causeth him to find.
12. Yea, truly, God doeth not wickedly,
And the Mighty One doth not pervert judgment !
13. Who hath inspected for himself the earth ?
And who hath placed all the habitable world ?
14. If he set on him his heart,

His spirit and his breath unto himself he gathereth.

15. Expire doth all flesh together, and man to dust returneth !
16. And if *thou hast* understanding hear this,
Give ear to the voice of my words !
17. Yea, doth the hater of justice govern ?
Or dost thou condemn the Most Just ?
18. Who saith to a king, "*Thou art* worthless,"
To princes, "*Thou art* wicked."
19. Because he hath not accepted the person of princes,
Nor hath known the rich before the poor ;
For the work of his hands are all of them !
20. *In* a moment they die,
And at midnight people shake and pass away !
And they remove the mighty without hand !
21. For his eyes *are* on the ways of each,
And all his steps he seeth !
22. There is no darkness, and there is no shadow of death,
That the workers of iniquity may be hidden there,
23. For he doth not suffer man any more,
To go unto God in judgment,
24. He breaketh the mighty without searching,
And appointeth others in their stead !
25. Therefore he knoweth their works,
And hath overturned at night, and they are bruised !
26. As wicked he hath stricken them in the place of beholders !
27. For against right they have turned aside from after him,
And none of his ways have considered wisely,
28. By causing to come unto him the cry of the poor,
Yet the cry of the afflicted he heareth.
29. And He giveth rest, and who wrongeth ?
And he hideth the face, and who beholdeth it ?
And in reference to a nation or to a man, *it is* the same !
30. From the reigning of the hypocrite,
From the snares of the people ;
31. For unto God hath any said :—" I have taken away,
I do not corruptly ?
32. Besides *that which* I see, shew thou me ;
If iniquity I have done I add not !"
33. By thee doth he recompense,
That thou hast refused—that thou choosest, (and not I ?)
And what thou hast known, speak !
34. Let men of heart tell me !
And let a wise man hearken to me !
35. Job speaketh not with knowledge :
And his words *are* not with wisdom.

36. My Father ! let Job be tried unto victory,
For answers for men of iniquity ;
37. For he addeth to his sin,
Transgression he vomiteth among us,
And multiplieth his sayings before God !

XXXV. 1. AND ELIHU ANSWERETH AND SAITH :

2. This hast thou reckoned for judgment, thou hast said,
“ My righteousness *is* more than God’s ? ”
3. For thou sayest, “ What doth it profit thee ?
What do I profit from my sin ? ”
4. I—I return thee words, and thy friends with thee :
5. Behold attentively the heavens and see,
And behold the clouds, they have been higher than thou.
6. If thou hast sinned, what dost thou against him ?
Or *if* thy transgressions be multiplied,
What dost thou to him ?
7. If thou hast been righteous, what givest thou to him ?
Or what from thy hand doth he take ?
8. Of a man like thyself *is* thy wickedness,
And of the son of man thy righteousness !
9. From the multitude of oppressions they cause to cry out,
They cry because of the arm of the mighty !
10. And none hath said : “ Where *is* God my maker,
Who giveth songs in the night,
11. Who teacheth us more than the beasts of the earth,
And than the fowl of the heavens maketh us wiser ! ”
12. There they cry and he answereth not,
Because of the pride of evil doers.
13. Surely vanity God heareth not,
And the Mighty one beholdeth it not !
14. Yea, though thou say thou beholdest him not,
Judgment *is* before him, and stay thou for him !
15. And, now, because there is none,
He hath appointed his anger,
And hath not known *thee* in great extremity !
16. But Job *with* vanity openeth his mouth ;
Without knowledge he multiplieth words !

XXXVI. 1. AND ELIHU CONTINUETH AND SAITH :

2. Honour me a little, and I shall shew thee,
That yet for God *are* words !
3. I bring my knowledge from afar,
And to my Maker I ascribe righteousness !
4. For, truly, my words *are* not false,

- Perfection of knowledge *is* with thee,
5. Behold God *is* mighty, and despiseth not ;
Mighty *in* power *and* heart !
6. He reviveth not the wicked,
And the judgment of the poor he appointeth !
7. He withdraweth not his eyes from the righteous,
Or *from* kings on the throne :
And he causeth them to sit for ever, and they become high !
8. And if prisoners in fetters
They be captured with cords of affliction :
9. Then he declareth to them their work,
And their transgressions that they have become mighty :
10. And he uncovereth their ear for instruction,
And commandeth that they turn back from iniquity !
11. If they hearken and do, they complete their days in good,
And their years in pleasantness !
12. And if they hearken not—by the sword they pass away,
And expire without knowledge !
13. But the hypocrites of heart set the face,
They cry not when he hath bound them !
14. Their soul dieth in youth,
And their life *is* among the defiled !
15. He draweth out the afflicted in his affliction,
And uncovereth their ear in oppression !
16. So also he hath moved thee from a strait place,
To a broad place—no straitness in it !
And the setting down of thy table hath been full of fatness !
17. But the judgment of the wicked thou hast fulfilled,
Judgment and justice are upheld ;
18. Because of fury, lest he move thee with a stroke,
And the abundance of an atonement turn thee not aside,
19. Doth he value thy riches ?
He hath gold and all the forces of power !
20. Desire not the night,
For the going up of the peoples in their place !
21. Take heed—turn not unto iniquity,
For on this thou hast fixed rather than *on* affliction !
22. Behold ! God setteth on high by his power,
Who *is* a teacher like him ?
23. Who hath appointed to him his way, and who hath said,
“Thou hast done iniquity ?”
24. Remember that thou magnify his work
Which men have beheld.
25. All men have looked upon it,
Man looketh attentively from afar !

26. Behold God *is* great—
And we know not the number of his years ;
Yea, there *is* no searching,
27. When he diminisheth the droppings of the waters,
They refine rain according to its vapour,
28. Which clouds do drop : they distill on man abundantly !
29. Yea, doth *any* understand the spreadings of a cloud ?
The noises of his tabernacle ?
30. Behold, he hath spread over it his light,—
And the bottom of the sea he hath covered ;
31. For by them he judgeth the peoples,
He giveth food in abundance.
32. By two palms he hath covered the light :
And layeth a charge over it in its meeting !
33. He showeth by it substance *to* his friend,
Anger against iniquity !
- XXXVII. 1. Also at this my heart trembleth,
And it moveth from its place !
2. Hearken ye diligently to the anger of his voice,
Seeing the sound from his mouth goeth out !
3. Under the whole heavens he directeth it !
And its light *is* over the skirts of the earth !
4. After it roareth a voice—
He thundereth with the voice of his excellency,
And he holds them not back when his voice is heard !
5. God thundereth with his voice wonderfully—
He doth great things which we know not !
6. For to the snow he saith, “Be *on* the earth !”
And the small rain and the great rain *are* its strength !
7. Into the hand of every man he bringeth them down,
For the knowledge by all men of his work.
8. And the beasts enter into covert,
And in their habitations continue !
9. From the chamber *of the south* entereth the hurricane,
And from the scattering winds *of the north* the cold,
10. From the breath of God frost is given,
And the breadth of waters is straitened !
11. Yea, by filling he presseth out a thick cloud ;
Scatter a cloud doth his light !
12. And it turneth itself round about by his counsels,
For their doing all which he commandeth them,
On the face of the habitable earth !
13. Whether for a rod, or for his land,
Or for kindness he cause it to come !
14. Hear this, O Job ; stand and consider the wonders of God !

15. Dost thou know when God placed them,
And caused the light of his cloud to shine?
16. Dost thou know concerning the balancings of a thick cloud?
The wonders of the perfection of knowledge.
17. That thy garments *are* warm,
In the quieting of the earth from the south?
18. Hast thou made with him an expanse for the clouds,
Strong as a hard mirror?
19. Cause us to know what we shall say to him;
We set not in array because of darkness,
20. Is it declared to him that I speak?
If a man hath spoken, surely he is swallowed up!
21. And, now, they have not seen the bright light
Which *is* in the clouds,
And a wind hath passed by and cleanseth them!
22. From the golden north it cometh, near God *is* fearful honour!
23. The Mighty One! we have not found him out;
Great of power and judgment!
And of abundance of righteousness! he answereth not!
24. Therefore men fear him;
He seeth not any of the wise of heart!

XXXVIII. 1. AND THE LORD ANSWERETH JOB OUT OF THE
WHIRLWIND, AND SAITH:

2. Who *is* this—
Darkening counsel by words without knowledge?
3. Gird, I pray thee, as a man thy loins,
And I will ask thee, and cause thou me to know!
4. Where wast thou when I founded the earth?
Declare if thou hast known understanding.
5. Who placed its measures—if thou knowest?
Or who stretched out a line upon it?
6. On what *are* its sockets sunk?
Or who cast its corner stone?
7. In the singing together of the stars of the morning—
When all the sons of God shout for joy,
8. When he shutteth up with doors the sea—in its coming forth—
From the womb it goeth out!
9. In my making a cloud its clothing,
And thick darkness its swaddling band,
10. Then I measure over it my statute,—
And place a bar and doors—
11. And say: "Hitherto come thou, but continue not;
Seeing a command is placed on the pride of thy billows."
12. From thy days hast thou commanded the morning?

- Caused thou the dawn to know its place?
13. To take hold on the skirts of the earth,
That the wicked may be shaken out of it,
14. It turneth itself as clay of the seal,
And they station themselves as clothing.
15. And their light is withheld from the wicked,
And the high arm is broken!
16. Hast thou entered unto the springs of the sea?
Or in searching the deep hast thou walked up and down?
17. Revealed for thee were the gates of death?
Yea, the gates of the shadow of death dost thou see?
18. Hast thou understanding, even to the broad places of earth?
Declare—if thou hast known it all!
19. Where *is* this—the way light dwelleth?
And darkness, where *is* its place?
20. That thou mayest take it unto its boundary,
And that thou mayest understand the paths of its house.
21. Hast thou known, for then wast thou born?
And *is* the number of thy days great?
22. Hast thou entered in unto the treasures of snow?
Yea, the treasures of hail dost thou see?
23. Which I have kept back for a time of distress,—
For a day of conflict and battle!
24. Where *is* this—the way light is apportioned?
It scattereth an east wind over the earth.
25. Who hath divided for the flood a trench?
Or a way for the lightning of the thunder?
26. To send rain on a land without man,
A wilderness without men in it!
27. To satisfy a desolate and waste place,—
And to cause to shoot up the produce of tender grass?
28. Hath the rain a father?
Or who hath begotten the drops of dew?
29. From whose belly came out the ice?
And the hoar-frost of heaven—who hath begotten it?
30. As a stone waters are hidden,
And the face of the deep is captured.
31. Dost thou bind the sweet influences of Kimah?
Or the attractions of Kesil dost thou open?
32. Dost thou bring out Mazaroth in its season,
And Aish for her children dost thou comfort?
33. Hast thou known the statutes of heaven,
Or appointest thou its dominion in the earth?
34. Dost thou lift up to the thick cloud thy voice,
That abundance of water may cover thee?

35. Dost thou send out lightnings, that they may go—
And say unto thee, "Behold us?"
36. Who hath put in the inward parts wisdom?
Or who hath given understanding to the covered part?
37. Who numbereth the clouds by wisdom?
And the bottles of heaven who causeth to lie down?
38. In the hardening of dust into hardness,—
When clods cleave together?
39. Dost thou hunt for a lion prey?
And the desire of young lions fulfil?
40. When they bow down in dens—
Abide in the thicket for a covert?
41. Who prepareth for a raven his provisions,
When his young ones cry unto God,
As they wander without food?

XXXIX. 1. Hast thou known the time of the bearing of the
wild goats of the rock?

- The bringing forth of hinds dost thou mark?
2. Numberest thou the months they fulfil?
And hast thou known the time they bring forth?
 3. They bow down—their young ones they bring forth safely—
Their pangs they cast out!
 4. Safe are their young ones,—they grow up in the field—
They have gone out, and have not returned to them!
 5. Who hath sent out a wild ass free?
Yea the bands of a wild ass who hath opened?
 6. Whose house I have made the wilderness,
And his dwellings the barren land,—
 7. He laugheth at the multitude of a city;
The cries of an exactor he heareth not!
 8. The range of mountains *is* his pasture,
And after every green thing he seeketh!
 9. Is a Reem willing to serve thee?
Doth he remain by thy crib?
 10. Dost thou bind the Reem in the furrow *with* a thick band?
Doth he harrow valleys after thee?
 11. Dost thou trust in him because his power *is* great?
Or leave unto him thy labour?
 12. Dost thou trust in him that he will bring back thy seed?
And *to* thy thrashing-floor gather *it*?
 13. The wings of the singing birds exult;
Whither the wing of the ostrich or hawk!
 14. When she leaveth on the earth her eggs,
And by the dust warmeth them!

15. And forgetteth that a foot may press them,
And a beast of the field tread them down!
16. Her young ones have been hardened without her,
In vain *is* her labour without fear!
17. For God hath caused her to forget wisdom,
Neither hath he given to her a portion in understanding:
18. What time she lifteth herself up on high,
She laugheth at the horse and at his rider!
19. Doth thou give to the horse might?
Dost thou clothe his neck *with* a mane?
20. Dost thou cause him to shake as a locust,
The honour of his snorting *is* terrible!
21. He diggeth in the valley, and rejoiceth in power,
He goeth out to meet armour!
22. He laugheth at fear and is not affrighted,
And he turneth not back from the face of the sword!
23. Against him rattleth the quiver,
The flame of the spear and halbert!
24. With shaking and anger he swalloweth the ground,
And remaineth not steadfast for the sound of the trumpet!
25. Among trumpets he saith, Aha!
And from afar he smelleth battle—
Roaring of princes and shouting!
26. By thine understanding flieth a hawk?
Spreadeth he his wings toward the south?
27. At thy command goeth an eagle up high?
Or lifteth he up his nest?
28. A rock he inhabiteth,
Yea, he lodgeth himself on the teeth of a rock, and a bulwark!
29. From thence he hath sought food—
To a far off place his eyes look attentively—
30. And his brood gulp up blood—
And where the wounded *are* there *is* he!

XL. 1. AND THE LORD ANSWERETH JOB AND SAITH :

2. Is the striver with the Mighty one instructed?
The reprover of God—let him answer it!
3. **AND JOB ANSWERETH THE LORD AND SAITH :**
4. Behold, I have been vile, what shall I answer thee?
My hand I have placed on my mouth.
5. Once have I spoken, but I answer not;
Yea, twice but I continue not!

**6. AND THE LORD ANSWERETH JOB OUT OF THE WHIRLWIND,
AND SAITH :**

7. Gird, I pray thee, as a man thy loins ;
I will ask thee, and cause thou me to know !
 8. Doth thou also make void my judgment ?
Dost thou condemn me that thou mayest be righteous ?
 9. Yea, hast thou an arm like God ?
And with a voice like his dost thou thunder ?
 10. Put on, I pray thee, excellency and loftiness,
Yea, honour and beauty put on !
 11. Scatter abroad the wrath of thine anger—
And see every proud one, and make him low !
 12. See every proud one—make him humble—
And tread down the wicked under them !
 13. Hide them in the dust together—their faces bind in secret.
 14. Then even I will praise thee,
When thine own right hand giveth salvation to thee !
 15. Behold ! I pray thee, Behemoth, which I made with thee ;
Grass he eateth as an ox !
 16. Behold, I pray thee, his power *is* in his loins,
And his strength in the muscles of his belly !
 17. He bendeth his tail as a cedar—
The sinews of his thighs are wrapped together—
 18. His bones *are* mighty ones of brass,
His bones *are* as a bar of iron—
 19. He *is* the beginning of the ways of God—
His Maker bringeth near his sword—
 20. Surely mountains bear food for him,—
Where all the beasts of the field play !
 21. Under the shades he lieth down,
In a secret place of the reed and mire.
 22. Cover him do the shades *with* their shadow—
Cover him do the willows of the brook !
 23. Though a flood oppress he hasteth not,
He is confident though Jordan come forth to his mouth !
 24. Doth *any* take him before his eyes ?
With snares doth *any* pierce the nose ?
- XLI. 1. Dost thou draw out leviathan with an angle ?
 Or with a rope *which* thou lettest down his tongue ?
 2. Dost thou put a reed in his nose ?
 Or with a thorn pierce his jaw ?
 3. Doth he multiply unto thee supplications ?
 Doth he speak unto thee tender things ?
 4. Doth he make a covenant with thee ?
 Dost thou take him for a servant *for* ever ?
 5. Dost thou play with him as a bird ?

- Or dost thou bind him for thy damsels?
6. Do the companions feast upon him?
Do they divide him among the merchants?
7. Dost thou fill with barbed irons his skin?
Or with fish-spears his head?
8. Place on him thine hand,—
Remember the battle,—continue not!
9. Behold his hope hath been found a liar,
Even at his appearance is not one cast down?
10. None is so fierce that he awaketh him—
And who *is* he *that* before Me stationeth himself?
11. Who hath brought before Me that I may repay?
Under the whole heavens it *is* mine.
12. I will not keep silent concerning his ability—
And the matter of might, and the grace of his arrangement.
13. Who hath uncovered the face of his clothing?
Within the doubling of his bridle who entereth?
14. The doors of his face who hath opened?
Round about his teeth *are* terrible!
15. Pride—strong ones of shields—shut up—a close seal!
16. One to another they draw near—
And air entereth not between them!
17. One to another they adhere,—
They stick together and are not separated!
18. His sneezing causeth light to shine,
And his eyes *are* as the eyelids of the dawn!
19. From his mouth flames go—sparks of fire escape!
20. From his nostrils goeth out smoke—as a blown pot or caldron!
21. His breath setteth coals on fire!
And a flame from his mouth goeth out!
22. In his neck strength lodgeth, and before him grief exulteth,
23. The fallings of his flesh have adhered—firm on him—
It is not moved!
24. His heart *is* firm as a stone—
Yea, firm as a piece of a lower mill-stone!
25. From his rising the mighty are afraid—
From breakings they keep themselves free!
26. The sword of his overtaker standeth not,
Spear—dart—or lance!
27. He reckoneth iron to be straw—brass to be rotten wood!
28. An arrow causeth him not to flee,—
Stones of a sling are turned by him into stubble!
29. Darts as stubble have been reckoned—
Yea, he laugheth at the shaking of a javelin!
30. Under him *are* sharp pointed things of clay,—

- He spreadeth sharp pointed things on the mire !
31. He causeth the deep to boil as a pot—
The sea he maketh as a pot of ointment !
 32. After him he causes a path to shine,—
One thinketh the deep to be hoary !
 33. There is not on the earth his like—
Who is made without terror !
 34. Every high thing he seeth ;
He *is* king over all the children of pride !

XLII. 1. AND JOB ANSWERETH THE LORD AND SAITH :

2. Thou hast known that *for* all things thou art able,
And not withheld from thee is *any* device !
3. “ Who *is* this—hiding counsel without knowledge ? ”
Therefore I have declared that which I understand not,
Too wonderful for me that I know not !
4. Hear, I pray thee, and I shall speak ;
I ask thee, and cause thou me to know !
5. By the hearing of the ear I have heard thee,
And now mine eye hath seen thee !
6. Therefore I loathe *myself*,
And have repented in dust and ashes !
7. And it cometh to pass after the LORD’s speaking these things
unto Job, that the LORD saith unto Eliphaz the Temanite:
“ Mine anger hath burned against thee, and against thy two
friends, for ye have not spoken concerning me rightly, like my
servant Job. 8. And now, take for yourselves seven bullocks
and seven rams, and go ye unto my servant Job, and cause a
burnt-offering to ascend for yourselves, seeing Job my servant
prayeth for you, for surely his face I accept, so as not to deal
with you, *according to your* folly, for ye have not spoken con-
cerning me rightly like my servant Job.” 9. And Eliphaz the
Temanite, and Bildad the Shuhite, Zopher the Naamathite go
and do as the LORD hath spoken unto them, and the LORD ac-
cepteth the face of Job.

10. And the LORD hath turned *to* the captivity of Job in his
praying for his friends, and the LORD addeth *to* all that Job hath
the double. 11. And all his brethren, and all his sisters,
and all his former acquaintances, come in unto him, and
eat bread with him in his house, and bemoan him, and com-
fort him concerning all the evil which the LORD had brought
upon him, and they give to him each a Kesitah, and each a
ring of gold.

12. And the LORD hath blessed the latter end of Job more
than his beginning, and he hath fourteen thousand of a flock, and

six thousand camels, and a thousand pair of oxen, and a thousand she-asses. 13. And he hath seven sons and three daughters. 14. And he calleth the name of the first Jemima, and the name of the second Kezia, and the name of the third Keren-happuck. 15. And there were not found women *so* fair as the daughters of Job in all the land, and their father giveth to them an inheritance among their brethren.

16. And Job liveth after this an hundred and forty years, and seeth his children, and his children's children, four generations. And Job dieth, old and satisfied *with* days.

R. Y.

CORRESPONDENCE.

* * The Editor begs the reader will bear in mind that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

"ESSAYS AND REVIEWS," AND THE SEPTUAGINT.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

"Amongst the many proposals which are floating about for Essays and counter-Essays to vindicate the doctrines supposed to be combated in this volume, let us be allowed to suggest this one; 'The nature of Biblical inspiration, as tested by a careful examination of the Septuagint version, with special reference to the sanction given to it by the Apostles, and to its variations, by way of addition and omission, from the received text of the canonical Scriptures.' The conclusions of such an investigation would be worth a hundred eager declamations on one side or the other, and would be absolutely decisive of the chief questions at issue."^a

In the last number of this Journal, a brief review was taken of the salient points of Professor Jowett's Essay on the "Interpretation of the sacred Scriptures." Whilst commendation was bestowed on many of his criticisms, the sceptical tone and tendency of his essay was denounced, "as unsettling everything and settling nothing." It is this unhappy characteristic of his writings, that neutralizes so much which is beautiful and excellent. It conducts the reader to that academical *εποχή* which is so adverse to the positive teachings of a written revelation.

But there is much to admire in the pathos and devotion of Mr. Jowett's compositions. Amidst all his vigour of thought, there is a tenderness which is almost feminine. You have none of the bitterness of the polemic, and even in his errors you are moved to tears rather than to anger. Alas! for his Essay on the "Atonement!" It is that which has cut him off from the Christian altar.

His leading and most valuable characteristic, as the interpreter of St. Paul, is his constant and perpetual appeal to the Greek version of the Old Testament. He is a profound Septuagintal scholar, and disdains all puerile reference to pagan poets and philosophers. He is at home in Philo, and knows his inestimable value, as an unconscious illustrator of the New Testament. But he has not done justice to Philo, when conducting us to the Paschal Lamb, and to "the Holiest of Holies." If, instead of consulting the rationalistic Gfrörer, he had followed the Lutheran Carpzov in his Philonian illustrations of the Epistle to the Hebrews,^b he would perhaps have adopted far juster conceptions of the sacrificial language of St. Paul, and have arrived at more orthodox conclusions respecting the Atonement. The picture which Philo exhibits of the spiritual office of the Jewish high priest, could scarcely have failed to remind him of One "who was holy, harmless, undefiled and

^a *Edinburgh Review*, No. 230, Article vi., "Essays and Reviews," note, p. 488.

^b *Carpzovii Philoniana ad Epist. Heb.* Helmstad, 1750.

separate from sinners," and who offered up himself as "a sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world."^c

Having thus, in no unfriendly manner, animadverted on our learned Greek Professor, we direct our attention to that remarkable footnote which appeared in the last *Edinburgh Review*, in its professed Article on "the Essays and Reviews." The reviewer affects to propose it, as his own original suggestion, but your readers will know how little he is entitled to be considered its originator. The truth is, that I have passed a long life in endeavouring to bring the question of *verbal* Inspiration to this very issue. I claim not the smallest merit for these long labours; I have merely discharged my duty as a private clergyman, who, having no parochial engagements, has felt himself bound to devote his whole time and attention to this important subject. I forbear to enlarge on the nature of the Hellenistic edition of the Greek Testament. It is sufficient to say, that it has provided the materials for that collation of the Septuagint with the Greek Testament, which the reviewer proposes, as the test and criterion of its inspired authority. I am quite willing that we should go to trial on this single issue. It is plain, practical and intelligible. It admits of no quibbling or casuistry. Let the whole phraseology of the New Testament, and more especially its doctrinal phraseology, be tested by its accordance with the Version of the LXX. Let its numerous citations be accurately examined, and if we fail to establish, not only its similarity, but its essential identity of thought and language, let us be driven out of court.

We propose the following theorem, as a sufficient statement of the verbal Inspiration of the New Testament: "*That it everywhere evinces a supernatural recollection of the words and phrases of the Greek version, and that by an influence which is more than human, it has enabled the Evangelists and Apostles to exalt these verbal recollections into the harmonious doctrines of Christianity.*" We do not propose this theorem, as a scholastic definition, but as a theological test. Let it be considered candidly, and with all its imperfections. The mystery of *unwritten* Inspiration still remains—"The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, or whither it goeth."

But the reviewer must be plain and honest, or we cannot accompany him. He affirms that every reference and citation must be taken in its original sense and meaning, without any accommodation to the object of the writer who is adducing it. Here he is at plain contradiction with common sense, and with Professor Jowett. In his acute Essay, "On the quotations from the Old Testament in the writings of St. Paul,"^d he not only defends this freedom of accommodation, but advocates it, as one of the marks of divine authority. To suppose

^c Λέγομεν γὰρ, τὸν Ἀρχιερέα οὐκ ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ Λόγον θεῖον εἶναι, πάντων οὐχ ἀκουσίαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκουσίαν ἀδικημάτων ἀμέτοχον.—Philo, *De Profug.*, § 20, *Mang.* "Ὅτι ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ μὴ ψευδάνυμος, ἀμέτοχος ἀμαρτημάτων ἐστίν.—*De Victim.*, § 10. 'Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεὺς οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνθρώπων γένους, κ.τ.λ.—*De Monarch.*, § 6, 7.

^d Vol. i., pp. 401—416.

that patriarchs and prophets could affix the same distinct sense to their traditions, as when those traditions became fulfilled and verified; or that types and shadows should be identical with a finished dispensation, were to demand that the seed which the farmer drops into the furrow, should represent the full corn in the time of harvest.

With this single reservation, let us proceed to trial. Let no further mention, as Mr. Jowett recommends, be made of the *Hebraisms* of the New Testament. They are henceforth *Hellenisms*. We are to try the issue, not on the relation of the LXX. to the Hebrew text, but on the relation of the LXX. to the New Testament. It is not at all necessary to claim any divine inspiration for the Greek version. To us, it derives all its authority from the sanction of Christ and his apostles. The obscurities of Hebrew should never be blended with the clear light of the Greek language. We again say, let the trial proceed—and as we fix our eyes on the version, we exclaim, *In hoc signo vinces*.

But, as the reviewer asserts, this appeal to the Greek version of the Old Testament is decisive, not merely of the question of Inspiration, but also of “the chief questions at issue.” The entire doctrinal vocabulary of the New Testament is taken from the LXX., and as we observed in our former contribution, the cardinal terms, *faith*, *repentance*, *righteousness*, *justification*, *reconciliation*, and *salvation*, are all identical with the same terms in the Greek version. This concord is still more emphatic in its sacrificial phraseology. When the Apostles or Evangelists speak of the atonement, or the sacrifice and death of Christ, they adopt the very same Septuagintal language, as we find in the Books of Moses, in the Psalms, and in the Prophets. When they denominate Christ, “the Lamb of God,” it is with plain and distinct reiteration of “the Paschal Lamb.” When his blood is spoken of as an atonement for sin, or the appointed method of rescue from punishment, it is only repeating the language of the “blood on the lintel”—the escape from the destroying angel. It is the Old Testament doctrine, “That without shedding of blood there is no remission of sins.” The references and citations on these sacrificial subjects are not merely formal and allusive; but they are strictly verbal, the very words of Leviticus or Isaiah being repeated in the writings of St. Paul, and the other Apostles: “As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up.” For the most curious and recondite illustrations of these quotations from the LXX., we again refer to the valuable notes of Mr. Jowett on the Epistles of the Romans and Galatians. He is remarkably acute in detecting casual and incidental coincidences of thought and language.

Nor is the test of the reviewer to be neglected, in reference to the sanction given to the Greek version, “as to its variations, by way of addition and omission, from the received text of the Canonical Scriptures.”

Of these, we shall only advert to a few of the more remarkable:—“Let all the angels of God worship him,” Heb. i. 6, Deut. xxxii. 35, is a Septuagintal insertion, unauthorized by the Hebrew text, “If the righteous scarcely be saved,” etc., 1 Pet. iv., 18, is very different from the version of the same text in our English Bible,

(Prov. xi. 31). In the number of the Patriarchs who came into Egypt (Acts vii. 14), and the insertion of Cainan (Luke iii. 36), in our Lord's genealogy, the authority of the LXX. is followed. But the omissions are still most striking. Who could have supposed that the pre-eminent declaration, "Unto us a child is born," etc., Isaiah ix. 6, is never once alluded to by the Evangelists or Apostles? Now, it happens that this very text is absent from the most ancient MSS. of the LXX., and that it was not found in the Greek Scriptures, at the time of the Christian era. Nor is it cited by Philo, though he quotes several passages from Isaiah. Nor is it found in the numerous extracts from Isaiah in the ancient epistle of Clemens Romanus. It was first translated into Greek by Aquila A.D. 120. It was not till the days of Jerome and Augustine (A.D. 400), that this omission was made known to the Christian Church. Perhaps a still more important variation is discoverable in the absence of the title of Jehovah (the sacred Tetragrammaton), alike in the Greek version and the New Testament. They are contented with the term *Κύριος*, much to the dissatisfaction of many Hebrew scholars. But the variation is immutable. There is no appeal from the authority of Christ and the Apostles. It was fortunate, nay providential, that our translators did not follow the Hebrew titles. If the terms Jehovah, Adonai, etc., had been introduced in their version of the Old Testament, that divine unity would have been destroyed which now characterizes the entire Bible.

We cannot conclude this letter, without observing the injury which has been unconsciously inflicted on the interpretation of the New Testament, by absurd endeavours to illustrate the Greek text, by appeals to the Hebrew language. There is confessedly no connexion between Greek and Hebrew; the analogies resulting exclusively from the Alexandrian version. It were as pedantic to call Anglicisms, Saxonisms, as to style Hellenisms, Hebraisms. These prejudices against the LXX. are utterly unworthy of an enlightened age. The Septuagint should henceforth be associated with the progress of modern thought.—Thus far we distinctly agree with Mr. Jowett.

In the memorable words of Professor Blunt, the Septuagint is the *viaduct* from the Old to the New Testament; and it is in the spirit of this allusion the *Edinburgh Review* has recently proposed it, as the arbitrator for adjusting our theological disputes with the Essayists. We heartily agree with this proposal. We again repeat, "Take this reviewer at his word." We are convinced from a life-long study, that the best antidote to doubts respecting the Inspiration and authority of the New Testament, will be found in the study of that Greek version of the ancient Scriptures, which reigned supreme in the Christian Church for nearly four hundred years. We say nothing of its own Inspiration, *further than it is endorsed by Christ and the Apostles*. But to illustrate and explain the New Testament, we must necessarily resort to that book, which Christ, the Evangelists, and Apostles knew by heart. There is no evidence to shew they are acquainted with original and biblical Hebrew, for wherever Hebrew words are introduced in the New Testament, they are couched in the

vernacular Syriac of the day. Even the solemn exclamation from the Cross is not expressed in the words of the Psalmist. It is spoken in the vernacular dialect. Yet such are our Protestant prejudices, that in drawing up lists of the citations in the New Testament, we commonly compute about a moiety to be taken from the Hebrew text; but, as Mr. Jowett remarks, they are all more or less traceable to the LXX., the constant text-book of Christ and his Apostles; the perpetual memorial of St. Paul, in his Epistles; and the embroidery of St. John, in the Apocalypse.

As we have been challenged to give an intelligible statement of what is meant by *Verbal* Inspiration, I will endeavour to elucidate the theorem already proposed. It is based on the promise of our Saviour to his disciples,—“The Holy Spirit shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you.” We are authorized, therefore, to consider that it consists chiefly in an extraordinary revival of memory and recollection. That this is peculiarly the Inspiration of the four Evangelists, I think can scarcely be questioned; but the Inspiration of the Apostles consisted further, *in the faculty of applying* the language of the Septuagint to the doctrines of the Gospel. Hence it is that every doctrinal term is the same. There is no such instance of uniform correspondence of thought and language in any uninspired writer; and, therefore, we place it in this supernatural concord and agreement. It is on this ground that we cordially appeal to the LXX. as the best, nay, the *only* arbitrators, of this great controversy.

But it should be distinctly understood, we are speaking merely of *Verbal* Inspiration, of that divine aid which was granted to the Evangelists and Apostles, as *the writers* of the New Testament. We do not presume to intrude into those mysteries of Inspiration, which it “is not lawful for a man to utter.” We view the question solely as relating to the style and language of the New Testament, and we say, that such is the minute, universal, and comprehensive accordance of its phraseology with that of the LXX., that the secret of Verbal Inspiration (which is essential to a written revelation), consists in this unique, extraordinary, and, as it appears to us, supernatural prevalence of the Hellenistic style throughout the numerous books of the Sacred Volume,—“Which things we speak, not in the words which man’s wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth” (1 Cor. ii. 13).

E. W. G.

THE PRINCE OF GRECIA, THE PRINCE OF PERSIA, AND
MICHAEL, ONE OF THE CHIEF PRINCES, IN CON-
NEXION WITH THE CHRONOLOGY OF
DEMETRIUS.

To the Editor of “The Journal of Sacred Literature.”

SIR,—Your correspondent G., or G. B., for he assumes either mode of subscription, has now taken leave of this intricate and interesting

subject; and I have to thank him for having so elaborately stated the grounds of his objections to my proposed arrangement of Scripture chronology, and for the opportunity thus afforded me of more fully explaining my scheme of dates, and especially of reasserting what in a moment of hesitation I had nearly relinquished, viz., my implicit faith in the accuracy of the testimony of Demetrius, the Jewish historian. I am satisfied that Demetrius has fixed with truth and precision the years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and has thus supplied us with a key to the solution of several apparent difficulties in the books of Daniel, Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah, which have no foundation in fact, but only in an erroneous chronology. The subject I conceive to be one of no small interest at this particular moment, when prophecy in general, and the Book of Daniel in particular, have received such rude and unworthy treatment at the hands of the great German philologist, who has lately gone to render an account of his works done in the body, and whose views and opinions have been so hastily echoed by one of those learned Essayists who have occasioned so much angry commotion in our church. I trust that I shall be able to prove to the satisfaction of that learned writer, and, perhaps, even of your reluctant correspondent, the extreme value and accuracy of the dates of Demetrius, and of the want of foundation, therefore, for those objections at least which are founded upon chronological grounds against the Book of Daniel.

In *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, October 1860, I requested your correspondent to have the goodness to *prove* his fundamental proposition, viz., "that Cyrus died in B.C. 530." I did so, because on this one solitary assumption is founded the greater part of his chronological reasoning—because the assumption itself rests solely upon that one legend of the life of Cyrus, selected by Herodotus out of four which he admits to have been current in his days—and more especially because this is the basis of all modern schemes of sacred chronology which I am convinced are placed on an insecure foundation. For, as laid down by Dr. Hales, "the leading elementary date, by reference to which the whole range of sacred and profane chronology has been adjusted, is the birth of Cyrus B.C. 599, which led to his accession to the throne of Persia, B.C. 559, of Media, B.C. 551, and of Babylonia, B.C. 536."^a He might have added, and to his death B.C. 530, at the age of seventy years. A combination of able writers have recently agreed together to support these conventional dates, together with all the absurd deformities necessarily engendered by them, such as the supposed identifications of the title Ahasuerus, first with Cyaxares, then with Cambyzes, and thirdly with Xerxes, of Artaxerxes with Smerdis, and of Darius with Astyages, as may be seen in the new Dictionary of the Bible, edited by that eminent scholar Dr. Smith. My arrangement, which puts an end to all these deformities, stands, therefore, opposed to the opinions of a host of able men. Your correspondent, as the champion of this learned host, in *The Journal of Sacred Literature*,

^a Hales' *Chronology*, vol. i., p. 269.

January 1861, proceeds to answer my challenge, and to prove the correctness of their common fundamental date, viz., B.C. 530, for the death of Cyrus; and by Cyrus we both understood each other to mean the Coresh of the Books of Daniel and Ezra, who conquered Babylon, and rescued the Jews from captivity.

I. He begins by observing, that I once "fully agreed with him in this and some other historical matter connected with the illustrious Persian conqueror of Babylon." In proof of which assertion he quotes a fragment of one of my letters. (*J. S. L.*, January 1857, p. 454.) But he has unaccountably omitted from his quotation the very words which directly contradict his assertion, viz., "I cannot concur in the assertion that Cyrus, or Coresh, died in B.C. 530." I am unable, therefore, to compliment your correspondent either on the fidelity of his quotation, or on his success in shifting the *onus probandi* from his own to my shoulders.

II. He refers to a letter of mine in answer to Mr. Savile (*J. S. L.*, April 1858, p. 188) in which, on the hypothesis, that the Cyrus who conquered Astyages was the son-in-law of that king, as Ctesias relates, and also grandfather of Cyrus, or Coresh, not Coresh himself, an hypothesis which I still think to be founded on fact, I admitted that Astyages may have been conquered by the Persians, that is to say, that the Persians may have freed themselves from the yoke of the Medes about the year B.C. 560, from which he would wish it to be inferred, that "I do not really object to the *probable* correctness of this date, (B.C. 530, for the death of Cyrus,) but merely disapprove the assertion that it is *certain* that Cyrus died in that year." Now, my argument with Mr. Savile was, and I trust I may be excused for repeating it, as it is to the point in question, that Xenophon, in his history of Cyrus, or Coresh, interposes the reign of Cyaxares II. between the reigns of Astyages and Cyrus—that few attempt to explain this period of history without admitting the existence of this intermediate king (commonly, though erroneously, identified with Darius the Mede)—whose existence, I may add, is also placed beyond doubt, by the testimony of the rock at Behistun, where he is recorded under the title Uackshatara, who manifestly represents the last legitimate king of Media, from whom all pretenders to the throne of that kingdom assumed to claim their right in the day of Darius the son of Hystaspes. My argument, therefore, I say was, and is, that since Astyages certainly had a Median successor on the throne, no safe chronological inference can be drawn from coupling together without interval the reigns of Astyages and Cyrus, to the effect that if Astyages were conquered cir. B.C. 560, Cyrus, who reigned twenty-nine years, died in B.C. 530. On the contrary, the inference is, that Cyrus must have come to the throne many years after the *death of Astyages*, whose death, as I have constantly asserted, and still repeat, took place in B.C. 539. If Cyrus, therefore, reigned twenty-nine years, he must, of necessity, have died long after the year B.C. 530. Your correspondent, therefore, either misunderstands or misrepresents my argument, and again omits the following words which contradict what he says that I do not object to, viz., "Darius conventionally called the Mede, after

reigning simultaneously with Cyrus, son of Cambyses king of Persia, for many years, took the kingdom on the death of Cyrus, his supreme lord, perhaps rival, at the age of sixty-two, in the year B.C. 493—for the building of the temple of Jerusalem was obstructed “all the days of Cyrus, king of Persia, even unto the reign of Darius, king of Persia,” (Ezra iv. 5)—implying, I conceive, “that there were no intermediate kings, but that Darius took the kingdom immediately on the death of Cyrus.” “*But how the grandson of Astyages should have died at the age of seventy in B.C. 529 (or 530) his grandfather having married as a young prince in B.C. 585, is past understanding.*” If Cyrus or Coresh lived to the age of seventy, as confirmed by a legend turning upon the number 70, preserved by Cicero from the historian Dino, who lived in the time of Alexander, and if Cyrus was born, which it is difficult to admit, even as early as the year in which his grandfather married, (the year of the eclipse B.C. 585,) his life and reign must have extended far into the reign of Darius the son of Hystaspes. Probably, however, he was not born till at least about twenty-two years after his grandfather’s marriage, say in B.C. 563, which would bring the date of his death to B.C. 494. This second forcible argument, as I conceive, is left untouched by your correspondent; and thus far at least he makes no progress towards the desired proof, “that Cyrus died in B.C. 530,” from any supposed admission on my part. His next attempt to prove his proposition is, if possible, still more unsatisfactory.

III. He resolves to take his stand upon Herodotus, whom he elsewhere considers “will be justly regarded by many as far the best and safest authority” (thus virtually begging the question), and thus proceeds: “*According to Herodotus, it was in B.C. 560-59, that Cyrus was advanced to the dignity of king, i.e., began to reign; and as his reign lasted twenty-nine years, we reasonably infer that he died cir. B.C. 530-29.*” Your correspondent is a great reasoner, as well as a great chronologist. It is true that all modern chronologists have so interpreted Herodotus, and I will add, of which he is not perhaps aware, that Diodorus, Thallus, Castor, and Polybius, among the ancients, took the same view. Other ancient authorities, however, as I have sufficiently proved in my papers in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, have otherwise construed Herodotus, and have placed the advancement of Cyrus to the throne of Persia, after the death of Astyages, B.C. 539. What is required of your correspondent is the *proof* of the correctness of the first of these interpretations. Now every one is aware that Herodotus attaches no dates to the events related in his history, and that the date B.C. 560 for the first year of Cyrus, as derived from his writings, can only be arrived at by adding twenty-nine years, the length of his reign, to the assumed date of his death, B.C. 530. This supposed *proof*, therefore, from above, results in merely begging the question “that Cyrus died in B.C. 530.” Should your correspondent resort in his distress to Xenophon’s *Anabasis*, “as the best and safest authority” on this special occasion, and argue that an eclipse of the sun at Larissa in the year B.C. 557, said to have occurred about the time when the Persians overcame the Medes, or revolted from their yoke,

gives foundation for the inference that Astyages was conquered somewhere about the year B.C. 560, still the answer would be, that the same theory of the moon which places the dark shadow of the total eclipse of B.C. 557 over Larissa, also places the dark shadow of the eclipse of B.C. 585 upon the line, somewhere upon which the battle between Cyaxares and Alyattes was fought, *more than thirty-five years after which battle and date, Astyages was still reigning in Media.*

Not satisfied with these three unlucky attempts to *prove*, what manifestly is incapable of proof, owing to the uncertain and conflicting nature of the evidence, he again returns to the question, and makes a fourth and last effort to prove the date of the death of Cyrus from a fixed point below; insisting at the same time that, though Herodotus confessedly was in great uncertainty as to the *place* and *manner* of the death of Cyrus, he had no difficulty whatever in fixing the *exact date* of that event. So pleased is he with the force of his reasoning, that he repeats the argument nearly verbatim in the second portion of his letter in your last Journal.

IV. "Only grant," he writes, "that it was an easy matter for Herodotus, the native of an Asiatic city, to ascertain correctly the year in which Darius Hystaspes died, and his son Xerxes ascended the throne; and so far as he would feel assured that seven years and five months, and thirty-six years, represent severally the duration of the reigns of Cambyses and Darius Hystaspes, he would feel assured that the great Cyrus died in B.C. 530."

Only grant, it may be replied with equal force, that it was an easy matter for Herodotus, a native of Ionia, to ascertain correctly the date of that famous eclipse which he tells us was *foretold by Thales to the Ionians*—that all historical tradition has fixed the date of that eclipse about the year B.C. 585—that modern astronomical science has proved that no eclipse between B.C. 580 and B.C. 650, turning day *suddenly into night*, in that part of the world, could have taken place except in the year B.C. 585—and that the evening eclipse of that year afforded peculiar facility for its prediction, by means of the Saros, from the morning eclipse of B.C. 603, even with the slight knowledge of astronomical science then possessed—and so far as Herodotus could feel assured that thirty-five years, and twenty-nine years, represent severally the duration of the reigns of Astyages and Cyrus, who reigned, according to Herodotus, successively *after the eclipse*, he would also feel assured that the great Cyrus could not have died earlier, but probably many years later than B.C. 521, the year of the accession of Darius Hystaspes to the throne; so that whatever may have been the uncertainty of Herodotus concerning the exact *place* and *manner* of the death of Cyrus, he must have been in a state of still greater doubt and perplexity, if he made any reckoning at all, as to the *date* of the death of that king. Your correspondent prudently limits the degree of force of his argument to the degree of assurance entertained by Herodotus. But where will this argument stand, if it can be shewn that the amount of assurance of Herodotus upon points of exact chronology was probably next to nothing? Mr. Rawlinson, speaking of the discrepancies and

contradictions in the Herodotean narrative, observes, "that these frequent disagreements must have arisen from some defect in the author; either he was not an adept in arithmetic, or he did not take the trouble to go through the calculations, and see that his statements tallied.^b . . . The want of a standard chronological era cannot be charged against Herodotus as a fault, it was a defect of the age in which he lived. . . . Herodotus, however, is unnecessarily loose and inaccurate in his chronological statements, and evidently regards the whole subject as unimportant. . . . Even where he seems to profess exactness, there is always some omission. . . . We may conclude that he was not in the habit of tabulating his dates, or determining synchronisms in any other way than by means of popular rumour."^c Probably, therefore, if Mr. Rawlinson is correct in his criticism, Herodotus felt no assurance whatever on the subject, and cared little concerning the exact date of the death of Cyrus.

I think I may now safely leave to the decision of your readers, how far your correspondent has succeeded in *proving* the correctness of his fundamental date, and how far he is justified in his concluding complacent assertion, "that the evidence is strong and satisfactory, that the great Cyrus who besieged and took Babylon, and restored the Jews to their own land, died cir. B.C. 531—29." For my own part, I reject altogether the chronological inference thus derived from placing the full length of the reigns of Darius, Cambyeses, and Cyrus, one above the other in succession.

It now remains for me to shew the grounds upon which I accept the other interpretation of Herodotus, to which I have before alluded, viz., that which places the marriage of Astyages in the year B.C. 585, and his death in B.C. 539, and which leads to the inference that the reign of Cyrus was concurrent for some years with that of Darius, son of Hystaspes.

It will have been observed that four arguments have already been brought forward incidentally in this discussion, tending towards this conclusion.

1st. That Ctesias has expressly and advisedly contradicted Herodotus, telling us that the Cyrus who conquered Astyages was in no way related to that king, and not therefore his grandson, son of Mandane and Cambyeses; and this was undoubtedly the Cyrus, father of King Cambyeses, styled without much reverence, on the Behistun inscription, "Cyrus of our race."

2nd. That Cyaxares, not Astyages, was the last king of Media, and that Cyrus, therefore, according to any reckoning, was not on the throne of the empire till long after B.C. 560.

3rd. That since his grandfather Astyages lived more than thirty-five years after the eclipse of B.C. 585, the twenty-nine years' reign of Cyrus must have extended, even according to Herodotus, into the reign of Darius, son of Hystaspes.

4th. That if Cyrus lived to the age of seventy, as Dino in the time

^b Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i., p. 109.

^c *Ibid.*, iii.

of Alexander relates, his life must have extended far into the reign of Darius.

I now proceed to add—

5th. That Daniel, a contemporary witness, establishes beyond question the fact of a plurality of “kings of Persia,” in the third year of the reign of Cyrus, and also that a king, or “prince of Persia,” and one also called Darius the Mede, had already come to the throne in or before that third year: emphatically marking the distinction between the first year of Darius, “when he was set over the realm of the Chaldeans at a later period of his life, viz.: when sixty-two years of age, and his first year as prince. So that the reigns of Cyrus and Darius were concurrent.

6th. That Xenophon had collected from Persian traditions in his day that Cyrus, son of Cambyses and Mandane, conquered Babylon at the time when Cambyses, his father, was king of Persia, and about the time also when Egypt was subdued by the Persians; so that this Cyrus must have reigned after the conquest of Egypt.

7th. That an inscription on a brick found at Senkereh, certifies that Cyrus was “son of Cambyses the powerful king.” If therefore son of that Cambyses, king of Persia (and we know of no other), spoken of in the Behistun inscription as “son of Cyrus of our race,” he must have reigned many years after the conquest of Egypt.

8th. Lucian writes, “Cyrus, the ancient king of Persia, as Persian and Assyrian annals attest, with which also Onesicritus, the historian of Alexander, seems to agree, when about a hundred years old, inquired after each of his friends individually, and hearing that most of them had been put to death by his son Cambyses, who had given out that this had been done by his command, being deeply afflicted with shame and grief at the atrocities of his son thus reflected upon himself, put an end to his life.” Again, therefore, we may infer that Onesicritus was of opinion, so early as the time of Alexander, that Cyrus long survived the conquest of Egypt.

9th. Ferdousi, still from another independent source, relates that Kai-Khosru, king of Persia, who had been exposed when a child in the desert, as Herodotus relates of Cyrus, was not he who conquered Babylon, and that Cyrus, or Coresh, who conquered Babylon, and released the Jews, lived to an age even greater than that recorded by Lucian, and went into religious retirement after delivering the reins of government into the hands of Lohorasp.

10th. Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, who was living in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, B.C. 433, also sealed the covenant with those priests who came up from Babylon to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel, as is supposed in the reign of Cyrus. Cyrus must have died, therefore, later than B.C. 530.

Here, then, are seven high and independent witnesses, viz., Daniel, Nehemiah, Ctesias, Xenophon, Dino, Onesicritus, and Ferdousi, apparently supported by contemporary inscriptions, all combining to contradict that one legend of Cyrus related by Herodotus, which seems to place his reign between the years B.C. 560 and 530. While, on the other hand, they furnish us with weighty arguments, supported by a

continuous tradition, tending to shew that Cyrus must have continued to live, if not to reign, for many years after the date of the conquest of Egypt. The question is indeed involved in deep perplexity. Would that the labours of Eratosthenes, and of the schools of Alexandria and Antioch regarding it had been preserved to us; for it must have then been discussed and determined with many authentic materials, now wanting, at command. We have strong evidence, however, here before us, if I am not mistaken, of what was the tendency of opinion in those days, in what is stated by Dino and Onesicritus. But, to say the least, it cannot be safe, in the face of seven such independent authorities, to adopt implicitly the unsupported opinion of one solitary and hesitating witness, who honestly warns us not to trust too readily to the story which he relates, and frankly tells us that he cannot pledge himself to anything which he advances concerning either the life or death of Cyrus.

That which is decisive in my own mind against the interpretation of Herodotus, adopted from the time of Diodorus downwards, is what may be collected from Manetho and Demetrius, in two collateral lines of investigation, at a much earlier time, bearing strongly, though indirectly, on the history of Cyrus. Manetho, soon after the death of Alexander, published his Egyptian dynasties, and fixed the time of the conquest of Egypt by the Persians. I cannot here enter fully into the question of the date fixed by Manetho, but must refer the reader to my letter in the *Athenæum* of 8th June, in which I think that I have shewn that Manetho's date was B.C. 515, in conformity with the length of reign given to Cambyzes by Ctesias, from Persian records. But if Egypt was conquered in B.C. 515, the battle of Carchemish (in the last year of Necho, as Josephus places it), and the rise of the empire of Babylon in the person of Nebuchadnezzar, who fought that battle in his first year, must have been the year B.C. 583, that is to say, two years after the eclipse of B.C. 585, which, Herodotus informs us, shortly preceded the final destruction of the empire of Assyria, on the ruins of which that of Babylon arose. Now this is the exact date fixed by Demetrius for the first year of Nebuchadnezzar. For he places "the last carrying away of captives from Jerusalem" by that king, *i. e.*, in his twenty-third year, in the year B.C. 560, thus making his first year B.C. 583, in conformity with the reckoning of Manetho, and also in conformity with that most important of all dates, the year of the eclipse B.C. 585, which must have preceded the first of Nebuchadnezzar. It is clear to me, therefore, that the chronology of Demetrius is no system of conjectural dates, but that it is formed upon accurate and precise calculation. I accept that chronology with the greatest confidence, as a precious record of historical truths searched into and determined in those days of historical and chronological investigation which followed upon the establishment of the Greeks in Syria and Egypt; and I make that chronology one of the foundation stones of my arrangement. How, then, does this acceptation of the chronology of Demetrius bear upon the reign of Cyrus, and upon the interpretation of the books of Daniel, Ezra, Haggai, Zechariah, Esther, and Nehemiah? Forcibly and distinctly thus. If Demetrius rightly places the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar and destruction of Jerusalem in the year B.C. 564, the

seventy years' "desolation of Jerusalem," and "indignation against Jerusalem," spoken of by the three prophets, must have terminated in the year B.C. 494, when Darius took the kingdom, or was "set over the realm of the Chaldeans," being "about three score and two years" old, which was the age of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, in that very year. The Darius of Daniel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Ezra, therefore, was one and the same Darius, and the years of his reign are counted in those books, not from the time of his accession to the throne, but from the time when Jerusalem became immediately subject to his sceptre through Babylon. Darius Hystaspes was therefore Darius the Mede, and contemporary with Cyrus, or Coresh, who conquered Babylon, and his reputed or adopted father Ahasuerus, was no other than Cyaxares, son of Astyages, the last king of Media, who, according to the book of Esther, must have lived not long after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, because Mordecai was carried captive to Babylon by that king. And thus may Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, have been present at events which took place even as early as the days of Cyrus.

And now, let me ask, What shall we think of Bunsen and his followers, who assume that the book of Daniel could not have been written so early as the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, because Daniel speaks of Greek instruments, and makes use of some few words of Greek etymology in his writings; when even a single witness such as Demetrius asserts, that the death of Nebuchadnezzar, after whom Daniel lived, took place about the very time when Croesus consulted the oracle at Delphi, and when we know from Megasthenes that Nebuchadnezzar died with the very words of that Greek oracle upon his lips? Could Daniel's master have had intercourse with Greece, and Daniel himself have been precluded from knowing the names of certain Greek instruments used by the military cortege of that mighty king? And what shall we think of the learned essayist, who re-echoes, without condemnation, the hasty arguments of the German, and asserts that this "result is clear beyond fair doubt, that the period of the weeks (*i.e.*, of the seventy weeks' prophecy of Daniel) ended in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes:" when Demetrius, about fifty years before the reign of Antiochus, free from any possible bias derived from the prophecy, has so fixed the time of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, which could hardly have been doubtful in his days, as to place the very year in which, according to his reckoning, that prophecy must have been uttered, exactly seventy weeks of years, or 490 years before the birth of the anointed prince, of whom it was said, "The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David," and whom we believe to have been the prince thereby foretold. Can any one bring his mind to believe that it is pure matter of accident that the birth of Jesus took place in exact conformity with the terms of the prediction so placed: and that St. Matthew also should have certified that fourteen Jewish generations, that is fourteen times forty years, equal to a period of exactly 560 years, should have expired "from the time of the carrying away into Babylon" up to the time of that birth? I have not a doubt in my own mind on the subject. I will not enter into the ques-

tion whether "all parts of the book of Daniel may be of the same age." But that the weeks of Daniel ended in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, I take to be one of the most unjustifiable and hasty assumptions ever put forth.

I now return to your correspondent G. B. I had argued from the book of Daniel, who was a contemporary witness, that there was evidence of the existence of a second prince in Persia, besides the supreme sovereign over the empire in the days of Cyrus, because "in the third year of Cyrus, king of Persia," (Melek.) Daniel speaks of "the Prince of Persia" (Sar) as a distinct ruler; and from thence I had inferred a corroboration of the opinion that Cyrus and Darius reigned at the same time. Your correspondent meets this argument by introducing to us a supposed organized body of malignant spiritual beings, appointed, as he believes, by the great evil spirit himself as princes over the several kingdoms of this world, each "most probably with subordinate spirits under him: so that "the prince of Persia," and "the prince of Grecia," here read of in Daniel, are to be considered two malignant spirits specially appointed to thwart the well-being of those two countries, while "Michael, one of the chief princes," is no less a personage than an archangel expressly set to watch over the dispersed nation of the Jews.

Now, with every disposition to admit that spiritual and invisible agencies, both good and evil, may be permitted within certain limits to exercise an influence over the affairs of this world, I am unable to discover any sufficient ground for concluding that the three princes here spoken of by Daniel are any other than at first sight they would appear to be, viz., human beings like ourselves. A vision of an angelic being, to whom Daniel has given the name of Gabriel, is certainly said to have appeared to the prophet while in a deep sleep or trance; and if this being, whether substantial or unsubstantial, had been designated by the title "prince" (Sar), perhaps there might have been reason for the inference that Michael also, "one of the chief princes," might have been one of the same ethereal nature. But why Michael, one of the chief of the Sarim, "Michael your Sar," that is your prince of the captivity, and "Michael the great (or chief) Sar which standeth for the children of thy people," should be set down as a supernatural being, more than "the prince of the eunuchs," also styled Sar, in a previous chapter, does not sufficiently appear. The only passage where the "archangel Michael" is spoken of is in the Epistle of St. Jude. St. Jude, in support of his argument, refers to the non-canonical book of Enoch, and also, I conceive, to some well known rabbinical tradition of his day, probably the work referred to by Irenæus, viz., *The Assumption of Moses*, concerning a contest between the devil and the archangel Michael over the body of Moses. The passage is extremely obscure, but I submit, with reverence, that it proves no more than that such was a legend current in those days. It by no means necessarily proves the actual existence of any such mighty angel. The only other passage where Michael is supposed to be referred to as an archangel, is in the twelfth chapter of the Book of Revelation, where we read, "There was war in heaven, Michael (that is literally, one who is like unto God)

and his angels fought against the dragon: and the dragon fought and his angels." Both Michael and the dragon are here symbolical beings. "This vision of the war in heaven," writes Bishop Horsley, "in the Apocalypse, represents the vehement struggles between Christianity and the old idolatry in the first ages of the gospel." The angels of the two opposite armies represent two opposite parties in the Roman state at the time which the vision more particularly regards. Michael's angels are the party which opposed the side of the Christian religion, the friends of which had for many years been numerous, and became very powerful under Constantine the great, the first Christian emperor: the dragon and his angels are the party which supported the old idolatry."^d This symbolical vision, therefore, of Michael and the dragon carries no weight as proving the actual existence of any such superhuman being as Michael, more than it proves the actual existence of a spiritual dragon. Setting aside, therefore, these two passages as not bearing on the question, let us return to the passage (Daniel xii. 1). "At that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince, or Sar, which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book." Surely, it may be said, here is reference to a superhuman personage, invested with more than mortal power, at the time of the future restoration of the Jews. But why, it may be asked, superhuman? Daniel was not superhuman, though greatly favoured of heaven, and to him it was said in the same chapter, "Go thou thy way till the end be: for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days." David was not superhuman, and yet of David and of Israel it is said, They shall serve the Lord their God, and David their king, whom I will raise up unto them" (Jer. xxx. 9). Elijah was not superhuman, and yet we read, "Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord" (Malachi iv. 5). Now if Daniel, David, and Elijah, shall hereafter stand again upon this earth, though beings of a human nature as ourselves, why should not also Michael, the prince, who in the days of Cyrus stood for the children of the captivity, of the same flesh and blood as those three holy men, and not a whit less holy or less favoured than the holiest of them, as I shall presently shew, at that time, when many "that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake," also stand in his lot, and for the children of his people? But it will be asked, where is the evidence of the existence of this prince Michael in the days of Daniel and of Cyrus? There is evidence, I reply, in the book of Daniel itself of a prince of the royal house of David—of a prince as highly favoured by the Almighty as Daniel—of a prince set high amongst the chief rulers of that kingdom, of which Cyrus, in his third year, had lately become possessed—and of a prince who bore a name identical with that of Michael at the very time of which the prophet is speaking. The name Michael, as before observed, signifies "who is like unto

^d Horsley's *Sermons*, vol. ii., p. 28.

God." The name Mishael signifies "who is that which God is." Now who was Mishael? He is spoken of as one of "the king's seed, and of the princes" (Daniel i. 3), that is of the royal house of Jehoiakim. He was surnamed Meshach by the Chaldees, and was one of those three holy children who were seen walking in the midst of the fire, in company with one "whose form was like the son of God." He was one of those who, together with Daniel, also of princely race, was at one time set "over the affairs of the province of Babylon," and immediately after his miraculous deliverance still more highly "promoted in the province of Babylon," so that he was placed amongst the *chief of the Sarim*. Nor need we be surprised at the attainment of so exalted a position by a captive Jew, when we remember that Daniel, his companion, was thought worthy, not long after, of being "set over the whole realm." This then was the great, or chief Sar, who, in the third year of Cyrus, when the building of the temple of Jerusalem was obstructed by the Samaritans, and when Daniel was mourning "three whole weeks," or one and twenty days, during which he may be supposed to have sought in supplication to the king, and in prayer to God, to be allowed to go up to Jerusalem to enforce the decree of Cyrus for the rebuilding of the temple—this prince Michael, or Mishael, I say, was he who, when the "prince of Persia" opposed his petition during those same one and twenty days, came to help, not the angel Gabriel of the vision as your correspondent infers, but Daniel, who was urging his petition, and who, notwithstanding this support of one of the chief princes, was unsuccessful in his suit, and was compelled to remain "there with the *kings of Persia*." Let us remark here the expression "*kings of Persia*" in the plural, again conveying the idea of the concurrent reigns of Cyrus and Darius on the thrones of the Medes and Persians; for Darius, as we have seen, had already begun to reign. There is then neither sufficient authority, nor sufficient necessity, for resorting to a machinery of supposed good and evil spirits, set as princes over the separate kingdoms of the world. "I deny," says Bishop Horsley, "that a single text is to be found in Holy Writ, which, rightly understood, gives the least countenance to the abominable doctrine of such a participation of the holy angels in God's government of the world."

It now merely remains for me to make a few remarks upon the second portion of your correspondent's letter, which appeared in your last Journal: and I shall limit my observations to such of his arguments as seem to bear upon the questions at issue, or the conclusions at which I have arrived, viz:—

1st. That Ahasuerus of the book of Esther, was Cyaxares, son of Astyages.

2nd. That Darius, the Mede, son of Ahasuerus, was Darius, son of Hystaspes, reputed son or successor on the Median throne of Cyaxares.

3rd. That Cyrus, and Darius the Mede, or Cyrus, and Darius son of Hystaspes, reigned simultaneously in Persia for many years.

I dismiss of course your correspondent's calculation of the age of Darius, and all other arguments founded upon the assumed death of

Cyrus in B.C. 530: and I find that the first and indeed only argument of any weight which apparently affects my arrangement is that which is drawn from the age of Daniel. Misapprehending what I had written on this point, he assumes that, by my own admission, Daniel must have been born in B.C. 606, and that if he lived therefore to the year B.C. 493, he must have attained to the age of 112 years: and concludes thus. "This consideration amounts to little short of a demonstration that the identification of Daniel's Median Darius, with the Darius Hystaspes of Herodotus, is little better than a chimerical impossibility." The simple difference between your correspondent and me is, that I take his reasoning to be valid, not as proving that Daniel could not have lived to the year B.C. 493, but as confirming the chronology of Demetrius, who distinctly states that the first year of Nebuchadnezzar was B.C. 583: and little short of a demonstration that the second year of Nebuchadnezzar was not the second year from association with his father on the throne, but probably the second year of his sole reign, which, as Scaliger has remarked, must have been the fourteenth from his junction with his father, that is B.C. 570 according to Demetrius, so that Daniel may thus have attained to the age of about ninety years. Others, for instance Cedrenus, have placed the year of interpretation of the dream in the second year after the fall of Jerusalem, B.C. 562, according to Demetrius: and it is quite possible that Daniel, with his thoughts fixed on Jerusalem, and looking forward to the expected prince who should rise as a deliverer in Judea, may have counted the regnal years of the Babylonian and Persian kings he mentions with reference to the throne of Judea, and not to their local thrones. So much for the one plausible argument of your correspondent against the identity of Darius the Mede and Darius son of Hystaspes.

With regard to the identity of Cyaxares and Ahasuerus, I find your correspondent strenuously arguing against Mr. Savile, that the supremacy of the Persians over the Medes had been established long before the capture of Babylon by Cyrus; and I myself have argued that the "Medes and Persians," or "Persians and Medes," were at that time, as Xenophon relates, on a footing of federal equality, and that the names of either country might have been then placed in the position of precedence, according to the nation or locality of the writer. He insists that "the habitual use of such a formula as that of 'the law of the Medes and Persians' at the Medo-Babylonian court, by Median courtiers, and before the Median monarch of Chaldea, may not unfairly seem to indicate that the *Persian supremacy* had already been virtually established throughout the Medo-Persian empire." If so, his main argument, from the frequent use of the formula, "Persians and Medes," in the Book of Esther, to prove that Ahasuerus must have reigned after the time of Cyrus, falls to the ground. For, in proportion to the force of his reasoning that Persian supremacy was then established throughout the empire, so is the possibility that the reign of Ahasuerus over 127 provinces of Persians and Medes may have taken place before or about the time of the capture of Babylon. I have here, therefore, to thank him for the support of his reasoning, though not of his opinion.

Lastly, your correspondent is very pertenant in his opinion, that Ezra has referred to Cambyzes and Smerdis, under the titles Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes, between the reigns of Cyrus and Darius; and appeals to "not a few learned writers, from Mede and Sir Isaac Newton to Jahn and Faber" in support of his opinion. Now as he clearly has not seen what was written on this subject by Sir I. Newton, he will allow me to lay before him the conclusions of that extraordinary man, which will be found by no means in unison with his own. "I consider further," writes Sir I. Newton,⁴ "that Ezra, chap. iv., names Cyrus, †, Darius, Ahasuerus, and Artaxerxes in continual order, as successors to one another, and these names agree to Cyrus, †, Darius Hystaspes, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes Longimanus, and to no other kings of Persia."

Let me refer him also to Sir I. Newton's opinion concerning the "seventy weeks:"—"As the seventy and sixty-two weeks were Jewish weeks ending with sabbatical years, so the seven weeks are the compass of a jubilee, and begin and end with actions proper for a jubilee, and of the highest nature for which a Jubilee can be kept." Again, he refers to the completion of the wall of Jerusalem by Nehemiah in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, B.C. 436, according to Josephus, and writes, "Count now from this year three score and two weeks of years, that is, 434 years, and the reckoning will end in September in the year of the Julian period 4712 (B.C. 2), which is the year in which Christ was born." Now Maimonides informs us that the sabbatical years and jubilees were reconstituted by Ezra, and that the thirteenth year of the second temple was the first sabbatical year after the return from captivity; and applying this to all that has gone before, and also to Sir I. Newton's opinion concerning the weeks and jubilee, we find that the thirteenth year of the new temple, counted from the second year of Darius, B.C. 493-2, was the year B.C. 480, and the first year of the sabbatical week was B.C. 486. Counting then Sir Isaac's jubilee or fifty years (which he was unable so to count according to the common chronology) from the year B.C. 486, we arrive at the year B.C. 436, the period of the building of the wall of Jerusalem in troublous times, as he had pointed out, and from thence to the birth of Christ is, as we have seen, sixty sabbatical years.

I now take leave of your correspondent, who, except for a certain looseness of logic and want of range in historical information, I might have taken for a late fellow of Trinity College. Whoever he may be, I can assure him that his charge of intentional mystification, on my part, is as unworthy of himself as it is of me. I may truly say, that there is nothing which I have here advanced which I do not believe to be the truth, or very nearly approaching to the truth, and that the more I consider the subject, the more fully persuaded I am that the weight of ancient testimony is in favour of my view.

I. W. BOSANQUET.

Claysmore, 18th May, 1861.

⁴ Newton's *Chronology*, p. 368

⁵ Newton on *Daniel* x., p. 1833, 15.

THE FAMILY OF JESUS.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—Whatever relates in any way to the personal history of our Lord is of interest and importance to Christians. Much has been said and written with reference to his earthly relatives, and of late this question has been more than once discussed or referred to in the pages of your Journal. I will therefore feel obliged by you allowing me to lay before your readers what appears to me to be the teaching of the New Testament on this point.

And first with reference to our Lord's mother, that daughter of Israel whom we are ever to call blessed, for the great honour conferred upon her. That Mary was a virgin until after the birth of Jesus, no one who believes the Gospel narrative doubts. That she continued such ever afterwards is the belief of a large part of the professing Christian Church. But that she did not is, in my opinion, just as clearly taught us in the Gospel as it is there taught us that she did continue such until the birth of Christ.

No other evidence need be looked for in proof of this than the fact that Mary was married to Joseph, and lived with him as his wife for many years. No other proof of cohabitation is required in the case of other married persons, and no other is required in the instance before us. In the circumstances and opinions of the time and country, there is nothing to make us suppose for a moment that Joseph and Mary did not live together as married people do, but the very contrary. Married life, not virginity, was the condition honoured among the Jews : and children were looked upon as the great blessing of marriage. The sentiment of Elizabeth was the sentiment of the entire people ; when in thanksgiving for the birth of John, she said, "Thus hath the Lord dealt with me in the days wherein he looked on me, *to take away my reproach among men* (Luke i. 25). There could have been, therefore, neither on Joseph's or Mary's part, any feeling to make them shun the usual intercourse of marriage ; but, on the contrary, the strong bias of the age and country, was on the same side as natural inclination.

But in this particular instance, we happen to have as express testimony as words can give us on such a subject, that Mary did not continue a virgin after the birth of Jesus. That testimony is found in the words of St. Matthew, who says of Joseph, that "he knew her not *until she had brought forth her first-born child*" (Mat. i. 25). The only inference to be drawn from these words is that he did know her afterwards. It is in vain that men bring forward cases when the word "until" is used, and where we all allow that the thing in connection with which it is used did not take place. If we examine those places we shall invariably find that such things are *things which could not happen*, and that therefore the use of the word "until" is a striking and remarkable way of saying that they did not, while in no single instance is there any uncertainty implied in the use of the word "until : " it is either a decided affirmation or a decided negation. Thus, when we read that "Samuel came no more to see Saul till the

day of his death," we see at once from the circumstances which attended Saul's death, that this is a forcible way of saying that he never came to see him again: or when we read that "Michael the daughter of Saul had no child until the day of her death," we perceive, "because there is no midwifery in the grave," that the phrase means she never had a child (1 Sam. xv. 35; 2 Sam. vi. 23). But we never dream of arguing from such cases that there is negation in the meaning of the word "until" *in cases where the thing spoken of is such as naturally or usually happens*. Thus, when we read of the angels saying to Lot, "I cannot do anything (to the cities of the plain) until thou be come to Zoar," we at once infer that he meant to execute vengeance afterwards: or when we are told of David's vow not "to taste bread until the sun be down," we are quite certain that he did eat after it was down. And so it is in the case before us. Marital intercourse is a usual thing, and therefore when used in reference to it by St. Matthew, the word "until" means with just as much certainty that Joseph knew Mary after the birth of Jesus, as that David partook of food after sunset, and that fire descended upon Sodom after Lot was escaped to Zoar. Mary therefore continued a virgin only until after the birth of Jesus. She then ceased to be such, and lived with Joseph as every other Jewish wife lived with her husband. The perpetual virginity of Mary is an idle myth.

But it does not follow that she had any other child than Jesus, or that those spoken of in the Gospels as his brethren were her sons. I believe that she had other sons, but that they died in early life, and that none of them were alive when our Lord was engaged in his public ministry. This I will now endeavour to shew. Our Lord seems to have had many blood relations (Luke ii. 44; Mat. xiii. 55, 56; John vii. 10). These seem to have lived chiefly in Galilee, and especially in Nazareth. We have the names of four of those, who were probably his nearest relatives, given us in Mat. xiii. 55, "James and Joses, and Simeon, and Judas." We are not to suppose that these were all his living male relatives, but they were those nearest to him and best known in Nazareth, and are the persons whom many suppose to have been his uterine brothers, the children of Joseph and his mother.

The mere calling them his brethren does not prove them to have been so closely related to him, when we call to mind that this term is freely used in Scripture of all who were in any degree related to each other. It is used of kinsmen in any degree, of uncles and nephews, as well as of the children of the same father and mother (2 Kings x. 13. comp. with 2 Chron. xxii. 1; Gen. xiii. 8 and xxix. 12). I think there can be little doubt but that the persons called in the Gospel our Lord's brethren were, at least two of them, his first cousins, the sons of his mother's sister. Now for the proof of this.

Of the four brethren of Christ mentioned by name, two were of the number of the Twelve Apostles, viz., James and Judas. This is very evidently taught us. That James was one of them we learn from Gal. i. 19, where Paul, speaking of his first visit to Jerusalem after his

Conversion, A.D. 35, says that he then saw none of the Apostles except Peter and "James, the Lord's brother." Very strange is Dean Alford's comment upon this. He tells us in his note on Mat. xiii. 55, that "this determines nothing as to James's having been *among the twelve*, for Paul and Barnabas are called Apostles." The Dean's idea is that the James spoken of (Gal. i. 19) was not one of the twelve first chosen by Christ, but was one who in after times was called an apostle, as Barnabas, Andronicus, Epaphroditus, and others were undoubtedly called. But the whole scope and argument of Galatians, and the time to which it refers, forbids us to suppose that Paul is speaking there of any but the original Apostles called by Christ in person and witnesses of his life. It could be no others whom he describes as having been apostles before he received the call to the apostleship on his way to Damascus (Gal. i. 17). Called as he was in the same year in which Christ had been crucified, those who were apostles before him could have been no other than the original twelve. Of the Apostles whom he thus describes James, the Lord's brother, was one (Gal. i. 19). He is here associated as an equal with the very foremost of the twelve, Peter and John (ii. 9). And we might just as well suppose that Peter and John here mentioned were not the Peter and John who were with Jesus on the mount of transfiguration, but some other men of the same name, as suppose that the James who is associated with them in Galatians was not one of the original and pre-eminent apostles, but some one else of the same name. James, the Lord's brother, was then beyond any fair question, one of those twelve whom Jesus in the days of his flesh called to be with him, as we read in the Gospels.

But it is just as certain that this James was not the uterine brother of our Lord. We are expressly told who both his father and his mother were. Matthew tells us that he was "the son of Alphæus" (x. 3). And Mark tells us that he was the son of one called by the common name of Mary, but different from Mary the mother of Jesus (xv. 40). While John tells us that Mary the mother of James was sister to Mary the mother of Jesus, or, in other words, that James, the Lord's brother, was what we would call his first cousin (xix. 25). Another of the four brethren of our Lord mentioned by name, Josès, was uterine brother of this James (Mark xv. 40). And thus we have certainly two of them standing to him in no nearer relationship than first cousins. We cannot tell with certainty the precise relationship in which the two remaining brethren of our Lord stood either to Him or to James and Josès. They could not have been more nearly related to Jesus than James and Josès were, or they would in the enumeration of them have been first mentioned, whereas they are mentioned after them (Mat. xiii. 55). One of them, the Apostle Jude, calls himself "a brother of James" (Jude 1), but this expression, as we have seen, may only mean a kinsman or cousin. From the mention of Mary, our Lord's aunt, being the mother of James and Josès (Mark xv. 40), while no mention is made of her similar relationship to the other two, one of whom, Judas, was a much more eminent man than Josès, we should gather that Simon and Judas were related to James and Josès

by a similar relationship to that which connected the latter to our Lord, i.e., that they were first cousins. That such was probably the relationship of Judas to our Lord, or that at least he was not his uterine brother, we gather from Luke vi. 16. From hence we learn that his father's name was James "Ἰούδαν Ἰακώβου." It is true that our version translates this "Judas the brother of James," but it is just as true, I think, that the translation is wrong. I may be in error, but I do not know that we can point out a single passage where this expression certainly signifies "a brother," while numberless instances can be pointed out where it means "a son" (Luke vi. 15. Mat. x. 3). We have then a third of those named as the brethren of Christ who could not have been more nearly related to him than his first cousin, and was perhaps not so near. It is possible that the father of Judas may have been a brother of our Lord's mother, but he may not have been so closely related. While Judas, his son, and who calls himself brother of James, could not have been more closely related to the latter than first cousin. We have thus certainly made out that the four brethren of the Lord mentioned by name, and best known as such in his own city of Nazareth where his father and mother dwelt, were not his uterine brothers, but were only cousins. He certainly had no nearer relations than these at the time of his public ministry.

Again ; that the four brethren of Christ mentioned by name were not his mother's sons, we may infer very strongly from our Lord's handing her over to the care of St. John when he was dying (John xix. 26). If she had had then no less than four sons—two of them apostles—and one of them, James, the most settled resident in Jerusalem of all the apostles, and a man eminent for every virtue, we cannot suppose that our Lord would have taken from their care their own mother, or that a transfer of the kind could have been agreeable to her feelings. The solemn commendation of his mother to John was evidently the raising up a son to one whom the death of Jesus was about to make childless.

But are we not expressly told that Jesus was his mother's *first born son*, and consequently that those mentioned in the Gospel as his brethren were sons born to her after his birth (Luke ii. 7). I was for a long while inclined to think that the styling our Lord Mary's first-born son did not establish her having had any other children. Further reflection, however, convinces me that it does, though it by no means follows, if she had, that those mentioned by name as the brothers of Jesus were her children. I am satisfied that she had other sons besides Jesus, perhaps daughters also, but that those other sons died young, and that our Lord when arrived at the age of 30, was his mother's only living son.

It is much disputed whether the calling our Lord Mary's first born son proves that she had other children, but I can see no reason for denying that such is its proper force. It is quite possible, indeed, that when the Greek word *πρωτότοκος* is used of a number of persons, as when the first born of Egypt and Israel are spoken of (Exod. xi. 5 ; xiii. 2 Sept.) it includes several only sons : but I do not believe that

we can find any undoubted instance where this expression is used of an individual where it does not indicate that there was at least one other child (Gen. xxvii. 19; xlviii. 18; xlix. 3; Deut. xxi. 15; Josh. vi. 26). When, therefore, the calling of Esau, and Judah, and Abiram, the first-born, indicates that their parents had other children, so the calling Jesus his mother's first born indicates that she had other sons born to her after his birth. There is nothing to indicate in her case that the word is not to bear its usual force. She lived with her husband as his wife for many years : she was a young and healthy woman, nor, in all likelihood, would Joseph have chosen any than such to continue the failing line of David. So that all things considered, we may gather from Luke's styling Jesus the first-born of Mary, that she had other sons. But none of these were living when Christ entered upon his public life. The mother had given them birth, and sons were born in the way of nature to continue David's line, but one after another they dropped away, and left the inheritance of the throne of Israel to the child who was born by a miraculous conception to a virgin, and who was Joseph's son, not by nature, but by law.

Before concluding these remarks, I would refer briefly to some of Dean Alford's reasons for concluding that the brethren mentioned by name in Mat. xiii. 56, were his mother's sons, and that none of them were apostles. They are found in his note on that passage in the fourth edition of his volume on the Gospels.

His principal reason, then, for supposing them to be sons of Mary, the mother of Jesus, is, that generally where we read of them in the New Testament, we find them "in immediate connexion" with her. His inference is, that they would not have been so much with her if they were not her sons. His inference has no weight. There is no reason for supposing that it was because she was present that they were present. Beyond any doubt our Lord, not his mother, was what brought them into the scenes and places where we find them. He was the centre to mother and brethren and apostles and disciples. It was round Him, not round his mother, that all were gathered, and we find his brethren with him when his mother was not (John vii. 5). It was most natural that his cousins should interest themselves in the affairs of their mysterious relative. Dean Alford's reason for supposing that none of the named brethren of Jesus were among his twelve apostles has much more weight. John tells us that his brethren did not believe in Christ, and hence the Dean argues that James the less and Judas the brother of James, apostles and believers, could not have been any of those brethren of whom we are told that they did not believe. The Dean seems to think that our Lord had but four brethren ; but for this I do not see what foundation he has. We gather from Luke ii. 44, that our Lord's parents, or more probably his mother only, had, when He was of the age of twelve years, several grown up male relatives. Such were the "kinsfolk" returning from the Passover to Galilee, among whom they sought for their missing son. These were, according to all but universal custom among the Jews, married, or would marry, and we thus see the likelihood that when our Lord was a

man he had a very numerous relationship. We may, therefore, well believe that two of his kinsmen were apostles, while we also hold that as a general rule his relations did not admit his claims. The belief of two of them is quite consistent with general unbelief: nor is it absolutely certain that even those two, apostles though they were, admitted his claims to be the Christ until after his resurrection. The same general reasoning answers Alford's argument from Acts i. 14. Two of the brethren of Jesus may have been apostles, and yet the greater number of them not of that body.

Our reflections, then, have led us to take this view of our Lord's family. His mother, a virgin to the period of his birth, bore other sons to her husband Joseph during their married life; all these, however, died in early life. Those called the brethren of Jesus during the period of his public ministry were his cousins, not his uterine brothers. The first-born of Mary was then her only surviving son.

H. C.

JEBEL MUSA AND ER RAHEH.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR—While looking recently over a popular compendium of the geography and topography of Idumea and Arabia, my attention was recalled to the elaborate critical inquiry into the route of the Exodus, which appeared in a former number^a of this Journal. One of the objects of the writer was, to shew that the Israelites, in their long wanderings, never entered at all into the granitic region of the Siniatic peninsula. Accordingly, he considers that the Jebel el Musa, which is in this Alpine district, is altogether erroneously identified with the Sinai of the Exodus.

Jebel Musa is "the highest summit on the mountainous ridge, of which the present traditional Horeb is the extremity." The indefatigable American traveller, Dr. Robinson, accepts the plain of Er Raheh as the place where Israel encamped before Mount Sinai, during the delivery of the law. We learn that Jebel el Musa is three miles distant from El Raheh, and is hidden from it by the intervening peaks of the modern Horeb. No part of the plain is visible from the summit, nor are the bottoms of the adjacent valleys; nor is any spot to be seen around Jebel Musa where the people could have assembled." Lord Lindsay also has shewed that the traditional Sinai of the monks of St. Catherine cannot possibly be the true one.

Canon Stanley, in accordance with Dr. Robinson, considers the Ras Safsafah to be the Sinai of Moses. This peak looks immediately upon the plain of Er Raheh. Dr. Robinson, standing on this peak, which is on the brow of the monkish Horeb, felt his conviction strengthened "that here, on some one of the adjacent cliffs, was the spot where the Lord 'descended in fire,' and proclaimed the law."

^a *J. S. L.*, April, 1860, pp. 1—61.

Lord Lindsay writes: "I have said that neither Gebel nor Gebel Katerin, answers the scriptural description of Mount Sinai. Mr. Ramsay pointed out to me a hill this morning—Gebel Minnegia, or Limnegia, the Arabs call it—which he had a strong impression was the real mountain; and on careful examination I think he is right. . . . The mountain in question rises directly in front of you as you descend the gentle slope of El Raha, closing the vista formed by the valley, on the slope of which the Convent of St. Catherine stands. The Israelites, encamping in El Raha, would camp directly in front of Gebel Minnegia, as we are told they did before Mount Sinai. . . . Neither Gebel Mousa nor Gebel Katerin are visible from the plain of El Raha; but the Israelites could have seen the top of the mountain, and the cloud, and Moses' entrance into it, from every part of the plain, supposing Mr. Ramsay's conjecture to be correct, and Gebel Minnegia to be really Sinai. . . . It would appear moreover from the account of Moses, that he went and returned, communicating between the people and their God without much difficulty of ascent. A hale old man, as he was until the day of his death, could easily ascend and descend this mountain twice or thrice in a day—certainly not either Gebel Mousa or Gebel Katerin."

This Gebel Minnegia was evidently a peak of the modern or monkish Horeb, and if not Ras Safsafah, must have been one of the adjacent cliffs spoken of by Dr. Robinson.

We are now to speak of the plain of Er Rahah, concerning which there seems, however, to be a certain degree of inconsistency in the statements of Lord Lindsay. He first writes: "There can be no doubt, I think, that the Israelites encamped on the plain of El Raha; it is the largest, indeed the only large plain in all this district—a noble expanse, covered with shrubs fit for pasturage; and a gentle slope." A few lines lower down on the same page, his lordship says: "There is not space enough in the narrow precipitous ravines from which alone the peaks of Gebel Mousa and St. Catherine are visible, or in *any other plain or valley in the whole district*, for the people to have encamped with such regularity and comfort as it is evident they did (Exod. xxxii.), nor for their having removed and stood afar off, as they had apparent ample space to do, when trembling at the thunderings and lightnings—nor, after the golden calf idolatry, for the tabernacle to have been pitched without the camp, afar off from the camp—when all the people rose and stood, every man at his tent-door, and looked after Moses, till he was gone into the tabernacle."

Now, when we bear in mind that the monkish Horeb and Sinai are parts of the same mountainous ridge, and that they are not far from each other—Lord Lindsay's words—which are equivalent to an assertion that there is not space enough "in any plain or valley in the whole district" for the Israelites to have encamped with such regularity and comfort as they appear to have done under Moses before the true Sinai," seem altogether unfavourable to the claims of Er Rahah to be accepted as the site of the encampment of the Hebrews when they received the law.

The author of the new theory of the Exodus, propounded in this

Journal might also have appealed to the apparently cautious language of Dr. Robinson, who tells us: "Here," in Er Raheh, "was space enough to satisfy all the requisitions of the scriptural narrative, so far as it relates to the assembling of the congregation to receive the law." But in order to identify any plain in Arabia with the site of the encampment of the wandering Hebrew nation at the giving of the law, there must not only be room in it to assemble the congregation to receive that law, but a large additional space behind the assembly, upon which to place the camp. Now that the space between the camp and the true Sinai was not inconsiderable, we learn (as Lord Lindsay has taught us above), from the scriptural description of what Moses did, after the idolatry of the golden calf. "And Moses took the tabernacle, and pitched it without the camp, *afar off from the camp*" (Exodus xxxiii. 7). We here suppose that the tabernacle was removed from the camp in the direction of Mount Sinai.

Again, there may possibly be not an unimportant difference of opinion between the author of the new theory and Dr. Robinson with regard to the number of those who were assembled to receive the law. The latter may perhaps mean by the term "congregation," a selected, even if very numerous, body of the whole nation. The former writes as follows:^b—"On the morning of the day of the covenant . . . the people were brought out of the camp to the foot of the mountain. This is to be understood not only of the males of Israel, but of the whole people, including the women^c and children, even to the hewer of wood and drawer of water; for the whole nation required to be present, *whenver Israel entered into a covenant with Jehovah*, even the stranger in the camp was brought forward as a witness (Deut. xxix. 10, 12). There would therefore (including Asaphsuph) have been more than three millions of souls ranged in order at the foot of the mountain."

"This writer says elsewhere: "Whoever speculates on the route of the Exodus, should always bear in mind the vast multitudes of which the expedition was composed, and the incumbrance of the women, and children, and cattle. An average day's journey could rarely have exceeded ten miles, and the line of march must frequently have been of enormous extent. The encampments, which were in the form of a square when circumstances admitted, might, when there was ample space to consult health and comfort, have extended forty miles in circuit, or ten miles on each of the four sides." There may, or may not, be here a considerable error on the side of excess. Yet, making every allowance for possible exaggeration, what are we to say of the claims of Er Raheh when we read the following:—"The plain of El Raheh is two geographical miles long, and ranges in breadth from one-third to two-thirds of a mile, which is equivalent to a surface of at least one square mile. This space is nearly doubled by a recess in the west, and

^b *J. S. L.*, April, 1860, p. 32.

^c "Ye stand this day all of you before the Lord your God . . . your little ones, your wives, and thy stranger that is in thy camp, from the hewer of thy wood unto the drawer of thy water; that thou shouldest enter into covenant with the Lord thy God."

by the broad and level area of Wady Sheikh on the east, which issues at right angles to the plain, and is equally in view of the front and summit of Horeb, which is the northern extremity of one of several ridges, bearing the common name of Sinai, terminating in the plain of Er Raheh, and forming a circular boundary around it on the south." Can we easily come to any other conclusion than that it is not possible to accept Er Raheh as the site of the encampment of the Hebrew nation before Sinai. Grant that it is, as Lord Lindsay says, "a noble expanse covered with shrubs^d fit for pasturage"—it would all have been trampled under the feet of the Hebrew nation within twenty-four hours, and scarcely a serviceable blade or stalk left for the cattle. Nor are we here to forget that the nomade Hebrew nation continued in their encampment before Sinai, not less than eleven months.

Again, the author of the new theory^e writes: "On their arrival at the mountain, a day was appointed for the Israelites to enter into a covenant with Jehovah. That neither man nor beast might desecrate the mountain by treading on it, bounds were set round its foot, to prevent any one from approaching. They were not *natural* bounds, as a late writer has supposed, but *artificial* ones, set up for the occasion. (Exodus xix. 12). They were not merely limits, but opposed a physical impediment to the approach of the mountain (ver. 23). They probably consisted of a ditch and a mound.

"As the monkish Mount Horeb, from the summit of which rises the Monkish Mount Sinai, is a precipitous rock ascending abruptly from the plain of Er Raheh, and the two lateral ways, such bounds with respect to it would scarcely have been necessary. This peculiarity of the traditional Horeb and Sinai seems alone fatal to their claims, if at the present day they could be really said to have any."

The writer has not noticed the fact that, as Moses had himself ascended and descended the mountain before the setting of the bounds, these were less likely to be natural ones already existing before that ascent. And as it was not until the third day after the issuing of the command, that the Lord was to descend upon Mount Sinai, there was ample time to prepare the barrier of a ditch^f and mound, and a strongly barricaded gateway, through which Moses could have access when he wished to ascend at the command of the Lord.

^d The writer of the popular compendium already alluded to, says: "There is almost an entire destitution of grasses on the mountains of Sinai and the plain or Er Rahah. And where they do occur, they are found merely in single stalks or solitary tufts. Yet a great deal more sustenance for cattle may be found in these parts than the apparent nakedness of the face of the country would lead us, at first view, to suppose. Many of the valleys contain pasturage. The Tiyâhah Bedawin, residing in the northern parts of the peninsula, sow grasses where practicable, and bring plots of ground into partial cultivation. All this, however, would be but a poor supply of pasturage for the cattle of a whole nation, during several months.

^e *J. S. L.*, April, 1860, p. 31.

^f As the divine prohibition was directed against "man and beast," nothing but a physical and *material* barrier would have availed to prevent the latter, when bewildered with terror in consequence of the thunderings and lightnings, from touching the mountain.

The injunction to set bounds around the base would seem evidently to imply that the true Sinai was easily accessible from the plain at its foot. It appears also that, as Moses seems to have ascended the mountain from the plain, *in front* of the assembled nation, and to have afterwards brought down in his hands the two tables of stone—(whether they were of small size, and not of oppressive weight, or that he was divinely strengthened to carry a burden that would otherwise have exceeded his physical powers)—the true Sinai was not only easily accessible from the plain, requiring the artificial barrier of a ditch and mound to prevent “man and beast” from desecrating it, but was also of gradual and easy ascent throughout, from the base to the summit, and not sufficiently steep (much less precipitous) to embarrass the aged servant of God when ascending to the summit, or descending to the plain.

It is true that Lord Lindsay, as we have seen, when speaking of Gebel Mineggia, says that “a hale old man as Moses was unto the day of his death, could easily ascend and descend this mountain twice or thrice in a day—certainly not either Gebel Mousa or Gebel Katerin.” But was the side which could thus be ascended with comparative ease, directly in front of, and looking directly forth upon the plain? What is Dr. Robinson’s description of Horeb? “A fine broad plain (El Raheh) lay before us, inclosed by rugged and venerable mountains of dark granite, stern, naked, splintered peaks and ridges, of indescribable grandeur, and terminated at the distance of more than a mile, by the bold and awful front of Horeb, rising perpendicularly, in frowning majesty, from 1200 to 1500 feet in height.” And what is also Lord Lindsay’s description of Gebel Mineggia? “It is directly in front of, and looks directly up to El Raha; the mountain stands single, isolated by deep ravines, on three sides very precipitous.” And we have reason to think from Dr. Robinson’s description of Horeb, that one of these three *very precipitous* sides is in front of the plain; and the scriptural narrative would lead us to think that it was in front of the plain extending at its base, that Moses ascended the true Sinai. But is it not exceedingly difficult to suppose that it was up this precipitous side (or rather front) of Gebel Mineggia, that Moses ascended in obedience to the divine command, taking the two tables of stone in his hands (Exodus xxxiv., 1—4)?

The author of the critical enquiry^g says: “The southern corner of the Senaitic peninsula is a region of granite rocks, intersected by numerous *wadys* or ravines, which forms the only means of communication from one part to another of this Alpine district. Considering the vast number of the Hebrews, and the attendant Asaphsuph, and the incumbrance of the women and children, and cattle, it seems impossible that they could ever have entered these rugged^h and narrow ravines.”

^g *J. S. L.*, April, 1860, p. 20.

^h Unless my memory be at fault, a clerical traveller through this region (the Rev. G. Fisk) was so powerfully impressed with the desolate, rugged, and precipitous character of some of these ravines and defiles, that he could not wonder that the hearts of the children of Israel were so thoroughly discouraged in their journey.

And, from what has been advanced, we seem warranted to infer that Jebel Musa cannot possibly be the true Sinai—that it is almost certain that the same thing can be said of the monkish Horeb—and that Er Raheh cannot be accepted as the plain in which the Hebrew nation was encamped during the delivery of the law. Hence the author of the *Critical Enquiry into the Route of the Exodus*, seems to be fully justified in thinking that the emancipated Hebrew nation never entered the granitic region at all.

G.

THE EUCHARISTIC BLESSING.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

MY DEAR SIR,—It is the great advantage of a Periodical like yours that Scriptural subjects can be ventilated in its pages, calmly, dispassionately, and quietly. I am very much obliged to your two correspondents for the remarks they have made on my letter on the Eucharistic blessing. And after a careful consideration of all which they have said, I am disposed to think that our views may be made to meet. The Christian at his daily meals, has both a *εὐλογία* and a *εὐχάριστια*. He asks the blessing of God on his food that it may fulfil God's design in nourishing his body; he returns thanks to God when he has eaten of it. These seem to meet in the Lord's Supper—the *εὐλογία*, the blessing of the bread and wine, that they may become the spiritual food of our souls by the witness they bear to a dying Saviour; the *εὐχάριστια*, thanks rendered to the God of all grace for the stupendous mercy of that death.

We are thus led to the conclusion that they met in the Saviour's original act. His blessing must then be regarded as the solemn consecration of the bread and wine to be symbols of his unequalled act of love then about to be consummated; His thanksgiving the expression, on the very eve of his fearful passion, of his heartfelt joy that He was permitted to consummate it. Such a view meets all that I desire. I am willing to allow (for my only object is truth) that I expressed myself too strongly in saying that our Lord did not bless the bread and wine at all. Let it be allowed to me on the other hand, as the very name "Holy Eucharist" implies, that the Lord's supper, on the part both of Christ and his people, the *Benefactor* and the benefitted, is in its very essence, a *sacrifice of praise*. That it should be so with the benefitted, we cannot wonder, but it is amazing indeed to find it so with the Benefactor also. *We* give thanks for blessing received, for life given; *He* for being allowed to bless; for being permitted to give life for others (Acts xx. 35).

It was seeing this latter view so little realized that induced me to send to you my former communication. And if what I wrote has called the attention of any Christian mind to so glorious a revelation of THE CHRIST, I am rewarded.

Yours, my dear Sir, very faithfully,

Parsonage, Rugby, May 22nd, 1861.

WILLIAM TAIT.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Influence of the Septuagint Version of The Old Testament upon the Progress of Christianity. By the Rev. RALPH CHURTON, B.A., Fellow of King's College. 12mo. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1861.

THIS is an able book on an interesting and important subject. Perhaps there is no department of theological history which has been so little explored, as the influence of the Septuagint on the progress of Christianity. We forget that we owe the very name of *Christ* to the Greek of the Old Testament. We forget that the Gentiles were brought into the Church by means of this pre-Christian version. We forget that during the three first centuries of the Christian Church, with the solitary exception of Origen, not one of the Fathers could read and study any other text of the Old Testament. We forget that the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, were all held under its immediate auspices. But what is this compared to the mighty sway which this version still exercises over the whole of Christendom, by its all-pervading influence on the New Testament? Are not nearly all the citations of Christ and his apostles taken from this version? Is not the peculiar phraseology of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, discoverable in the Septuagint? Are not all the leading doctrines of the gospel expressed in the same words as we find in the Hellenistic Old Testament?

We are ashamed to think how long we have repudiated these our deep obligations, as members of the Christian Church. We are ashamed to think how much this Version has been undervalued, by an unnatural attempt to contrast it with the Hebrew original. Spearman and the Hutchinsonians did everything in their power to destroy its reputation and to diminish its value. The professors of Hebrew have too often considered it part of their duty to depreciate the LXX. Instead of viewing them in the relation of father and daughter, they have represented them as mutual antagonists. Not one of them, since the days of Pearson and Hody, have done common justice to that Version, which Christ and the apostles appealed to as their canonical voucher, which forms the vocabulary of their language, the axiom of their doctrines, and the investment of Inspiration.

It is, then, with no common satisfaction we hail Mr. Churton as the vindicator of this great providential instrument in the service of Christianity. He has divided his work into two parts. In the first, he considers the influence of the Septuagint in its relation to the external history of the Church, whilst he reserves the internal history for the second. He commences with a masterly exhibition of the extent to which the Greek language prevailed at the time of the Christian era—that it extended far and wide over the whole civilized world—that it was the language at once of commerce and literature. He shews that it was “to the nation, out of which the third great empire

arose, that God assigned the part of providing a universal language, for extending the intellect of man, so as to enable him to receive with a higher appreciation the truths of Divine Revelation," (p. 11.) He shews how the numerous Greek colonies ministered to this providential design, and that it was for the sake of the Alexandrian colony, the Jewish scriptures were translated into the Alexandrian dialect of Greek," (p. 17.) He shews that the three great centres of Greek civilization were Marseilles in the West, Antioch and Alexandria in the East; the last two being the most important in relation to the Septuagint version, because in them that particular form of Greek arose, in which Hebrew idioms and forms of expression were introduced. Such a language, combining the phrases of various schools of philosophy with those of the Old Testament, was admirably suited to become the channel of revealed truth to all the world; *yet only so far as a language can be said to be the teacher of truths unknown and unrecognized, which man could never have arrived at without the aid of revelation.* In this sense the Hellenistic dialect was one of the chosen means by which God declares the truths of the Gospel to man (p. 21).

In the second chapter the influence of the Septuagint is considered, in the conversion of Jews, and in the controversies of Christians with Jewish and Pagan philosophers. The speech of St. Peter on the day of Pentecost, addressed to at least nine nations who spoke the Greek language, is first noticed. In this speech are three quotations from the Psalms, one from Joel, and another from Isaiah—all in the form of direct citations from the LXX. In the succeeding chapter, the same Apostle quotes the books of Genesis and Deuteronomy, from the same authority. He then adverts to the speech of St. Stephen, which is almost entirely composed of Septuagintal fragments. He shews that even in several discrepancies from the Hebrew text, the proto-martyr adheres to the LXX. The *περιοχή τῆς γραφῆς* of the Æthiopian eunuch (Acts viii. 32) adheres closely to the same version, whilst the verbal parallelism, *γινώσκεις ἢ ἀναγινώσκεις*, clearly intimates that he was reading from a Greek roll (p. 33).

He next adverts to the quotations from the Old Testament, which he subdivides into four heads. We have not sufficient space to consider these apart. Indeed, we think these quotations are too minutely anatomized, when they are thus microscopically examined. The quotations of the ancients were usually made from memory, and the Spirit of Inspiration was too comprehensive to be tied down to the letter in the great majority of the citations. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." The resemblance is too close to the Greek version to admit of any hesitation, and even where it is less exact, you will generally discover some prompting expression. Compare Luke xi. 21, 22, Gen. xlix. 25, an indirect quotation, which, though found in three of the evangelists, has been seldom noticed.

We have now arrived at the concluding portion of the second chapter. It relates to the objective influence of the Septuagint on the

controversies of Christians with Jews and Pagans. These controversies were invariably conducted in the Greek language, with constant appeal on both sides to the Septuagint Version, during the first century of the Christian era. But, as an appeal to this version was found unfavourable to the Jews, in the second century Aquila, a Jew of Sinope, undertook a more literal translation from the Hebrew, to accommodate his brethren. This version could never acquire any influence in the Christian Church, though introduced by Origen to fill up the *lacunæ* of the LXX., to bring them into a closer connexion with the original text. It was followed by the version of Theodotion and Symmachus, which were occasionally referred to by Jews and Pagans, but were never esteemed of ecclesiastical authority. It was suspected by several of the Fathers, that the Jews had succeeded in corrupting several of the Septuagintal texts which related to the advent of Christ. But it is very doubtful whether they could have simultaneously corrupted so many MSS. spread over distant regions. We are more inclined to think that the corruption of the text arose from the admixture of the later Jewish versions with the text of the LXX. In this opinion we are fortified by the standard authority of Bishop Pearson (p. 51).

With respect to the Pagan philosophers, they seem to have been little conversant with the Greek Version, till the time that the Gospel was preached to the Gentiles. This neglect partly arose from the exclusive character of the Jewish nation, and partly from the contempt in which they were viewed by the more philosophic unbelievers. The Hellenistic Version of the Old Testament could present little attractions to the Grecian sophists, "the disputers of this world." It required the mind of "the Jewish proselyte," expecting the fulfilment of prophecy and the advent of "that great prophet who should come into the world," to draw any serious attention to its promises and predictions. In a later age, however, it would appear that Celsus and Porphyry had studied the Old Testament through the Septuagint Version. On the other hand, the early Christian apologists drew their arguments for Christianity exclusively from the Hellenistic text. Nor was its influence confined to those who were acquainted with its language—by means of Latin translations made from the LXX., it made its way to the common people in the Western Church. We should always remember that till the days of Jerome and Augustin, there was no other text of the Old Testament to which either the more learned or the less learned could resort.

We have thus taken a brief review of the First Part of this admirable treatise. We will now offer a few general observations. And, first, we must deprecate all suspicion of our endeavouring to exalt the Greek Version over the Hebrew Original of the Old Testament. High as was the estimation in which the Septuagint was held by the Primitive Church, it was never forgotten that it was but a *version*, not the original language of Moses and the prophets. "*Stat magni nominis umbra*," was the constant conviction with respect to

the Old Dispensation. Though debarred from the Hebrew text, they ever spoke of it with awe and veneration. They well knew that the value of the Version arose from its representative character. But when they found that this Version was the *ostium* which brought the Gentiles into the Church, and when they discovered that Christ and the apostles had founded their appeals to the Old Testament chiefly, if not exclusively on the faith of this version, they could not refuse to grant its ecclesiastical and canonical authority. We think they were fully warranted in coming to this decision.

There are two distinct aspects which may be taken of the Septuagint. The one is *retrospective*, in its reference to the Hebrew text. This is to view it merely as a *version*. The other is *prospective*, and then it becomes the mighty instrument for introducing Christianity. This is the attitude in which Mr. Churton has so admirably depicted the Greek Version of the LXX., and this is the attitude in which we, as Christians, should chiefly contemplate it. Let the Hebrew professor, if he likes, continue to nibble at the discrepancies of the version. He is, after all, discarding the best assistant to his studies. The positive knowledge of such a fossil language must ever remain partial, obscure, and uncertain, without the Hellenistic translation. But be his Hebraic erudition more or less, it cannot affect the importance of the Greek Version, in its connexion with the New Testament. So long as the Hellenistic dialect is alike common to both—so long as the great body of the citations of the evangelists and apostles are taken from this version—so long as its influence is inseparably connected with the study of the New Testament, it must finally command the esteem and sanction of the entire Christian Church. That it does not at present hold its proper rank in our Biblical studies, and that it suffered a partial eclipse at the era of the Reformation, from an absurd attempt to contrast it with the Hebrew, is much to be deplored. But we see the approach of brighter days, and heartily salute Mr. Churton as the herald of better tidings.

We are now to advert to the Second Part of Mr. Churton's Hulsean Essay, which treats of the subjective influence of the Septuagint in relation to the internal history of the Church. The high reverence of Christians for this version first arose from the tradition of the Hellenist Jews concerning its origin. As it was alike used in the worship of the Jewish synagogue and the Christian Church, the account of its miraculous origin, as reported by Philo and Josephus, was readily received. Nor was it till a much later age, that the fabulous history of Aristeas was rejected. But when the inventions of Aristeas and the Cells had been disposed of, the fact still remained, that there was a marvellous resemblance between the style of the Greek Version and the New Testament—a resemblance continually brought before the Christian worshipper in the public service. Who could listen to the Lessons, without being struck with their close correspondence? It was this which enabled Augustin to maintain the Greek text against the Latin version of Jerome from the Hebrew. Even the

majesty of the *Hebraica Veritas* could not detach the affections of the primitive believers from that text whence they had first derived their knowledge of Moses and the prophets, and which they heard so frequently endorsed by the evangelists and apostles. This lingering love of the LXX. continued more or less till the days of Constantine. Some Churches adhering to the Greek version, or to Latin versions taken from the LXX., whilst others adopted the Hebraic Vulgate of Jerome (p. 74).

The following chapter treats "of the versions made from the Septuagint into other languages, especially the Latin." With the solitary exception of the Syriac, all the versions of the Old and New Testament were based on the Septuagint, till Jerome's translation from the Hebrew text, A.D. 380—400. The Latin versions from the LXX. were very numerous, and were employed, not only in Italy, but in every other part of the Roman empire. The versions of the Psalms were the most numerous, and invariably based on the Greek Version, except in the Gallican Church, which adopted the Roman of Jerome. Though Mr. Churton questions the received belief that our English Psalter was originally taken from the LXX., we can discover no sufficient reason for doubting its reality. It is true that our division of the Prayer-Book Psalms follows the order of the Hebrew, contrary to the general custom, "for all Christian authors, from the beginning of the Reformation, have quoted the Psalms according to the division of the LXX."^a But whilst the English translators conformed to the Hebraic order, and very often altered the Septuagint Version to the standard of the original, there are clear and indisputable evidence of its Septuagintal origin. Take, for example, Psalm civ. 28, "He sent darkness, and made it dark, and they rebelled not against his word," is our Bible version; whilst in the Prayer Book we read, "He sent darkness, and it was dark, and they were not obedient to his word," καὶ παρεπικράναν τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ. In the *fourteenth Psalm there are three verses in the Psalter which are not in Bible version*. See Psalm xix. 4; lxix. 23, 24, with numerous other variations in the margin.^b We think we are, therefore, warranted in attributing all the ancient Psalters, with the exception of the Gallican, to the version of the LXX., though doubtless they have been often subsequently altered to meet the Hebrew text. The Anglo-Saxon version follows the Hebrew order, but strictly adheres to the Septuagint text. In Psalm ii. 12, it translates δράξαθε παιδείαν, "apprehendite disciplinam," which our translators give "kiss the Lord." The all-pervading influence of the Greek Version is shewn even in the titles of our English Bible; Genesis, Exodus, Levit-

^a Brett on the Ancient Versions, p. 87.

^b A very needless and capricious alteration of the LXX. occurs Ps. xxi. 22, ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε, where "the congregation is substituted for 'the church;'" and yet in Heb. ii. 12, the very same words are translated, "In the midst of the church will I sing praises unto thee." See also Ps. ii. 2; Acts iv. 26.

icus, Deuteronomy, etc., are all Greek words taken from the Version. The terms pascha, Pentecost, evangelists, apostles, angels, etc., are of Hellenistic origin. Hence we derive διάβολος, σκάνδαλον, μάρτυρ κ.τ.λ. The quotations of the Latin, as well as the Greek Fathers, are invariably taken from this version. They even attempted to deduce the doctrine of the Trinity from some of its literal pluralities,^c which rendered it still more valuable in their estimation. It must be admitted that, in some of their interpretations, they are fanciful. Ἐν ἀρχῇ, was translated "in Filio," and the expression κἀνθαρος ἐκ ξύλου (Hab. ii. 11), was applied to our Saviour on the Cross. These allusions are adduced by Mr. Churton, not to illustrate their judgment as commentators, but to evince the authority and high admiration which belonged to the Version of the LXX. in the primitive Church (p. 89).

We have now arrived at the closing and most important chapter of Mr. Churton's Essay, "The influence of the Septuagint on the doctrinal language of the Church, and on the controversies in which Christian writers have been engaged in different periods." It is to the first of these divisions that Mr. Churton has devoted his principal attention. Indeed, the latter is scarcely noticed, though he has arranged his observations in the order of the Constantinopolitan Creed.

The first Article relates to the faith in one God, as Creator of heaven and earth. He shews the distinction between πιστεύων εἰς τὸν Θεόν and πιστεύων τῷ Θεῷ, which is partially recognized in the Septuagint, but which could not be fully developed till the Gospel era. He then proceeds to the interpretation of ὄνομα—Κύριος ὄνομα αὐτῷ (Exod. xv. 3), and shews how largely its diction enters into the doctrinal phraseology of the New Testament. Compare Deut. xii. 5; Jos. xxiii. 7; Rom. xv. 20; Esai. xxvi. 13; Psalm xix. 8; 2 Tim. ii. 19 (p. 93—95).

The Alexandrian interpreters, in rendering the names of God, were compelled to adapt them to Greek expressions, though occasionally they retained the Hebraic titles. In this they are imitated by St. Paul and St. James, who both use the title Κύριος Σαβαώθ. But the LXX. also frequently translate Sabaoth into Παντοκράτωρ, and here also they are followed by St. Paul (2 Cor. vi. 18), and more frequently by St. John in the Apocalypse. The title "Rock," ρα, which is frequently found in the Hebrew text as applied to God (probably with reference to the rock in the wilderness), is never used by the LXX., being so totally foreign to the genius of the Greek mind. Its reference by St. Paul (1 Cor. x. 4), was scarcely intelligible to any of the Greek fathers. The Vulgate followed the LXX. in this peculiarity. This is apparent from Deut. xxxii. 31, "Non enim est Deus noster, ut Dii eorum," which our translators have very properly restored to their Hebraic propriety, "Their rock is not as our rock." It is ingeniously conjectured by Mr. Churton, "that this obscurity may have

^c See Ambrose on Gen. xix. 24.

been one of the causes which led to a misapplication of Matt. xvi. 18, which, in later times, became the subject of so much controversy," p. 98. The titles of ὕψιστος, ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ ἅγιος Ἰσραὴλ, Θεὸς ζων, ἡ δόξα τοῦ Θεοῦ, αἰωνίος, κτίστης, are then briefly passed in review, as equally belonging to the New Testament and the Septuagint (p. 104).

In the second Article, ὁ Ἰερεὺς, ὁ Χριστός (Lev. iv. 5), μονογενὴς, ὁ ἀγαπητός, ὁ ἀγαπημένος, ἐσκήνωσεν, σὰρξ, πνεῦμα, κ.τ.λ., are traced to the usage of the LXX., as they are applied to the doctrines of the New Testament, and in the succeeding articles iv.—vii. we find the important words λυτρώω, ἀγοράζω, ῥύομαι, ὁ ῥυσάμενος, περιποιεῖσθαι, μεσίτης (Job ix. 33). "The adoption of this last word, (which has no Hebrew equivalent,) by the Alexandrian Jews, is so important in its relation to Christian doctrine, that it can only be traced to the ordering of Divine Providence" (p. 111). In the eighth Article, the expressions το Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, το λαλήσαι διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, ἀγιάζω, ἀγιασμός, etc., are similarly illustrated. From Articles ix.—xii. we are furnished with some elucidations of ἐκκλησία,⁴ συναγωγή, πανήγυρις, ἄφεσις, ἰλασμός, ἱλαστήριον, ἄρειν τὰς ἁμαρτίας, δικαίω, διάβολος, δαιμόνιον. Mr. Churton concludes with the following peroration, "It has been the intention, in the words instanced above, to give the most important examples of the influence of the language of the Alexandrian Version. In some cases, the forms adopted may be merely Hebrew idioms literally rendered by the interpreters. But many of the expressions thus introduced into the Greek language are sanctioned by the inspired teachers of the Truth, as being the nearest approach which human language could make to a true description of the deep mysteries of the Divine nature, and man's relation to God. These mysteries, as they surpass all understanding, are still more removed from the grasp of language, which is the expression of thought. But by this combination of the idioms of the Hebrew and Greek languages (of which the dispersion of the Jews was, by the providence of God, the immediate occasion), a language was produced of that rich and copious nature which the Christian doctrine required, to enable men to comprehend what is the depth, and length, and breadth, and height of the love of Christ which passeth knowledge" (p. 119).

We have thus given a brief, but comprehensive, analysis of this masterly Essay, and we are sure that our readers will be anxious to consult the original for themselves. It is seldom that so much original matter is brought within the same compass. It delights us to hear the surly tone and the disparaging style of Hebrew critics, exchanged for the generous acknowledgments of an Etonian student of the New Testament. We have here the fine taste of Valckenaer combined with the solid learning of Pearson and Grotius. Should it please Providence to prolong Mr. Churton's theological career, we doubt not that these *primitiæ* will be the forerunners of far richer offerings, and that

⁴ See Deut. xviii. 16; xxiii. 1, 2. Jos. viii. 35. Edit. Alex. Field. Judd. xx. 2; xxi. 5, and sæp.

the distinguished honour awaits him of restoring the Septuagint Version to the same rank and dignity which it so long held in the Primitive Church.

A Commentary on the Book of Genesis, for the Use of Readers of the English Version of the Bible. By HENRY CHARLES GROVES, M.A. 8vo. Cambridge: Macmillan. 1861.

THE Book of Genesis stands like the advanced post of divine revelation, or like some ancient fortress upon the very frontier of the Christian territory. It has often been called upon to sustain the attacks of unbelief, and but for its strength and the courage of its defenders, it might long since have fallen. From time to time professed Christians have announced their willingness to surrender more or less of it. By some it has been regarded as contrary to true science, and by others as inconsistent with true history. Indeed, these have been the chief points of attack. We have been called upon to give up the account of the creation, that of the fall, that of the flood, that of the dispersion, that of the division of tongues, and to admit that the record of Abraham and his descendants is more or less of the nature of a myth. Its chronology has been objected to throughout, and its Mosaic authorship and ancient composition have been denied. Indeed, so numerous are the charges which have been brought against it, that if only one half of them were true, our belief is little better than folly, and is one of the most striking examples of delusion on record. In support of these accusations, not only learning, ingenuity, and argument have been employed, but irony and sarcasm, and whatever else was thought adapted to weaken its credit.

The book has also suffered from the false zeal and mistaken views of its friends. The wildest theories of interpretation have been applied to it, and the most erroneous arguments have been urged in defence of it. False criticism and false scholarship have been anything but an advantage to it. Happily, however, it still stands firm, and the assaults which it has been exposed to have called up an amount of enlightened advocacy which it is most encouraging to contemplate. The theories of German critics like Bunsen, and of English writers like Dr. Donaldson, or Mr. Godwin in *Essays and Reviews*, are not accepted by the majority of respectable critics, any more than by the mass of Christian readers, who continue to regard the book with reverence and with faith. Not only so, but Genesis is every year better understood. The researches which have been made in geology, ethnology, philology, chronology, and archæology, have already cleared up not a few of its acknowledged obscurities. The results of these will be more and more apparent as the facts and elucidations of science become better known. Prejudice alone can deny that such is the case, and candid minds will readily admit the obligations under which we are thus laid by human learning.

At the present moment, the adversaries of the book assume a determined and defiant attitude; they almost claim the victory; and in any

case their language is so confident, that persons unaware, or not well aware of what has been done on the other side, might feel disheartened. There is, therefore, a need for somewhat popular and thoroughly reliable expositions like that of Mr. Groves, embodying in intelligible words the conclusions to which learned explorers and critics have come. By all means let such works be written, and by all means let them be read, as they will not only prove a defence against hostile attacks, but a help to the right understanding of the book. For at both these results we should aim. It is not enough to be merely or chiefly polemical; it is most important that we should explain and instruct. And probably the aim of the apologist is as surely, if not more surely, reached by the true and honest expositor. Difficulties and apparent contradictions will ever furnish the readiest handle to sceptics, whose greatest advantage lies on the side of human ignorance and infirmity. They expect a book written in an ancient tongue fifteen centuries before Christ to be as plain and intelligible as if written yesterday, and to be composed on the same principles as any modern work. No one has a right to expect this. And yet we believe it may be made very intelligible, and that the principles of the composition of it may be both explained and justified.

Mr. Groves prefixes to his work an introduction on the authorship of the Pentateuch, in which he shews its essential and original unity, both in its subject-matter and its style. The unity in its subject-matter is displayed in the one object which is kept in view with inflexible firmness throughout it, in the mutual coherence of its details, and in its chronological character. The unity of style and language is so plain, that even opponents have admitted it. That Moses was its author is constantly affirmed both in the Old and New Testaments. That it took precedence of the other parts of the Old Testament is clear, not only from their allusions to it, but from the relation in which they generally stand to it. It has been alleged that Moses did not write it; by some because they think writing was not then discovered; by others because the Israelites were a rude unlettered people; by others because they think it contains traces of later composition. Some, again, have regarded it as part older, and part more recent than Moses. By some he is admitted as a compiler and part author, and others view him only as a contributor to the materials out of which it has been written. However, the Jews have always received it as his, and so have Christians until recently, with a very few exceptions. The document hypothesis of Astruc, broached in 1753, has, in different forms, been the most favoured by those who have objected to Moses as the exclusive author of Genesis in particular. Astruc's hypothesis is very simple. He finds certain peculiarities of expression, and particularly in the use of the words God and Lord (*Elohim* and *Jehovah*), and hence he infers that Moses wove into one narrative portions of documents already existing. These documents he fancies may have been as many as ten in number, but he chiefly distinguishes two, and ranges the whole under four heads. Mr. Groves believes that this hypothesis

and those which it has given rise to are fundamentally erroneous, and justifies his opinion by several arguments, for which we must refer the reader to his pages.

The commentary is introduced by a series of prefatory remarks on the geological question, in which Mr. Groves examines some of the theories which have been proposed in reference to that difficult but interesting and important matter. He shews that he has carefully considered it, and his language is a good specimen of the candour and intelligence which he has brought to bear upon his work. We do not mean to say that we subscribe to every opinion which he here expresses, but we can appeal to the whole passage as a proof that the early chapters of Genesis can be rationally interpreted and defended.

The length of the previous remarks will prevent us from adding any examples from the Commentary. The author has availed himself of the best books, and regularly gives his authorities for his statements. He has spared no labour to throw light on the principal obscurities, and his effort will not, we are persuaded, be thrown away. In our judgment, it is one of the best expositions of Genesis in our language, if not the very best, and deserves to be read by all who wish to be acquainted with the explanations which modern scholarship gives. Of course every verse is not elucidated, nor every difficulty cleared up. To have done this would have required a volume twice the size. But we have, notwithstanding, a very useful work, and one which does great credit to the diligence, learning, and judgment of the author. We say his judgment, because we think he has shewn this in many ways, and not least in refraining from expressing an opinion of his own in some cases, where he has given those of two or three others.

Companion to the New Testament, designed for the Use of Theological Students, and the Upper Forms in Schools. By A. C. BARRETT.
Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co.

THE design of Mr. Barrett is a useful and commendable one, and his book is on numerous accounts interesting and worthy of notice. For although there is not much original research and criticism, and therefore nothing to vindicate the claim of the book to the character of an independent contribution to Sacred literature, it is mostly derived from reliable sources. Compilations from the works which belong to first-class scholarship, but which are in various ways unadapted to less advanced students, are, like all elementary works, written with one or other of two intentions:—either to prepare the way for the other and more learned and scientific, or to convey a general idea of an important branch of study to those who may never be called to prosecute it at length. This work of Mr. Barrett's may serve both purposes. The young student will find it a convenient and appropriate stepping-stone to works of a more recondite class, and to a profounder and more exhaustive study of its subject. The student who does not contemplate sacred letters as a profession will here obtain a considerable amount of

that knowledge of the New Testament which every gentleman ought to possess, and such a one will not do amiss to keep it at hand as a "Companion" to his New Testament, to be consulted on all suitable and necessary occasions. For mere school and college purposes, it is very appropriate, and may be introduced into a course of elementary study with advantage. In view of an examination, it may serve as a fair basis, provided it never be forgotten that no human book is infallible.

The subjects taken up in the work are varied and interesting, although we rather wonder at the omission of some which would have been appropriate in a work designed for use in connection with the Church of England. For instance, in a chapter on "Classes of persons mentioned in the New Testament," we have a full discussion of Jewish and Pagan characters and titles, down to *Dexiolabi* and *Speculatores*, *Essenes* and *Sicarii*. (By the way, there is no mention of the Essenes in the New Testament, although Christian writers have found them several times referred to—at least, so they have thought.) While, however, these explanations are given, we have no clue to the meaning of the words by which the officers of the Church were designated, such as angels, bishops, and deacons. In our judgment, an introduction to the New Testament ought to be an introduction to its Christian as well as its Jewish and heathen antiquities. We would not exclude, but give prominence to notices of the sacraments of the Eucharist and of Baptism, and to notices of the observance of the Lord's Day, and to all the Christian rites and ceremonies of which any vestiges could be found. Yet such things are strangely omitted, and the antiquities of the New Testament are commonly taught with no relation to the Christian religion. Possibly there may be a deeper reason for this than is supplied by mere custom. How came it to be the custom? Because men took too much for granted, and fancied every one knew all about these things, because bishops, priests, and deacons, eucharist and baptism, ordinations and Lord's Days are so familiar to us? Or was it because men did not wish comparisons to be instituted between the New Testament types and more recent developments? Or it may have been the fear of controversy which sectarian and theological differences might provoke. This last is no honour to those whom it may concern, for it intimates that science and learning have themselves turned sectarian and partizan, or must be ignored if they have not. In any case, our impression is, that a work on the plan of Mr. Barrett's is incomplete so long as these things find no place in it.

A general account of the text of the New Testament is followed by a chapter on its language, and the foreign idioms which may be traced in it. These idioms are divided into Hebraisms, Aramæisms (*i.e.*, Syriasm or Chaldaisms), Persisms, Latinisms, and Cilicisms. The first are numerous, and closely allied to the second, which are only distinguished by special words. The author does not well understand this part of his subject, and the section needs to be revised by some one who does understand it. For instance (Mark vii. 25), *ἡς εἶχε τὸ θυγάτριον*

αὐτῆς is not more a Hebraism than an Aramaism; Mark xiv. 70, "Thou art a Galilean, etc.," does not illustrate the difference between Syriac and Chaldee; Armageddon is truly "Mountain of Megiddo," but that is pure Hebrew and not Syriac; the words "or the Gospel," added by the author, we do not understand. Again, under the head of Persisms, the words quoted, if of foreign origin, are used by classic writers, and do not fairly come into account. Neither is the explanation, or rather derivation of all of them correctly given. They are "*γάζα*, a treasure, *μαργαρίτης*, a pearl (perhaps), *μεγιστῶνες*, noblemen, on account of its termination, *μάγος*." The latter part of the sentence is unintelligible. The words for pearl and treasure are thoroughly Shemitic in their form; that for noblemen is unequivocally Greek, and the actual origin of Magus is obscure. One other word is given, viz., *ἀγγαρεύειν*, to compel, and this is referred to a Persian source, by Xenophon we think—but even then it is not a peculiarity of the New Testament.

There is a section on the Geography of the Holy Land, Sacred Places, and Courts of Judicature, of which we can only say that it is very inadequate, especially the former part of it, and that the desire for brevity has made it of very little use. There is much matter in various of the other sections or chapters, which may be turned to good account, but much of it is superficial, and some of its details are inaccurate. All that relates to the archæology, the text, its language, criticism, and interpretation, including the chapters on the article and the figurative language, is in need of revision. Some parts of it absolutely require this, and the revisal of the first hundred and twenty-five pages will, if well performed, add materially to the value of the work. We say this from a sense of duty, and because we think there is abundant room for a book like this. We have not so minutely examined the remainder, which comprises a detailed survey of all the books of the New Testament, but so far as we have examined it we like it better than the preliminary matter. It is, we know, extremely difficult to acquire a knowledge of the vast variety of topics which come up in such a work. We know it to demand an effort of memory, a power of arrangement, and a facility in condensation to which few indeed are equal. If Mr. Barrett has not produced a perfect book, he has produced one which is yet interesting and useful. Let him reconsider the arrangement of his chapters; let him execute that general revision which we have advised, and we know of no introduction for similar purposes which will be able to compete with it, or be likely to supersede it.

Horæ Hebraicæ. Critical and Expository Observations on the Prophecy of Messiah in Isaiah, Chapter ix., and on other passages of Holy Scripture. By WILLIAM SELWYN, B.D. Cambridge: Deighton, & Co. 1860.

THIS volume contains the *Horæ Hebraicæ* published in 1848, revised, with continuation pp. 131—187. In its original form it contained

only the portion relating to Isaiah's prophecy of the Messiah, alluded to in the title page; but to this have been added briefer disquisitions upon several other passages, and an article upon the division of the Decalogue. The following are the texts examined, with the character of the criticisms upon each :—

Isaiah ix. 3, emendation.	Isaiah lxiii. 8, 9, emendation.
— viii. 22, interpretation.	Job x. 15, _____
Nahum ii. 4, emendation.	Hosea vi. 5, _____
Joel ii. 18, 20, _____	Deut. xxxiii. 12, _____
Isaiah xxvi. 5, emendation.	

By emendations are meant alterations of the received text. They are partly now first proposed, and are partly adopted from other authors. As the criticism of the Old Testament is a matter of so much importance, we shall indicate the alterations proposed in the above list of passages, with an observation upon each.

Isaiah ix. 3, for *וְהַיְיָ לֵאמֹר* Mr. Selwyn proposes to read, *וְהַיְיָ*; or, "Thou hast multiplied the gladness, thou hast increased the joy," for "Thou hast multiplied the nation and not increased the joy." He would also change *וְהַיְיָ* into *וְהַיְיָ*; or, "according to the joy of harvest," for "according to the joy in harvest." The second of these emendations is slight, and does not materially affect the sense, but the first is an endeavour to restore the parallelism. With regard to *וְהַיְיָ* it is well known that the Hebrews regard it as equivalent to *וְהַיְיָ* and as such it stands in the Keri of the printed editions; it also occurs in some manuscripts, and is represented by some of the versions; two manuscripts omit it altogether, and from one it has been erased. The proposed incorporation of it with *וְהַיְיָ* appears to be peculiar to Mr. Selwyn; and if there were any MS. authority for the change, we should be inclined to adopt it. It is ingenious and plausible, but requires support, and cannot be admitted into the text, as a mere conjecture, although it should not be lost sight of.

Isaiah viii. 22, in the Authorized Version is—"And they shall look unto the earth, and behold trouble and darkness, dimness of anguish; and they shall be driven to darkness."

The version suggested by Mr. Selwyn is—"And one shall look unto the land, and behold! Her trouble and gloom put to flight; her distress and darkness driven away." His version of the first seven verses of chapter ix. differs also materially from the common one, partly in expression and partly in sense. Thus verse 1, which begins "Nevertheless the dimness shall not be such as was in her vexation," etc., is rendered "For there shall not hereafter be gloom in the land which was distressed," similarly to the versions of Lowth and Henderson. The whole passage contains numerous obscurities, and we can simply commend to the attention of the reader, the learned disquisition of our author and his translation. Many of his notes are curious and valuable, and quite commend themselves to our judgment, although from time

to time we do not see their force. Taken as a whole, it reflects great credit upon the learning, ability, and critical skill of the writer.

Nahum ii. 4, for עִשְׂתֵּי it is proposed to read עִשְׂתֵּי, and for וְהַיְּהוּדִים to read וְהַיְּהוּדִים, i.e., "like fire," for "with fire;" and "the horsemen," for "the fir trees." The first alteration is supported by some manuscripts, and the second has been proposed by Newcome, after some of the versions. These changes relieve the sense, and may be admitted as probable.

Joel ii. 20, for וְהַיְּהוּדִים it is suggested that we should read וְהַיְּהוּדִים or וְהַיְּהוּדִים. In the Authorized Version the word is translated "the northern army," but it is intimated that the word "basilisk" gives better sense. This is a purely critical emendation, and must stand on its own merits, as it appears not to be supported either by manuscripts or versions. We are not much impressed in its favour, considering that in the prophets the *North* plays so important a part, as the source of calamity to the Jewish people.

Isaiah lxiii. 9, for כִּי יָדָה (Keri יָדָה), it is proposed to write כִּי יָדָה or כִּי יָדָה as one word, and instead of "In all their affliction he was afflicted," to translate "In every distress a treasury." The alteration removes a difficulty, and is very simple, but there is no indication that the passage was understood in accordance with it, by any ancient translator or scribe. It merits consideration, but is, like the last named, a purely critical emendation, and we stand a little in awe of these, when they so materially alter the sense of a passage, as in the present instance.

Job x. 15, the text reads מִיָּדָה, for which מִיָּדָה is proposed as a substitute. The English version is "Therefore see thou mine affliction, but Mr. S. renders it [I am] "saturated with mine affliction." This is another instance of restored parallelism, and the same emendation has been proposed by Schultens; it is also known that the present reading is not certain. We may therefore feel less scruple in accepting it, although external evidence preponderates against it. The difficulty in such a case is to account for the adoption of so unmanageable a reading as we now find, if the more simple one was the original, since alterations of the text are generally designed to make it plainer.

Hosea vi. 5, for וְהַיְּהוּדִים, Mr. Selwyn proposes to read וְהַיְּהוּדִים. The English version is, "And thy judgments are as the light that goeth forth," and Mr. S. "And my judgment goeth forth as light," (not *right* as he prints it). This is not a new correction, and is supported by the old versions, although not found in manuscripts. In this case we are inclined to prefer the testimony of the versions, and to adopt the reading as the only rational and consistent one.

Deut. xxxiii. 12, it is proposed to read וְהַיְּהוּדִים for וְהַיְּהוּדִים, and to connect the word with the second member of the verse, which will then read, "The beloved of the Lord shall dwell in safety: the Most High hovereth over him all the day long." Whereas the Authorized Version is, "The beloved of the Lord shall dwell in safety by Him, and the Lord shall cover him all the day long." This emendation is favoured by the

Septuagint, and supplies a nominative which was lost, while it is otherwise supported; we may therefore accept it.

Isaiah xxvi. 15, for מַלְכֵי Mr. S. would read מַלְכֵי, or מַלְכֵי, and translate "rulers" instead of "endrs." E. V.—"Thou hadst removed it far unto all the ends of the earth." Proposed rendering—"Thou hast put far off all the rulers of the land." The alteration takes away obscurity from the passage, respecting which the ancient versions vary considerably. It may be regarded as a probable correction, and therefore one deserving attention.

We have thus gone through the list, and if we must confess that the actual results are not great, it is our duty to say that the passages are treated in a scholarlike manner, by one who is calm and temperate in his tone, and manifestly seeking, not for novelty, but for truth. The supplementary enquiry as to the division of the decalogue, calls for similar observations, and we may therefore confidently recommend these specimens of textual criticism to those who wish to learn how such work ought to be executed. We are thankful for any contributions of this description, for it must be admitted that too little has been done to produce a critical text of the Hebrew Scriptures. Our De Rossis and our Kennicotts have collated manuscripts, and some, as Dr. Davidson, have entered upon the field, and propounded plans of action and examples of the work required. One or two editions of the Hebrew Bible claim to be critical, but all who compare the state of the Old Testament text with that of the New, must admit that *the task* yet remains to be accomplished.

Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi Syriace, e recognitione Pauli Antonii de Lagarde. 8vo, 1861. Leipsic: Brockhaus; London: Williams & Norgate.

THE Syriac scholar who does not happen to possess Walton's *Polyglott* looks in vain for the Syriac Apocrypha in Dr. Lee's edition, and is most likely excluded from them altogether. This is a misfortune, for the version is one of extraordinary interest to the student of these books, and furnishes no small aid to the understanding of some portions of them. Such of them as are said to have existed in Hebrew or Chaldee, exist in those languages no longer, if we except the book of Tobit, the Hebrew of which is still extant, but of doubtful antiquity and authority. With regard to the remainder, there is no translation in the Shemitic language which can claim much respect, except the Arabic of some of them, and the Syriac. This latter claims precedence on several accounts, and deserves to be carefully studied for the light it throws upon the Greek and Latin versions and texts. It is therefore matter for congratulation that Dr. de Lagarde has published a separate edition of the Syriac Apocrypha in a convenient form. Had he accompanied it with a Latin version and a few more notes, he would probably have had more patrons; but he is very indifferent to such things, and seldom condescends to give us anything but bare texts and various

readings. This is what he has now done. He has printed the text we believe with characteristic regard to accuracy, and besides the various readings exhibited in Walton, he presents us with the result of his examination of some manuscripts in the British Museum. The type is similar to that employed by Messrs. Bagster in their editions, and is very beautiful and legible. In the absence of prolegomena and all critical disquisitions, we can merely call attention to the work in the present notice, although the version and its peculiarities might furnish materials for a lengthened article. We have much pleasure in recommending this as really the first critical edition of the Syriac Apocrypha, and at the same time as an elegant edition of a valuable work.

Monumenta Sacra et Profana ex codicibus præsertim Bibliothecæ Ambrosianæ opera Collegii doctorum ejusdem. Tom. i, Fascic. i. Fragmenta Latina Evangelii S. Lucæ, Parvæ Genesis et Assumptionis Mosis; Baruch, Threni et Epistola Jeremiæ, versionis Syriacæ Pauli Telensis, cum notis et initio prolegomenon in integrum ejusdem versionis editionem. Edidit SAC. OBL. ANTONIUS MARIA CERIANI, Doctor Collegii Bibliothecæ Ambrosianæ. Mediolani, MDCCCLXI.

WE receive with much pleasure this first instalment of the Milan *Monumenta* from the Ambrosian Library. This library was founded by Charles Frederic Borromeo, cousin of St. Charles Borromeo, and like him a great patron of letters and arts (he died in 1631). The library some years since contained 14,000 or 15,000 MSS., and a much larger number of printed books, including works of great rarity and value. It has been determined to publish a selection from the documents here laid up, and the present portion is a specimen shewing us what we are to look for, both in the matter of texts and of editorship. The contents are indicated in the copious title, and include examples in Latin and in Syriac. The fragment of St. Luke in Latin includes chap. xvii. 3, to chap. xxi. 22, and the editor intimates that it differs from Jerome's version and also from those published by Blanchinus and Sabatier. The editor believes the MS. to be at least as old as the sixth century, and promises a fac-simile of it. It is printed as in the following example :—

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| xvii. 3, 4. | Remitte illi si septies
in die peccauerit in te
et hic septies conuersus
fuerit ad te dicens
penitentiam ago remitte illi |
| 5 | Et dixerunt apostoli
domino adauge nobis
fidem dixit autem |
| 6 | dominus si haberetis fidem
tamquam granum sinapis dicere
tis arbori eradicare
et obaudisset utique |

- 7 Quis autem uestrum
habens seruum aran-
tem aut oues pascen-
tem uenienti de agro
nuncquid dicet ei tran-
8 si et recumbe sed di-
cet ei [transi et recum-
be sed dicet ei] para
quod cenem et præ-
cinctus ministra
mihi donec mandu-
cem et bibam et pos-
tea manducabis tu
9 et bibes nuncquid gra-
tias aget seruo quo-
niam fecit quæ præ-
cepta sunt non puto
10 sic et nos cum feceri-
tis quæ præcepta. . . .
dicitis serui nequa su-
mus quod debuimus
11 facere fecimus et fac-
tum est cum iret in hi-
erusalem et ipse tran-
siebat per medium sa-
mariae et galilee et
12 hierico et intrans in.

Let this suffice for an example. The words in brackets are a repetition in the original, which it may be noted is a palimpsest.

This curious fragment is succeeded by portions of an ancient apocryphal work in a Latin version hitherto unknown. The title of this work is *Parua Genesis*, or the Lesser Genesis, and it seems to be closely allied to the Book of Jubilees, which was lately published in Ethiopic. It is a most interesting relic, and in a historical form. It is followed by other fragments from the story of the Assumption of Moses, also in Latin, and from the same source. This is the whole of the Latin texts, and the remainder of the publication is occupied with Syriac texts and notes upon them. First comes a portion of prolegomena to the Syriac version of Paul of Tela, made from the LXX., according to one of Origen's editions, about A.D. 617-618, or immediately after the new version of the New Testament, known as the Harkleian, or Philoxenian. Many portions of Paul's Hexaplar version, as it is called, have been printed, but others remain in MS., and the whole wants thoroughly investigating. This latter work Mr. Ceriani proposes in part at least to do, and we shall anticipate the remainder of his prolegomena with interest, as the literary history of the book, like the book itself, has been too much neglected. Here we have from the text, "Baruch, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and the Epistle of Jeremiah, according to the edition of the Seventy." The Syriac is printed in type by no means elegant, and, in fact, just like that used by White in his edition of the Philoxenian, which is almost as barbarous as that still employed at Rome, and presents a striking contrast to that of Mr. Cureton in his new work, *The Martyrs of Palestine*. The

text of Baruch, is the same as the second epistle of *Baruch, printed by Walton, and again by De Lagarde, but Signor Ceriani has added a considerable number of notes. We may notice, too, that the Milan edition exhibits the variations of Theodotion, etc., and, what is remarkable, variations from the Hebrew, suggesting that a real or supposed Hebrew original was extant either in the time of Paul or of Origen, or of Theodotion, whichever appended the allusions to it.

The Lamentations of Jeremiah follows the LXX. text of Baruch, which, by the way, is simply a different composition from the Peshito Baruch, and hence is treated as a second epistle. The Greek Baruch is written in Babylon and sent to Jerusalem, whereas the Syriac Baruch is written in Jerusalem and sent to Babylon. No special remark need be made upon the text of the Lamentations, which is followed by the so-called Epistle of Jeremiah, a production which is commonly associated either with Lamentations or Baruch. We may add that the Lamentations were published by Middeldorpf. As to the Epistle of Jeremiah in Syriac, it may be seen with the rest in Walton, and in the book of Dr. de Lagarde, noticed in this number. It is apparent that the chief value of the Syriac part of this work lies in the editorial accompaniments, and that the most valuable of the contents are the Latin fragments. We have no doubt that the learned doctors of Milan will endeavour to render themselves worthy of the confidence placed in them, and will present the world with some of the choicest treasures of antiquity contained in their library.

History of the Martyrs in Palestine, by Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea; discovered in a very ancient Syriac Manuscript. Edited and translated into English, by WILLIAM CURETON, D.D., Member of the Imperial Institute of France. Williams & Norgate, London.

AMONG the contents of the most ancient Syriac manuscript yet known with a date, is the *History of the Palestinian Martyrs*. This MS. was brought from Egypt, and on examination by Dr. Cureton, was found to contain a Syriac translation of "Clement's Recognitions," "Titus of Bostra against the Manicheans," "Eusebius, on the Divine Manifestation of our Lord," and "The Martyrs of Palestine." The first and second have been edited by Dr. De Lagarde, the third was edited and translated by Dr. Samuel Lee, and the fourth is now edited and translated by its discoverer, who has thus vindicated and given prominence to his connexion with the venerable manuscript, which is now fourteen hundred and fifty years old, or probably somewhat older than the "Codex Alexandrinus."

Eusebius of Cæsarea promised (bk. 8., chap. 13,) to write an account of the martyrs with whom he had been acquainted, but no such work was known to exist either in Latin or in Greek, in a separate form, although some notices of such martyrs are incorporated in various parts of his history, and elsewhere. Now, however, we are put in possession of the original treatise, in a Syriac version, and in a copy

made only about seventy years after its author's death. This work is on many accounts very interesting, and is peculiarly valuable as mainly the record of an eye witness. Dr. Cureton has by its publication added another to his many claims upon our regard, and has our hearty thanks for the able manner in which he has executed his task. He states that he has endeavoured to make his English version as faithful as he could without following the Syriac idiom so closely as to render the English obscure. In his notes he has collected such observations as may tend especially to throw light upon the time of the composition of this work, and of the "Ecclesiastical History" by Eusebius, and serve to elucidate the text. The Syriac is printed in a type of exquisite beauty, and in imitation of the characters employed in many of the most ancient manuscripts. The work itself consists of a series of narratives, mostly brief, of the sufferings of those who became the victims of persecution in Palestine in the early part of the 4th century. These narrations are a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the period and circumstances to which they refer, and will have peculiar interest in the estimation of those who wish to know what Eusebius originally wrote upon the subject. We should observe, however, that although the work professedly relates to martyrs who suffered in Palestine, it includes some notices of others, as of "Alois at Alexandria."

The superior manner in which this work is edited, makes us regret that Dr. Cureton did not himself publish the "Recognitions of Clement," of which he had transcribed the greater part. For although Dr. De Lagarde is a very accurate editor, he has uniformly refrained from giving either translations or explanatory notes, the consequence of which is that his published works are less generally useful than they might have been made. We also regret not to see in Dr. Cureton's work any intimation that he intends to bring out the discourses of Jacob, the wise Persian, who appears to be the same as Jacob of Nisibis, and whose remains appear to be of considerable value. Let us hope that the learned Canon of Westminster will yet accomplish this task, and that we have misconstrued his silence. It will be a loss to Syriac letters, if they are to lose at the same time two of their chief promoters—we say two, for Dr. De Lagarde curtly intimates in his edition of the "Syriac Apocrypha," that after seven years' experience he thinks he is entitled to relinquish the domain, or as he has it—*provincia decedere*.

Philosophy of the Infinite: a Treatise on Man's Knowledge of the Infinite Being, in answer to Sir W. Hamilton and Mr. Mansel. By the Rev. HENRY CALDERWOOD, Greyfriars' United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow. Second edition, greatly enlarged. London and Cambridge: Macmillan, 1861. 8vo, pp. 540.

THE opinions of Sir W. Hamilton and Mr. Mansel on the positive knowledge which man can have of the Divine Being, have been recently brought before our readers, so that we need not now enter upon

them. It will be sufficient to observe that to these opinions Mr. Calderwood offers the most strenuous opposition, and by an appeal to the facts of consciousness attempts to prove that we can have a real notion of God. We will allow him to state his own theory, which is, we think, the most fair course we can adopt, and that which will give most satisfaction to our readers. On all metaphysical subjects there will necessarily be different opinions, and it is only lost time to be re-tailing them; and we shall not now give our own. Mr. Calderwood says :

"I shall now give a brief outline of what appear to me to be the facts of consciousness bearing upon this discussion. I hold that there is in the mind a *necessary belief* in the existence of one Infinite Being. The consciousness of our own existence and the recognition of finite objects, give the occasion for bringing this belief into actual consciousness. If we seek an explanation of our own being, or that of the objects around us, we are forced upward till we rest in our faith in the Divine existence. This faith in one infinite all-perfect Being accordingly becomes the regulating principle in the whole current of our *thought*; in other words, our thought concerning this great Being, and the works of his hand, is determined by the faith which we find implanted in our nature. The *object of faith* becomes in some sense the *object of our knowledge and thought*, that is, in so far as our limited knowledge and thoughts can be engaged with such an object. Our faith in God's existence necessarily implies a certain knowledge of God as existing, for, in truth, all faith implies knowledge. Our necessary conviction involves a certain necessary cognition. It further exercises a regulative authority over all our reflections concerning the dependence of the creatures on the Creator. The theory here maintained therefore, is, that, as we have a *necessary belief* in the Divine existence, so we have a necessary, fundamental, or original *knowledge* of his nature, which knowledge is brought into consciousness, and unfolded there, according to the requirements of personal observation and reflection upon the revelation which God has made of himself in his works. Further, as we have a knowledge of the Infinite Being, our understanding may be engaged on the elements of our cognition, and we may form for ourselves a conception of the Infinite One, both clear and distinct, yet felt to be inadequate, though trustworthy in its nature, because resting on the authority of a belief native to the mind. To know the Infinite in all its extent, must at all times be an impossibility. To assert that the finite could embrace the Infinite, is an absurdity too glaring to bear a moment's reflection. But a partial and ever-extending knowledge of God is possible for man. Such is an outline of the theory to be unfolded and vindicated in these pages.

"For the purpose of obviating mistakes, it is necessary to indicate some points not involved in the theory here maintained, which have been otherwise asserted, or severely criticised. I do *not* assert that our knowledge of the Infinite is obtained by commencing with a finite object, and gradually enlarging in imagination until we reach the Infinite. Such a theory would involve a twofold error, that a finite object could be enlarged till it became Infinite, and that the Infinite can be the object of imagination; both of which I deny. The Infinite, as an object of knowledge and of thought, is entirely shut out from the sphere of imagination, for there can be no *image* of the Infinite. I deny the possibility of rising from the recognition of a finite object, till the object contemplated, or the thought exercised, become infinite. 'Departing from the particular, we admit,' says Sir W. Hamilton, 'that we can never in our highest generalizations, rise above the finite.' This I firmly believe; but it is certainly a great mistake, if it be considered that this shuts us out from all knowledge of the Infinite. Further, I do *not* regard the notion of the Unconditioned as a positive and real knowledge of existence in its *all-comprehensive unity*.' If M. Cousin ever held this as a part of his theory, which however I question, it has no vindication here; but, on the other hand, I equally deny Sir W. Hamilton's assertion, that the 'Absolute can

only be known, if *adequately* known.' And finally, by way of disclaimer, when Sir W. Hamilton says—'It has been held that the Infinite is known or conceived, though only a *part* of it can be apprehended,' his remark does not apply to anything which is to be found in my statements. I hold that the Infinite Being as known by us is one and indivisible, and though our knowledge of him is only partial, it is not attained by the apprehension of a part of his nature.

"With the convictions just stated in outline, it is clear that I am shut up to oppose the theory of Sir W. Hamilton. He has first laid down what he considers the conditions of thought, and though I am inclined to agree with his statements as a whole, I think he has indicated restrictions which do not belong to thought at all. Having stated these conditions of thought, he next passes away from the sphere of all reality, and enunciates what he declares to be the true definition of the Unconditioned (though any one might well ask how *he* discovered it), and then he affirms that the recognition of this Unconditioned is quite impossible in harmony with the laws of thought. It is possible to confine us by an hypothesis to an extent much greater than we are in reality restricted; it is possible to raise barriers which may seem to establish the possibility of our obtaining or possessing any knowledge of what we can know; nay, of what we do know. This I consider Sir William Hamilton has done in asserting the impossibility of any knowledge of the Divine being. Instead of searching consciousness in order to determine whether we have any knowledge of God, he has passed by the facts of consciousness altogether; and instead of presenting a view of the Deity as revealed to us, he has laid down a most gratuitous definition of the alleged nature of the Unconditioned, for which there is not the least authority either in thought or in existence. In treating of the Infinite, he has dealt with a mere *abstraction* for the knowledge of which no one contends, which does not even exist, and by arguments, which are sufficiently valid as applied to the abstraction which he has himself enunciated, he has seemed to establish the impossibility of our obtaining any knowledge of the Infinite.

"Dr. Mansel has done more than follow Sir W. Hamilton. Both have lost themselves in a sea of abstractions, but Dr. Mansel, steering the ship which Sir W. Hamilton had previously piloted, has drifted farther from his reckonings than his master did before him. He has found it a hard thing to reconcile his wayward course with the chart which he has acknowledged as the true guide. Man can have no knowledge of the Infinite God! How strange a doctrine to reconcile with Bible teaching! I am most strongly convinced that there is dangerous error in the course which Sir W. Hamilton has pursued, and Dr. Mansel has so boldly vindicated. With the utmost earnestness, therefore, I address myself to the task of proving that the *Infinite* is a word unspeakably more precious in its significance to man than the *Inconceivable*; that we are not compelled to go through life using nothing but *unmeaning terms*, when we speak of an Infinite God; that human consciousness does not oscillate between counter "imbecilities," but involves a certain knowledge of the God whom we adore; and that we are capable of advancing indefinitely in that knowledge, and thereby glorifying the Deity the more."

The work contains eleven chapters, of which the first states the question, and the last sums up; the titles of the other nine chapters are as follows:—Belief in the existence of One Infinite Being—The Province of Faith as related to that of Knowledge—Examination of Sir W. Hamilton's distinction of the Infinite and Absolute—The Characteristic of Knowledge and Thought as bearing on this subject—Time and Space—The Knowledge of the Infinite as First Cause—the Knowledge of the Infinite Being as Moral Governor—as the Object of Worship—The testimony of Scripture concerning Man's Knowledge of the Infinite. However much the reader may differ from the conclusions at which Mr. Calderwood arrives, he cannot but admire his en-

lightened zeal for religious truth, his knowledge of the different phases of the subject, and his courteous treatment of those from whom he differs. The volume is a valuable contribution to what we may term sacred philosophy, full of valuable suggestions, and pervaded everywhere by a warm piety. We will give a portion of the chapter on the Testimony of Scripture, as being most in accordance with the objects of this Journal.

"There is one passage in Scripture which has been so much adverted to, in connexion with this discussion, that it seems essential that it should have immediate consideration, since appeal is made to it as completely contradicting the possibility of any knowledge of the Infinite Being, in the present state at least. It is the passage in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, where it is said: 'We know in part (*ἐκ μέρους*), and we prophesy in part; but when that which is perfect (*τὸ τέλειον*) is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. . . . For now we see through a glass darkly (*ἐν αἰνίγματι*), but then face to face; now I know in part (*ἐκ μέρους*), but then shall I know even as also I am known' 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 10, 12). Before attempting any exegetical remarks on this passage, I deem it proper to present to the reader the interpretation given by Sir W. Hamilton. He says: 'The Scriptures explicitly declare that the infinite is for us now incognizable; they declare that the finite, and the finite alone, is within our reach. It is said (to cite one text out of many), that '*now I know in part*,' (i.e., the finite; but *then*, (i.e., in the life to come) '*shall I know, even as I am known*' (i.e., without limitation).' This is certainly a singular specimen of Bible interpretation, and a very summary way of disposing of the testimony of Scripture on this important subject. In the passage quoted from the Word of God, it seems manifest, in the *first* place, that the apostle is treating of *different degrees of knowledge* of the same Being, and not at all of the knowledge of different objects. On this account I deem the interpretation given by Sir W. Hamilton inconsistent with itself. To make the first clause apply to the measure of the *object*, and the second to the degree of *knowledge*, is an inconsistency. When the apostle says, 'Now I know in part, but then shall I know even as also I am known,' he says that his *knowledge* is 'in part,' and that his *knowledge* shall be even 'as he is known.' But, besides being inconsistent in his mode of interpretation, it seems to me, in the *second* place, that Sir W. Hamilton has given a misinterpretation of both clauses. When the apostle says, 'Now I know *in part*,' I deny that his statement is equivalent to that into which it is rendered by Sir W. Hamilton—'Now I know *the finite*.' For, in respect of the *object*, it is the *same* object which he says he now knows 'in part,' and which he shall afterwards know 'as he is known,' and that object is whatsoever is unseen and eternal, and more especially, the unseen God. Again, in respect of his *knowledge*, when the apostle says he *knows 'in part*,' the statement is equivalent to the correlative clause in the first part of the verse, when he says, 'Now we see through a glass darkly' (*ὁτι ἐστὶν ὁρατὸν ἐν αἰνίγματι*), that is, we do see God, but it is imperfectly, and through, or by the aid of, a reflection of his glory. But, still further, it seems to me that Sir W. Hamilton has fallen into a misinterpretation of the latter portion of the quotation, when he represents the words, 'then shall I know even as also I am known,' as equivalent to 'then shall I know *without limitation*.' For, in respect of God's *knowledge* of man, it is knowledge of a finite being, and therefore a knowledge which has boundaries or limitation. It must, from the very nature of the case, be a mistake to represent the Divine knowledge of a human creature as an *infinite* knowledge. Again, in respect of the possible expansion of man's knowledge in the future world, it cannot be knowledge 'without limitation.' Though it be a knowledge of God 'as we are known' by him, it will not be knowledge 'without limitation'; and there is no sanction in Scripture for such a doctrine, as that we shall at length attain to infinite knowledge."

Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury. By WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D., Dean of Chichester. Vol. I. Anglo-Saxon Period. 8vo, 550 pp. London: Bentley. 1861.

AFTER a life of active duty as a parish priest, not unmarked, however, by literary productions, Dr. Hook is employing his learned leisure as Dean of Chichester on the noble work of which this volume is the beginning. We sincerely hope that the disastrous ruin of the fine spire of his cathedral will not retard the progress and completion of this history, by occupying the time of the Dean in its rebuilding; for, after all, it is more important that man's intellectual remains should be preserved than the works of his hands. Dr. Hook thus states his design in an introductory chapter:—

“At an early period of life, the idea suggested itself to the author of the present work that a similar interest might attach to the history of the English Church, if, placing the primate in the centre, we were to connect with his biography the ecclesiastical events of his age, and thus associate facts which are overlooked in their insignificant isolation, and customs which, abstractedly considered, are valued only by the antiquary. A vocation to pastoral duty in the manufacturing districts demanded and exhausted his energies for five and thirty years, but he sought his recreation in the study of ecclesiastical history, and he resumes, in his old age, a task which he unwillingly relinquished, and which, if it failed to afford amusement and instruction to others, will at least supply him with employment in the service of a master who is not extreme to mark what is done amiss.

“The work now presented to the reader is thus designed to be a History of the Church of England. The Church of England is here regarded as a national institution, which, under its various phases, has existed from the time of Augustine to the present hour. The monarchy of England is connected with the past, and preserves its unity through the succession of its sovereigns. In different ages, the principles of the constitution have varied; but, under all revolutions, the monarchy has continued from the time of Athelstane one and the same. Practices now denounced as iniquitous, and opinions against which we protest, were at one time prevalent and popular. There was a period in our history when serfdom and slavery were tolerated; when oppression was legalized and parliaments were silenced; when the suspected traitor was examined by torture; and ignorance, in the garb of justice, pronounced sentence of death upon the witch and the wizard. Nevertheless, the philosophical historian traces throughout our history those principles of freedom which we inherited from our Anglo-Saxon ancestors which the Conqueror could not subdue, or priestcraft annihilate, which connect the Bill of Rights with the Magna Charta, the Magna Charta with the laws of Edward the Confessor, and the laws of the Confessor with the dooms of Ethelbert; which have shaped the constitution into the marvellous system under which, invested with the full powers required by the executive government, a limited monarchy is controlled and directed by a parliament, wherein are represented the wisdom and folly, the learning and the ignorance, the virtue and the vice, the religion and the infidelity of the nation, in proportions so nearly just, that while the will of the majority creates the law, an amount of personal liberty is secured to the minority, for which we look in vain under the despotism of a democracy, not less than under the iron hand of an autocrat.”

It will astonish some readers to find how very much that is most interesting yet survives of what has been termed the “dark ages,” and, still more, how these historical and literary remains prove the existence, in early periods, of intelligence, learning, and refinement. We shall give a few extracts to illustrate this statement, and also to enable

our readers to judge for themselves of the nature of the work. Under the archbishopric of Brihtwald, A.D. 693, we find the following account of Ina, King of the West Saxons.

"Passing over the instances of retirement from the duties of a high station, after the honorable discharge of them in early life, as exhibited in the instances of Ethelred and Cenred, kings of Mercia, and of others who might be mentioned, we have in the history of Ina and his queen an example both of the piety and of the fanaticism of the age. The reader is referred to the history of England for an account of the glory of Ina's reign, and his devotion to the service of his country. We may judge of his character from the exordium to his code of laws, in which Christianity is recognized as the basis of civil and social relations. 'I, Ina, through God's gift, King of the West Saxons, with the deliberation and advice of Cenred my father, and of Hedda and Ercenwald, my bishops, and with all of the ealdormen and the most distinguished sages (*witan*) of my people, and a full attendance of God's ministers, was consulting for the health of our souls and the stability of our kingdom, that right and judgment should be established amongst our people, and that no ealdorman nor any of our subjects should infringe these our laws.'

"He was a successful warrior, and in the struggles of war Ethelburga, his queen, a strong-minded woman, partook. No one can read his history without sympathizing with Ina in his wish to retire from the incessant difficulties of his station, whenever he could do so with honour to himself and with safety to his people. He had to lament the excesses of his early life before the conversion of his heart, and his wife became fanatical in her desire to renounce the cares of royalty. Still the king wavered. Would he be right in following his inclination, strong as it was, and connected with what related to his own highest interests? The queen suspected that, in the hesitation of the king, she discovered a reluctance to give up the pleasures as well as the duties of royalty. Ina's taste was refined. He delighted in the splendour by which he was surrounded, and in all the particular appliances of luxury to meet the general discomfort which prevailed in the Saxon houses of the period. He had with his queen been regaling luxuriously in one of his palaces, if such we may style the residence of an Anglo-Saxon king, and thence was proceeding, as the custom was, to another station. Ethelburga, on their departure, directed the servants to defile the palace in every possible and most offensive manner: the "wall clothes" or tapestry dipped in purple dye were besmeared with filth; the floor with the dung of cattle: upon the royal bed a sow was placed with her litter. When the royal pair had proceeded about a mile on their journey, Ethelburga persuaded the king to return to the home which he had left. On their arrival the king was naturally struck with astonishment and dismay at the scene which met his eye, when Ethelburga, taking for her text the circumstances she had created, began her sermon: 'My noble spouse, where are now the revellings of yesterday? where the tapestry dipped in Sidonian dye? where the flattery of parasites? where the sculptured vessels bearing down the very tables with their weight of gold? where the delicacies so anxiously sought throughout sea and land to pamper the appetite? Are they not all gone like smoke and vapour? Woe to those who attach themselves to these things, for in like manner they shall pass away.' The action and the comment of the queen had its effect, and if in forsaking the companionship of his wife Ina was not inconsolable, he must nevertheless have regarded her with feelings of respect. I dare not vouch for the truth of this story, which is given on the very questionable authority of William of Malmesbury. But it shows what a chronicler believed to be probable, and thought would be accepted as truth by his readers, and it throws considerable light on the manners and modes of thought at that time prevalent."

Of Nothelm, A.D. 735, we learn the following interesting particulars.

"He conciliated to himself the patronage of Albinus the abbot, a friend of the venerable Bede, and in Northbald, who succeeded Albinus, he found a con-

genial companion. It was not to the highest branches of scholarship that Nothelm applied himself, although in the transcription of ancient manuscripts, judgment in the selection of them was required, as well as artistic skill. The increase of learning occasioned, of course, a demand for books, and so indefatigable were the scribes in England, that our libraries soon became the most famous in western Europe. The attention of a scribe was not directed exclusively to caligraphy: the illuminations which may be seen in manuscripts, from the eighth century to the eleventh, display both the mind and the art of a painter. These Anglo-Saxon manuscripts are remarkable for the bold character of the writing, and the richness of the illuminations, of which the chief features are extreme intricacy of pattern, and interlacings of knots in a diagonal or square form; sometimes interwoven with animals, and terminating in heads of serpents or birds. So highly esteemed was this branch of learning and art in combination, that the attention of men of science was directed to the method of preparing gold for the gold writing, and we possess more than one of their receipts. For example: 'File gold very finely, put it in a mortar, and add the sharpest vinegar; rub it till it becomes black, and then pour it out; put to it some salt or nitre, and so it will dissolve; so you may write with it, and thus all the metals may be dissolved.' Another method of ancient chrysography was this: 'Melt some lead, and frequently immerse it in cold water; melt gold and pour that also into the same water and it will become brittle; then rub the gold filings carefully with quicksilver, and purge it while it is liquid. Before you write, dip the pen in liquid alum, which is best purified by salt and vinegar.' Another method was this: 'Take thin plates of gold and silver, rub them in a mortar with Greek salt or nitre till it disappears; pour on water and repeat it; then add salt, and so work it even when the gold remains; add a moderate portion of the flowers of copper and bullock's gall; rub them together, and write and burnish the letters.'

"So eminent in this art did Nothelm become, and so well qualified, by his learning, to select manuscripts as well as to copy them, that he was sent to Rome, in order that from the manuscripts there he might enrich the libraries of his native land. Elham expresses pleasure at the easy access he obtained to the archives of Rome, and attributes it to the high character which attended Nothelm. We may add that, from the circumstances of the times, there was an inclination on the part of the authorities at Rome, to conciliate one who came with recommendations from a church at this time in friendly relations with their Frankish neighbours."

The Early and Middle Ages of England. By CHARLES H. PEARSON, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and Professor of Modern History, King's College, London. London: Bell and Daldy. 1861. 8vo, pp. 488.

Mr. Pearson proposes in this volume to give the last results of enquiry into the early history of England, a period which has been profoundly studied, and yet but little understood. The documents from which the history is gained appear in learned works, and to popularize their results is a task well worthy any labour which it may entail. The author tells us that he has "condensed the history of twelve hundred years into a single volume, with a view to the large class who want time and inclination to peruse English history as an exclusive study." In thirty-six chapters he has told a tale of no ordinary interest, and intermixed with the narratives learned yet popular disquisitions on a great variety of subjects, such as the early British Church, Federal Monarchies, Anglo-Saxon Literature, Results of the Conquest, Foundation of Chivalry, and Anglo-Norman Society. From the chapter on the Anglo-Saxon Church we select the following:—

"The miracles of the Anglo-Saxon church are often very childish, but they have a truthfulness of character which speaks well for the people; stripped of the little exaggerations to which all stories handed down orally are liable, they may constantly be explained and believed. In this respect they differ creditably from the Welsh and continental legends, and from those which were most popular after the Norman conquest. Stories of raising the dead to life are extremely rare. The miracles of St. Germanus comes to us on the authority of a tradition so distant that no man would trust in it his own affairs; the cure of a blind man, which St. Augustine performed, produced no effect on the convictions of those who witnessed it. St. Wilfred's success with the baby is unaccountable, and may fairly be left so, in the absence of more precise details. In minor cases of sickness, St. Cuthbert's cure is a good specimen of a numerous class. He was lamed by a swelling in his thigh, and was sitting at the door of his father's house, when a stranger who passed by dismounted to learn the cause of the boy's illness, examined the swelling, and recommended that it should be poulticed. The remedy proved efficacious, and Cuthbert then knew that he had been visited by an angel. At a later period in life, the same saint, traversing the Northumbrian wilds, was in want of shelter and food; he suddenly saw a shepherd's hut, found it deserted, and discovered some meat and half a hot loaf hidden in the thatch. The parallel of Elijah and the ravens seems to have secured him from any scruple as to the lawfulness of taking his neighbour's goods; he could not doubt that the supply was miraculous. Here the event would no doubt be classed by some modern religionists under the head of special providences. Often the miracles of the Gospel were the model of Saxon experiences. When Athelstane paid a visit to his kinswoman, the abbess of Glastonbury, she obtained by her prayers that the mead in the house should increase so as to suffice the king's retinue; the remembrance of the marriage-feast at Cana had no doubt suggested the propriety of applying to God for help."

There is a long passage on the influence of Anselm on mediæval literature, but we can only give a portion:—

"The philosophy of Anselm is, in a certain sense, the key-note to all mediæval literature. To understand it, we must start from the circumstances of the times. Criticism was beginning to assail the fabric of religion, which a thousand years had built up. But criticism, unfurnished with philosophy or a knowledge of history, was reduced to *à priori* arguments on the nature of God and the world. Even such a man as Abelard, who collected contradictory passages in Scripture, and placed them in witness against one another, attached no importance to the difficulties he conjured up; they were rather exercises for logical subtlety than stumbling-blocks to faith. In other words, the truths of Christianity, Scripture, and the church, were so interwoven in the popular apprehension, that they stood or fell together: the doubter was either a Deist or a Jew at heart. Now, in a contest between the faith and its opponents, the advantage in the twelfth century lay altogether with the defence. The Bible and St. Augustine only needed to be expounded by Anselm, in the century of the crusades, for the impotence of all scepticism to be exposed. But this strength of the church gives the works of its advocates a constructive character. They aim not so much at demolishing an adversary, as at exhibiting their own theory in completeness and majesty. 'I believe in order that I may understand,' is the key-note of Anselm's philosophy. The truth, if it be but known, will speak for itself. Moreover, the true metaphysician is the poet of the universe. The relations of the finite and the infinite, of God and the world, are the subject matter of his art. Hence, if he be a true workman, he will never rest satisfied with barren dialectical victories: he demolishes on constraint, but he produces from the natural impulse to endow the world with something perfect which it wanted. His greatness and his failure lie in the effort to know and explain God as law."

While really learned and profound, this mode is adapted for

popular use, and we can safely recommend it. There is sometimes an appearance of satire in Mr. Pearson's allusions to what he thinks errors in religion, both of ancient and modern times, which will not always be pleasing; but the general tone is favourable to our reverence for divine things. The accounts of Alfred, Dunstan, and others, while they strip away much of the drapery of fable, are still romantic enough to please those who read only for amusement.

English Puritanism and its Leaders—Cromwell, Milton, Baxter, Bunyan. By JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., Principal and Professor of Theology, St. Mary's College, in the University of St. Andrew's, and one of Her Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary in Scotland. 12mo, pp. 488. Edinburgh: Blackwood. 1861.

THOSE who have read Dr. Tulloch's Prize Essay on Theism, and his *Leaders of the Reformation*, will expect this to be an attractive volume, and they will not be disappointed. The writer is almost enthusiastic in his conceptions of his heroes, and yet very discriminating in his estimate of their characters. It is a charming book to read, and must become popular. We can only find space for Dr. Tulloch's account of Hooker:—

"The first four books of the ecclesiastical polity appeared in 1594; the fifth some years later, after the author had removed to Bishopsborne, near Canterbury, where he died in the last year of the sixteenth century. It is difficult to estimate the exact effects of these books upon the course of controversy. But there is reason to think that they were considerable, and that, after fifty years' conflict, the agitation somewhat recoiled under the shock of the lofty and far-reaching argument which they developed. Of this there can be no doubt, that they carried the Puritans into a region of discussion where they had difficulty in following the author, and where they certainly could not meet him. The Puritan's strong point, as we have seen, was the supposed warrant of Scripture for his views. Scripture, he urged, had especially laid down rules for the ordering and worship of the Church. 'Those things only are to be placed in the Church which the Lord himself in His Word commandeth,' was the fundamental principle laid down in the 'Admonition.' Whitgift had so far met this by saying, that the 'substance and matter of government must indeed be taken out of the Word of God; yet that 'the offices in the church whereby this government is wrought, are not namely and particularly expressed in the Scriptures, but in some points left to the discretion and liberty of the Church, to be disposed according to the state of times, places, and persons.' He met the assertion of the Puritans by a simple negative—to wit, that the Scriptures are not the only and absolute source of ecclesiastical polity, but that there is a certain discretion and liberty left in the hands of the governors of the Church for the time. He did not, however, see the necessity of any higher principle to meet and absorb their special doctrine, which, in its definiteness, had a strong affinity for the current theological temper. He had no spirit of philosophy carrying him beyond the immediate necessities of the argument to a larger sphere of moral and political contemplation, in which the Puritan doctrine should receive at once due recognition and limitation.

"It remained for Hooker to do this in the whole conception of his work. Divine rules must be our guide, was the postulate. Granted, was Hooker's argument, divine rules must be our guide; but it does not follow that there are no divine rules except those revealed in Scripture. All true laws, on the contrary, are equally with the rules of Scripture divine, as springing out of and

resting on the same source as those of Scripture—the eternal divine reason. The supreme mind is the fountain of all law, whether its revelation be in Scripture or in nature and life; and the excellent and binding character of the law does not depend upon the special medium of revelation, but on the fact that it is really a revelation or expression of the highest Order. The particular rules in dispute, therefore, whether or not they were expressly contained in Scripture, might have a clear divine sanction. They might have a valid authority, both in their substance and direct origin, in their conformity to reason, and the national will and position. For divine law might as truly approve itself in such a conformity as in any mere verbal imitation of the letter of Scripture. The question accordingly came to be not merely what is laid down in Scripture, but what in all respects is fair and conformable, ‘behovefull and beautiful’ in itself, in harmony with the consecrated usages of history, and the exercise and development of the Christian consciousness in the Church. The ground on which it must be decided, in short, is not any mere dogmatic and self-constituted Scriptural interpretation, but the fitness and excellence of the thing in all its relations of time and circumstance—the eternally good ground of *Christian expediency* against *theoretical ecclesiasticism* of any kind.

“Of all the theologians of his age, Hooker was the most unpuritan: he not only opposed a special church theory which then sought to dominate in Protestantism, but he shewed how every such theory must break against the great laws of historical induction and national liberty. He was catholic in judgment and feeling, but he wrote not merely on the interests of Catholicism: it was the rights of reason, and of free and orderly national development in the face of all preconception, of whatever kind, that he really vindicated. While others merely argued, he reasoned and philosophized.”

The Dangers and Safeguards of Modern Theology, containing “Suggestions offered to the Theological Student under Present Difficulties,” (a revised Edition,) and other Discourses. By ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, Lord Bishop of London. 8vo, pp. 340. London: Murray. 1861.

WHILE a legion of treatises have been called forth by the *Essays and Reviews* in the shape of volumes, pamphlets, and sermons, no thorough examination of their leading principles has yet appeared. Indeed, the time which has elapsed since the publication of that offensive work has not been sufficient for such a refutation as may be of permanent value, and give proper influence and weight to the other side of the question. The work now before us only incidentally relates to the seven writers, and that in the Introduction, where his Lordship gently condemns their individual and combined efforts, and throws out suggestions of peace. He uses a wise confidence in the stability of our faith, and cautions us against unreasonable fears, and he also clearly distinguishes between opponents who deny any peculiar inspiration to the Bible, and those whose profession and position compel them to treat it as the Word of God. One passage will illustrate what we mean, and also give an example of the style in which Dr. Tait discusses the subject:—

“By all means let us be on our guard against expressions of unreasonable alarm, as if we were conscious of some formidable difficulties which we dare not face, and objected to any examination which came near the foundations of our faith, for fear that free enquiry might shake it to the ground. If men really feel a call to do so, let them sift the questions connected with the nature and limits of inspiration as they please; but what is demanded is this—let them remember,

when they use the word Scripture, that it is synonymous with that other phrase, the Word of God. Of course, if a man hang so lightly to the faith of the Lord Jesus and the Apostles that he looks on the Bible as on Homer or Herodotus, the whole aspect of our controversy with him is changed; he cannot then be supposed to be arguing within the Church of England, nor within the limits of the Christianity of the Apostles or of Christ; we must arrange an argument on quite different grounds. But if he allows that there is such a thing as what the Lord and his Apostles call Scripture, then we ask him to remember that Scripture is the Word of God."

The chief portion of this volume, entitled *Suggestions offered to the Theological Student under Present Difficulties*, first appeared in 1846, and contains discourses on the following subjects:—St. John's Gospel, the Model of Controversy; Variety in Unity; Dangers and Safeguard of the Critical Study of the Bible; Theology, both Old and New; Gospel Facts and Doctrines. The *Further Suggestions*, 1861, consist of eighteen sermons on subjects bearing more or less on existing controversies. Although the work is thus wanting in unity as to the dates and occasions of its composition, there is a substantial and real learning in the whole. Most valuable are the hints which are given, especially as a steadfastness in the faith, and a love of our holy religion, pervade every part. We commend the volume to the special notice of our readers, and must content ourselves with one more quotation on theology as a science, which occurs in the discourse entitled "Theology both Old and New."

"Theology, in its highest sense, must be the noblest study for man as man, since it leads him to the contemplation and fuller knowledge of the Divine nature in its creating, sustaining, redeeming, and sanctifying powers; penetrates also into the deep secrets of the human heart; and is, besides, indissolubly connected with both the outward and inward history of those great societies, which, being the selected depositaries of heavenly truth, have, both in their faithfulness to this great trust, and their neglect of it, so deeply affected the destinies of our race.

"It is, in fact, the most distinguishing characteristic of the system of this University, that it considers theology not merely as the professional study of the clergy, but closely connected, as it is, with the only true philosophy, as the great master-science, standing to us in the same relation in which their philosophy stood to the Greeks—apart from which there may, indeed, be a disjointed communication of knowledge on particular subjects, but no education of the whole man. And those who would have our system in this respect altered, scarcely appreciate the true nature of the divine science they are speaking of, or seriously contemplate the fact that, in all ages, its truths have been the great motives which have swayed men, and thus hastened or retarded the rise and fall of nations. When they would confine theological instruction to the clergy, these persons must be dreaming of some useless commonplace-book filled with the names of forgotten heresies and the technical jargon of the schools, and can have no thought of the true divine philosophy: for those who know most of the nature and the workings of God and of man, with power to use this knowledge, must ever be the real guides of a nation's thought, and must therefore give its chief direction both to a nation's will, and to the events that spring from it. Such men do really control that flood which the mere politician can never stem, but which he deems it his highest wisdom to moderate, while he clears the obstacles that oppose its course. Who doubts that it is, not indeed the clergy, but, in Coleridge's phrase, the cleresy—by which, I suppose, he means the great body of those especially who know most of the science of human nature and have the power to wield it—that must ever be the controllers of their fellow men?

"It was their exclusive possession even of a very imperfect form of this science, which, in the more barbarous ages, chiefly gave to the clergy a power such as no physical force of kings or conquerors could control. The world seeks to train men to such knowledge on false and ungodly principles. To raise them to a pure and holy form of it, and thus endow them with a practical wisdom which the world's philosophy vainly strives to imitate, and before which it falls powerless, is the grand object of divine philosophy, that is theology, in its fullest and truest sense."

Pastoral Duties: Six Discourses preached before the University of Dublin, being the Donnellan Lectures for 1860. By WILLIAM ATKINS, D.D., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, Rector of Tullyagnish, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Derry. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co. London: Rivingtons. 8vo, pp. 180.

THERE is a power in these lectures derived from the affectionate earnestness with which the author gives the results of his own observation and experience. A great many excellent rules are laid down on the subject of preaching, but still more is said on pastoral visitation, and on the necessity of a close and searching enquiry into the spiritual state of those whom a minister is to guide. We should like to quote largely, but the nature of this Journal not permitting us to give more than a limited space to works of this nature, we must only give a short passage. It is on the advantage to be derived from the use of the form of visitation of the sick, prescribed by the Church of England:—

"Again, to shew the necessity of attending to the minute directions of that service, there is nothing more distracting to the mind of a clergyman visiting the sick and dying, than the conversations upon many subjects, that often precede his admission to the sick chamber. This does not generally result from any want of anxiety about the invalid, nor from any want of sympathy; probably the very entrance of a stranger gives a new channel to the current of thought, and for a moment a relief is felt by the change, and shews itself unconsciously in a manner that does not harmonize with the scene. To the thoughts of the pastor there is present the dying member of his flock, and with that thought he is occupied; from the others, the same subject, familiarized during hours and days, has escaped for the moment; and hence arises the strange feeling of want of sympathy at such a time.

"Now all this can be avoided by a careful attention to our directions. After the customary salutations and enquiries, which are proper and natural, about the state of the sick, and before any other subject is started, let the pastor repeat solemnly, and in the hearing of all, 'Peace be to this house, and to all that dwell in it!' Is this always done, reverend brethren? If it were, there would not be many complaints about the distracting influence of trivial conversations. The people would be at once reminded of the duty about which you came, and they would feel that you had already commenced it.

"I have, in my last lecture, described the case of those deeply penitent, unhappy beings, who carry with them in the secrets of their heart the knowledge of some sin, and it is to them an intolerable burden. In such a case can you not easily conceive an intense craving for sympathy at all times, and yet this desire all through life resisted; but at last, at the approach of death, the longing to tell, the hope to hear any one say, 'Well, well, it is all forgiven;' this, at the end, becomes irresistible. It is this that often leads men of the world to make reparations at the last, in cases never suspected. It is this intolerable feeling of the oppressive weight upon the heart that prompts the child, or the young man, to

come to his father, and freely confess, after all chance of detection has passed, that he had been guilty of a deliberate lie, or of some deed of doubtful dishonesty, or of some act of dishonour. It is this desire of sympathy that makes the weeping daughter hide her face in her mother's bosom, and tell the tale of some act of indiscretion, or the story of a misplaced or of a disappointed love. Now, if these things be not of a very extraordinary occurrence—if this burden of a secret and this desire of sympathy be parts of our nature, so common and generally acknowledged, as to have drawn the attention of all ages, what wonder is it to find them intensified at the approach of death? Is it strange that the disclosure is made—yes, even *pressed* upon the unwilling clergyman, and his sympathy sought, his prayers entreated, and the comfort of hearing the ambassadors of the Son of Man say, 'I absolve thee,' earnestly besought? What wonder if in such a case 'the conscience, troubled with a weighty matter, humbly and heartily desires absolution?'"

Syriac Miscellanies; or, Extracts relating to the First and Second General Councils, and various other Quotations, Theological, Historical, and Classical. Translated into English from MSS. in the British Museum and Imperial Library of Paris. With Notes by B. H. COWPER. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861. 8vo, pp. 120.

THIS volume owes its appearance to the request of the Syro-Egyptian Society, whose members take an interest in our national Syriac treasures, and in those of Continental libraries. Mr. Cowper was requested by them to publish a few specimens of the contents of the MSS., and he says he cheerfully complied with their wishes, "and has thrown together some of the extracts he has made at different times, with a few supplementary observations." The nature of the "Miscellanies" may be seen from the following account given of them by Mr. Cowper:

"Those on the first Nicene Council are the fullest, and to illustrate them I have added a remarkable Greek list of the Bishops who attended the Council, and a fragment of one in Coptic. I have also given a version of the Nicene Canons for comparison with the copies in Greek and Latin, and as this version, like the list of members, is from the oldest MS. of them yet known, it cannot fail to be interesting. From the same document I have copied a list of those who attended at the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381, and a few other matters. These lists are important in reference to the names of Bishops and of places, as well as for the student of ancient geography. The fragments from Greek authors are obscure, and include some names with which I am otherwise unacquainted. Their chief interest arises from the fact that they clearly form part of some document of the nature of an apology, and are, therefore, in all probability, very ancient. It is well known that the apologists of the second and third centuries defended Christianity by copious citations from Pagan writers, and this is constructed on the same plan, as the conclusion shews. The extracts from Diocles may not be free from interpolation, but they claim to represent the first historian of Rome, a historian from whom, Plutarch tells us, Fabius Pictor drew largely. As to the extracts from Christian authors, they are merely specimens of thousands contained in the MSS., and yet present some points of interest. The matters drawn from the old Syriac Chronicle may furnish the student of history with a few facts, and among them the list of the first successors of Mahomet is peculiarly interesting. This MS. belongs to the eighth century, and is evidently a compilation from the Chronicle ascribed to Hippolytus, that of Eusebius, and others. The notice of two martyrologies is simply intended to shew that at a very early period the legends of superstition were not confined to the Western world."

Works like this never pay, but on that account the labours of their authors or compilers ought to be more highly valued by the learned; and we are sure that Mr. Cowper has laid us under obligations by this fresh proof of his devotion to a neglected field of literature.

History of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ.

By Dr. J. A. DORNER, Professor of Theology in the University of Göttingen. Vol. I. Translated by the Rev. Dr. W. SIMON. 8vo, pp. 460. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1861.

Theological and Homiletical Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew.

Specially designed for the use of Ministers and Students. From the German of J. P. LANGE, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Bonn. By the Rev. ALFRED EDERSHEIM, Ph. D. Vol. I. pp. 466. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1861.

THESE volumes are a fresh contribution to "Clark's Foreign Theological Library," and they will not diminish from its reputation and usefulness. But we must take another occasion of entering fully into the merits of these learned productions.

The Works of Thomas Goodwin, D.D., some time President of Magdalen College, Oxford.

With general preface by John C. MILLER, D.D., Rector of St. Mary's, Birmingham, etc. And a Memoir by ROBERT HALLEY, D.D., Principal of the Independent New College, London. Vol. I. Containing an Exposition of the first Chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians. pp. xxxiv, 564. Edinburgh: James Nichol. 1861.

THIS is the first instalment of an undertaking which has been for some time in contemplation as "Nichol's series of standard Divines, Puritan period. Consisting of the complete works of T. Goodwin, T. Manton, R. Sibbes, S. Charnock, Bishop Reynolds, T. Brooks, and the practical works of T. Adams and D. Clarkson."

The design is one of great labour and expense, and we trust it will succeed. From the conditions of publication we quote the following:—

"1. Six volumes demy 8vo, bound in the most durable manner, and in a style which will obviate the necessity of rebinding, shall be supplied for 21s. per annum. The volumes will average from 500 to 600 pages each, according to the number of subscribers obtained. The demand for the series will thus determine the minimum or maximum size of the volumes. The different works will be distinguished by variety in the colour of cover, or style of ornamentation, to avoid the unpleasing effect of a large number of volumes in the library bound in one uniform pattern.

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Special Anthems for certain Seasons and Festivals of the United Church of England and Ireland. By various living Composers. Edited by the Rev. Sir F. A. GORE OUSELEY, Bart., M.A., Mus. Doc.; Precentor of Hereford; and Professor of Music in the University of Oxford. London: Robert Cocks and Co. Folio, pp. 274.

WE have great pleasure in bringing before our readers this magnificent contribution to sacred music. The volume itself is a noble one, but its outward appearance is only a fair index of its contents—a proper portal to the temple. The anthems are twenty-nine in number, beginning with Advent Sunday and ending with All Saints' Day, including all the principal feasts, four for Lent, and one for Good Friday. The names of the authors are: the Editor; Henry Leslie; Walter B. Gilbert, Mus. Bac., Oxon; Rev. S. S. Greethed, M.A.; John Stainer, Mus. Bac., Oxon; John Goss, Organist of St. Paul's Cathedral; E. J. Hopkins, Organist of the Temple Church; L. G. Hayne, Mus. Bac., Oxon; Richard Hacking, Mus. Doc., Oxon.; Rev. H. F. Havergal, M.A.; Charles Steggall, Mus. Doc. Cantab; Herbert J. Oakeley, M.A.; Rev. O. Wintle, M.A.; W. Sterndale Bennett, Mus. Doc., Cantab; Philip Armes, Mus. Bac., Oxon; George B. Allen, Mus. Bac., Oxon; George J. Elvey, Mus. Doc., Oxon; Rev. John B. Dykes, M.A. Considerable variety has been aimed at in the style and length of the anthems, "in order to suit all kinds of choirs—both the simple village singers and the trained choristers of cathedrals. Some of the shorter anthems are suited for Litany mornings or introits, while the more elaborate compositions are designed for other occasions, when brevity and simplicity are not so imperatively called for."

Index to the Eighth Edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. Edinburgh: Adam and C. Black. 1861. 4to, pp. 272.

THIS is the last portion of this great national work, and it will add much to its value. Thousands of subjects which could not be found in the general alphabet, are here catalogued for the great convenience of the reader. There is also a general preface to the work, with the names of the contributors.

**INTELLIGENCE AND CONTEMPORARY OPINIONS,
BIBLICAL, EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY, AND MISCELLANEOUS.**

On Tammūz and the Worship of Men among the Ancient Babylonians.—Kūthāmī, writing for his own people at a period when Babylon was in the height of her splendour, enters into no particulars regarding Tammūz; the legend was too well known to everybody at that time to need repetition. From what he says, however, it appears that, according to written legends which were read in the temples after prayers, the death of Tammūz was bewailed in the temple of the sun at Babylon, not only by the gods of the land, but also by foreign deities, such as the Arabian Nēsr, as well as the *seka'in* and the angels; and that this practice was continued down to Kūthāmī's own day in commemoration of that personage. There is nothing in all this to convince us that Tammūz was not a *god*, the more so as he is actually so designated by the above-cited Abū Sn'īd. But the matter assumes another aspect when we observe that he is placed on a level in every respect with *Yanbūshādh*. Now *Yanbūshādh* is to Kūthāmī a perfectly historical character; he is no god or demigod, but a man who led a solitary, ascetic life, in prayer, fasting, and good works. He was a scholar as well as a devotee, occupied himself with investigating the laws of nature, and wrote many scientific works, chiefly of an agronomic character. Hence he came to be regarded as a prophet and a saint; and though he was a determined opponent of the prevalent doctrines of star-worship, and suffered much persecution on that account, yet a temple was erected to him during his lifetime, in which a statue of him was set up. After his death many wonderful tales were told concerning him, and, as we have read above, his followers asserted that his body had been swept out to sea by a flood, and carried to an island in the Persian Gulf, where it was miraculously preserved from decay, this being (as we shall afterwards find) in the eyes of the Babylonians the highest reward of a holy and pious life. Some even maintained that he had, like the biblical Enoch, been taken up to heaven without tasting of death. Legends regarding him were read in the temples along with those concerning Tammūz, and he was mourned by the assembled congregation in a similar manner. Hence we are warranted in concluding that Tammūz was nothing but a man like *Yanbūshādh*, but belonging to a much earlier epoch; for Kūthāmī, who is far from being of an irreligious turn of mind, could persuade himself to believe but little of what was told regarding him. We must observe, moreover, that the above passages distinctly shew that the lamenting of Tammūz was *not confined to women*, though they naturally took a conspicuous part in it, and that not a syllable is said of any *joyous festivity*, such as was the finding of Adonis.

The remarks of Ibn Wahshīya are not less curious than the narrative of Kūthāmī. Firstly, we learn from him that Tammūz belonged to a period antecedent even to the Chaldean. He was one of the ancient Mesopotamian race of the Janbān (الجنبان), regarding whom, unfortunately, we possess at present no information. Secondly, we have here a new account of the origin of the names of the Babylonian and Syrian months, which have hitherto defied investigation; for, since the decipherment of the cuneiform inscription of Behistūn, Benfey's derivation of them from the Zend language can no longer be admitted. There is nothing absurd, hardly even improbable, in the statements of Ibn Wahshīya on this point. Every one knows that some of the Roman months are named after historical personages, and why not then the Babylonian? Besides, had Ibn Wahshīya invented these details out of his own head, he would have made *Adar* (March) the last month of the year, for it is expressly stated in several passages of the *Agricultura Nabathæorum*, as well as in the Sabian calendar cited in the *Fihrist-el-'olūm*, that the Babylonian new year's festival was held on the first of *Nisan*, (April); or he would have followed the reckoning of the Syrian Christians, who commenced their year with September or October, and in later times with

January. But, instead of this, he presents us with a system of reckoning closely resembling that of the ancient Romans, in which March was the first month of the year, and *February the last*. These apparent discrepancies are perfectly reconcilable on the supposition that the Babylonians had, like several other nations of antiquity, a double year, a civil and a religious. With the Jews, for example, the civil year commenced with Nisān, the religious with the first Tishri; and similarly, as it would appear, the ancient Babylonians commenced their year, according to our calendar, with *Adar*, or March, according to another, with *Nisan*, or April; whilst the religious year of the Harrānīs dated from Nisan, and their civil year from Tishri.

Whether the martyrdom of Tammūz, as related by Ibn Wahshiya, and pronounced by him to be identical with the Christian legend regarding the martyrdom of S. George, be the same as the story read in the temples of Babylon in the time of Kūthāmī, is what we are not in a position to affirm, owing to the unfortunate silence of the latter. But this much at least is clear, that Tammūz was, according to Babylonian tradition, one of the first preachers of planet-worship; that he suffered martyrdom for his religious opinions, was revered as a saint by his followers, and a yearly festival held in his honour, at which he was publicly lamented by all who believed in his doctrines. That *women alone* participated in the observances of the festival of Tammūz, and that the period of mourning was succeeded by one of *rejoicing*—of these things neither Kūthāmī nor Ibn Wahshiya says anything; and what becomes then of the identification of Tamūs with Adonis? To us at least it seems to be cut up by the roots.

That Tammūs is called by later writers a *god*, and that the Mendā'ites had a temple erected to him in which he was worshipped,—these facts in no way contradict the account of him given above. For, in the first place, we may cite the evidence of Ibn Wahshiya himself, who says that neither the Harrānīs nor the Mendā'ites knew anything regarding Tammūz, not even why they lamented him. And, secondly, it can be shewn, on the evidence of '*The Agriculture*,' that the existence of temples to Tammūs is no proof whatever of his being a *god*, in the common acceptance of the term. It seems, on the contrary, to have been the practice of the Babylonians to erect temples in honour of individuals who were distinguished for their piety and other virtues, or for their influence as lawgivers and founders of religious sects. In these temples their statues were placed and festivals celebrated in memory of them; in short, they were worshipped with divine, or almost divine honours; nay more, they were actually called *the gods of their epoch*. As a parallel, we may cite the case of Augustus and other Roman emperors, who were deified and received divine honours; but it is best to let the *Agricultura Nabathæorum* speak for itself.

Yanbūshādh, then, who is for Kūthāmī a perfectly historical personage, is represented as having had a temple and statue erected to him even during his lifetime, and as having been placed after his death on a level in point of sanctity with Tammūz. But a yet older prophet and lawgiver than he was similarly adored; we mean Dewānā'ī, who is spoken of in such terms as 'the lord of mankind,' 'the noble lord,' 'the gracious father,' 'the philosopher of philosophers and the wisest of the wise,' etc. His writings, or at least books ascribed to him, chiefly on astronomical, meteorological, and agricultural subjects, are repeatedly cited by Kūthāmī, and even Ibn Wahshiya had in his possession a work said to be by Dewānā'ī, which he began to translate, but left unfinished, owing to its bulk. During his lifetime his fame as a saint and prophet extended far beyond his native land, and his authority was acknowledged both among the Jerāmika, or Assyrians, and in Syria, in which country he found an opponent in one Mar-dāyā'ī. Kūthāmī does not profess to give many particulars regarding Dewānā'ī, owing to his great antiquity, but what he does communicate is all of interest. In one passage in particular, quoted by Chwolson (*Tammūz*, p. 75), he informs us that the Nabathæans used to burn some of their dead, not all of them, according to rules laid down on the subject; but Dewānā'ī put a stop to this practice altogether, and taught them to construct urns of clay, baked in the fire, in which the dead bodies were deposited and then buried. These particulars shew that Dewānā'ī

was, in Kūthāmī's estimation, not a god, but a man; and yet he speaks in clear unambiguous words of Dewānā'I's temple in Babylon, containing his statue, which was worshipped with divine honours. He was once, he tells us, in this temple, attending the festival in honour of Dewānā'I, and when the statue was unveiled, the whole congregation prostrated themselves before it, with the exception of one man of rank, a follower of Ishīthā, who pretended that his nose was bleeding, and remained standing. This gives Kūthāmī an opportunity of inveighing against the doctrines of Ishīthā and his followers in bitter terms.—*The Christian Remembrancer*, April, 1861.

The Doctrine of Providence.—It need scarcely be said that the doctrine which is clumsily intended by the modern phrase, 'a Particular Providence,' and the consequent belief of the proper efficacy of prayer, are BIBLICAL PRINCIPLES—affirmed, assumed, illustrated, relied upon, from first to last, throughout the canonical writings. This doctrine, and this belief, are the *one purport* of all Biblical history; they are the *very ground* of the devotional Scriptures, the Psalms especially; they are the *peculiar subjects* of Christ's teaching; they are the *end* of many of His apoloques; they so form the *basement of His ministry*, as that, to reject them, is to reject Christianity absolutely and in every sense. These peremptory averments will scarcely be called in question on either side.

There follows another averment which is equally exempt from reasonable contradiction. It is this—That what may be called a spontaneous, instinctive, *irresistible* belief in the speciality of the providential government of human affairs, as toward the individual, and a corresponding confidence in the reality and the effectiveness of prayer, belongs to every human mind which, whether in a better or a worse sense, is open at all to religious sentiment or feeling. If the force of this religious belief does not make itself manifest 'in all time of our wealth,' it fails not to come up from the depth of our hearts in the 'times of our tribulation,' 'in the hour of death,' and in every day of trembling and of woe. Spite of captious reasonings, we all of us thus believe in God, when we are *made to feel* that in HIM only there is hope; and to Him, therefore, at such times, we make our requests known.

More than this may be said; and the sad experience of many religious persons at this time would, if uttered, attest its truth—That in every instance in which, either from the inroad and mastery of worldly ambitions, or of animal passions, or, quite as often, from entanglement in sophisms such as those which just now are in question, the belief or *sense* of the Divine Providence toward the individual has lost its hold of the mind, and when, as consequent upon this loss of faith, prayer and praise have lost their meaning, or have become lifeless forms—there, and in *every* such case, not only has Christian peace, but religious sentiment also died away—it has become extinct, all is gone. On this ground, therefore, at once, of Biblical affirmation, and of instinctive feeling, and of religious experience, we take, as certain, the doctrine in view, and also its inference—the reality, the effective force of prayer; and this, as well in relation to the *earthly* welfare of the individual, as to his spiritual advancement. This, then, is our ground: the very opposite is the ground of the Essayists, ambiguously or openly professed.

What, then, do we here propose to do? Assuredly we are not attempting an apocalypse of the mystery of the Divine government of the world! Assuredly we are not propounding a theory of Providence, or giving demonstration of a truth, which involves the attributes of the INFINITE. Not so; but this we intend, so far as it may be done within the compass of a page or two—to shew that, *taken on its own ground*, the objection now so much insisted upon by the Essayists, and by all writers of their stamp, is a nugatory objection; that those of them who are indeed conversant with the physical sciences can scarcely have failed to know that it is nugatory; or, if not so, and if this difficulty stands in their way as a *bond fide* perplexity, then, that the philosophy of these writers must be—as we are now again affirming it to be—a shallow philosophy; as thus:—

We must just now assume that those who so often speak of 'modern physical science,' are indeed in some fair measure themselves conversant with these subjects ; at least, they are so as far as is now usual among college-bred and educated persons. We must also assume this—That whatever may be the difficulties that oppress them in admitting the belief of a *Creation*, and of a CREATOR, they do recognize, and they admire too, the ten thousand instances of the wonderful adaptation of means to an end—those instances of *design*, of intelligent contrivance, which meet the physiologist at every step of his progress in opening out the structure of vegetable and animal organizations. *All* is adaptation of means to an end—*all* is a relationship of parts, or a sequence in functions, as we say. Now animal and vegetable structures are just such combinations of parts and functions as the human contriver and mechanist would bring together, *if he could* ; but it is only within narrow limits that he can thus contrive and create.

To an extent which is indeed admirable, human skill, aided by modern science, is effective for the contrivance and the construction of mechanisms, which, in some instances, go near to awaken, in the spectator, the wonder and admiration that we properly reserve for the works of the SUPREME MIND. Machines might be made that are highly complicated in their parts, that are astonishing in their products, that are unfailing in the fulfilment of what is expected from them. But there is a limit which they never pass ; and it is *precisely at this impassable boundary* that those instances occur of which just now we are in search. It is trite to say of human machineries, that they have no *life*—no interior power of growth and development, they have no self-acting functions, they have no directive consciousness, or variable spontaneity. Yet this is not all ; nor is it *that one broad distinction* between the works of GOD and the works of man, which should teach us the lesson of humility which we have need of, and which, if duly learned, would meet and *refute* the sophism now in view.

Human mechanisms—we do not now recollect an exception—however complicated they may be in structure, or however multifarious in the functions they fulfil, are always of that order which may be designated as *organizations of a single intention*. They are indeed machines which, beginning with the raw material, finish with the perfected article ready for the market. So it is in the cotton manufacture, and many others, not needful to name. But in all such instances, the structure of the machine must be *proportionably complicated* :—the several contrivances run on *in series* from the beginning of the process to the end. There is no human contrivance which we can now call to mind of which this might be said—That a complicity of parts and of functions, *wanting nothing* that should belong to it for effecting any of its purposes, and containing nothing that is *superfluous* in relation to any of those purposes, subserve *two, or three, or more* purposes, which are of *unlike quality*, and which are *altogether independent*, one of the others. If space were at our command, we could name a *few* instances in which human ingenuity has approached this limit ; but there is not one (or we do not remember one) which fully reaches it. *Complex organizations* are, indeed, attainable by human skill. But organizations which, *within and upon the same structure*, provide for the requirements of two, three, or more *independent functions*,—these are the prerogative of INFINITE INTELLIGENCE. It is just at *this border* that, although the finite reason suffices for *understanding* the work, it can never imitate it. It is here that we find the very MARK of the CREATOR—a mark that is never fallacious, and which distinguishes whatever is of God, whether in the moral or the material world.

Now when, as in this place, we affirm the doctrine of a Special Providence, which is related to the welfare and to the moral education of the individual man, what we have in view is a work or product of the same INFINITE INTELLIGENCE ; and therefore *we expect to find upon it—and we do find* there—the well-known MARK OF GOD—the very same stamping as that which signalizes so many of the organizations of the material world. If the reader has not hitherto given attention to subjects of this class—obvious as they are, and familiar to physiologists—we ask his attention to an instance or two among hundreds, which, although they are less complete than some others, are of a familiar kind, and may

therefore the more readily be understood. The telescope, and the microscope, and the chronometer, and the steam-engine, the spinning-jenny and the power loom, the telegraphic apparatus and the photographic camera, are severally mechanisms having a *single intention*, or one purpose only to subserve. If in any instance more is required of a machine than its primary intention provides for, an apparatus, *supplementary*, is subjoined to it, as an appendage: thus it is, when a steam-engine in a factory is required to do drudgery of a domestic kind; or when the telegraphic apparatus is made to *print* its own signals, or the calculating machine to do the like. In such cases, the appended apparatus is *wholly superfluous* in relation to the principal function of the machine. Now take an analogous instance in the animal organization: The eye, with its marvels of adaptation to its purpose, is a mechanism of single intention—namely, it is formed to admit and to transmit light, and to give distinctness to the images that fall on the retina. And so is the ear as to sounds; or, if we take the head of the animal as the one organ of external cognizance, then each species has its apparatus to itself—the eye, the ear, the olfactory, the gustatory organs. This holds as to the animal orders throughout. But in the *human* organization several instances present themselves—one only of which is available in this place with propriety—in which we find a *complicity of purposes*, or intentions, so combined as that the same parts or members, the same muscular and nervous adjustments, and the same secretive glands also, are made to subserve independent and *unlike purposes*. The human mouth, and pharynx and larynx, and the appendages of both, are of this kind. This structure in man, and in the inferior orders, is the upper, or extreme apparatus of the process of nutrition—adapted to the reception, trituration, and chemical elaboration of aliment, and to its mechanical transmission, by the œsophagus, to the stomach. But in man, the same structure—osseous, and muscular, and vascular, and the same secretive organs, constitute also a musical instrument which is complete in its parts, for the double purpose of articulate speech and of musical intonation: cheeks, lips, teeth, tongue, the detached bones, the larynx, the saliva—all are as proper parts of *this* musical instrument, as they are of the alimentative apparatus. If any one of these provisions be wanting, or out of order, both functions, although so unlike, and so irrespective the one of the other, shew cause of complaint. Is it not so as to the lips, the teeth, the palate, the tongue, the saliva? Without this secretion, food cannot be manipulated; without it, the patient cannot even tell you his grievance. Easily we might fill pages—nay, big volumes closely printed royal octavo—with instances, many of them the most amazing, in illustration of what we mean in thus speaking of this MARK OF GOD—this *genuine* vestige of the CREATOR, which abounds on every side—in the structure and functions of the animal and vegetable orders—in the dependencies of these orders upon each other—in the functions of the atmosphere and of the ocean, mechanical, chemical, meteorologic—in the manifold offices of light and of electricity: but we must stop.

What we intend, then, by this illustrative argument is just this,—We say that the ever-recurrent characteristic of the Divine operations, as these are distinguished from the products of human ingenuity, is this *Complicity of Intentions*, wrought out upon, and by the means of, one and the same structure, or combination of parts and movements. It is not (we pray the reader to mark this)—it is not as if here or there, by curious quest, and to subserve a purpose in argument, one lone instance, or two, might be hunted up, and might be made to fit into its place in that argument; on the contrary, these instances—so full of meaning as they are—meet the physiologist at every step in making his acquaintance with the material world—the world wherewith ‘our modern physical sciences’ are concerned. Our purpose is thus, in this place, making this hasty allusion to a subject so voluminous will be obvious—a special, or call it, a particular providential ordering of all events, greater and less, for purposes related to the moral and religious welfare of men individually, is, if the doctrine be true, the work of GOD;—it is a *mechanism*, it is a contrivance, it is a combination of parts and of movements, governed by an ulterior intention. Yet these *same parts*, and these *same movements*, while they are thus subserving an occult moral purpose in the

treatment and the training of the individual man, are *also* parts of a vast physical apparatus—they are the inviolate movements of a natural and of a moral scheme of things, which is going on always in its own silent way, and which is never deflected from its path, otherwise than by miracle: it is constant, unbroken, sure: on the side of this material and visible mechanism there are *no dislocations*—there is nothing irregular or *unorganic*. But then, on the side of the providential scheme, there is nothing wanting or faulty—nothing casual—nothing that has not been provided for.

Now, with the inconceivable wonders of the material world full in our view, are we prepared to reject this hypothesis of a Providential scheme, on account of that vast complexity of parts, and of functions, and of intersecting movements, which it supposes? What we have here to do with is—THE INFINITE INTELLIGENCE; and if we stumble on the threshold when we are about to enter where this Intelligence displays itself, we give a sure sign of that arrogance which springs up where there is the least depth of soil.—*North British Review*, May, 1861.

Physical Science and Theology.—Let us not, however, be understood to regard physical science as a ruthless enemy, and simply as an object of dread. We do not fear it, and we are not unmindful that it often comes to us as a friend. As this guise is sometimes overlooked, we will just, at the risk of apparent digression, allude to one or two exemplifications of our meaning.

Modern science has very recently discovered that wheat, if sown under certain conditions of soil, in warm countries, does not reproduce wheat, but grows up in the form of a long grass. The condition of the growth into corn is the decomposition of the seed. Now Tom Paine selected St. Paul's comparison of the resurrection of our mortal bodies to the quickening of a seed of wheat, or other grain, as peculiarly absurd and false. It proves to be remarkably exact. "If," says a really profound man of science, M. Babinet, "*if corn were not compelled to die in the winter—if it were not, in botanical language, an annual, it would never produce those harvests which support so vast a number of lives.*"

It is a long-known fact of popular science, alluded to by poets—as Milton—that the axis of the earth is inclined. Voltaire made this the occasion of one of his sneers at the divine wisdom, remarking how much simpler and better would have been the upright arrangement. The truly scientific man, just named, commenting on this opinion, observes—

"It is unfortunate that Voltaire, when he laughed at the leaning of the earth's axis, saying it was presented to the sun sideways clumsily—it is unfortunate that he was ignorant what climate Jupiter has, whose axis *is* placed straight opposite to the sun: perhaps even then he could scarcely have been perfectly satisfied. At any rate, it might have shewn him that the ridicule he was casting on our planet was not very well founded, for it is just this 'clumsy' position, as he calls it, which gives the means of life every year from pole to pole. But for this, our corn, which requires 2,000 degrees of heat accumulated during a certain number of days, would not ripen at all in Europe, in a temperature no warmer than March. As for vines, they would be out of the question."

In fact, Jupiter, in consequence of his upright axis, has, properly speaking, no seasons at all.

Some eminent French physicists, as M. Chabard, and M. Marcel de Serres, have pursued researches into the nature of light. The conclusion at which they arrive is, that light existed in a diffused state before the formation of the sun. Such certainly appears to be the teaching of an ancient book, wherein we read of the creation of light on the first day or epoch, and of the sun upon the fourth. Lord Macaulay mentions this Mosaic account of light being created before the sun, as a stock subject for the profane jests of the Deists in the time of William III. Perhaps, though the historian does not seem aware of it, the Deists may prove to have been slightly in a hurry.

Let it be further remarked, that as *a day*, before the creation of the sun, cannot

be reasonably restricted to a period of twenty-four hours, it is, of course, equally possible that the word is not so to be limited throughout the chapter. A suspicion of this crossed the acute and devout mind of St. Anselm, in the reign of William Rufus, long before geology was heard of. "If," says the Primate, in his profound tractate on the Incarnation, "if *those days*, in which Moses seems to say that this universe was not simultaneously made, *are to be understood differently from the days we now see and live in them*, etc. Other, and much earlier, fathers had spoken to the same effect more distinctly. Thus Origen evidently implies it in two passages of his extant works, and (we believe) St. Athanasius, and, most explicitly, St. Augustine. A few words from the last-named deserve to be quoted. "Forasmuch as we cannot, in this our earthly mortality, experience and perceive that day (Gen. ii. 5), or those days, which are counted in repetition, and if we can at all attain to understanding them, we ought not to venture hastily on a rash opinion (*non debemus temerariam precipitare sententiam*), as if no more fitting and probable opinion could be advanced; we may believe that those seven days which now make up a week . . . in such sort represent those days of creation, that we need not in the least to hesitate to think that they are not like them, but extremely different (*ut non eos illis similes, sed multum impares minime dubitemus*)."

This list might be extended. We might allude, for instance, to the discovery of the identity of all human blood, and the difference of its composition from that of animals, in connexion with the apostle's speech at Athens: "He hath made of *one blood* all nations of men." But we forbear. Indeed, our only excuse for this digression is the wish not to be one-sided in these very cursory remarks on physical science.

We turn to one of the most striking illustrations of its relation to dogma, namely, the hypothesis of Mr. Darwin.

And, firstly, let us confess that we do not feel that extreme dread of the *results* of this hypothesis which has been expressed in certain quarters. Just as the practitioners of the regular school of medicine may have learnt something from those theories of homœopathy and hydropathy which they denounce as quasi-heretical; even so, too, do we imagine it to be very possible, that the rejection of Mr. Darwin's view in its extreme form may prove compatible with a belief that the number of original species in the animal and vegetable world has been supposed to be very much larger than it really is. Even already we find Professor Henslow appearing to consider this view "a stumble in the right direction," though "faulty in its general conclusions," and his connexion Mr. Jenyns, writing to him, "like myself, you may go the length of imagining that *many of the smaller groups, both of animals and plants, may at some remote period have had a common parentage*."

Mr. Jenyns continues: "I do not, with some, say that the whole of his theory cannot be true—but that it is very far from being proved; and I doubt its ever being possible to prove it." Here we pause; we do say that Mr. Darwin's hypothesis, *if we understand it aright*, cannot as a whole be true; because we believe it to be, in its totality, at variance with the very first principles both of natural and revealed religion. To make out clearly, whether we do understand it aright, we should have to request from some of its supporters a plain and unmistakable answer to certain queries. To put forth these queries in our own behalf, as students of theology, might, we are well aware, subject us in some quarters to those hard insinuations of bigotry, priestcraft, hatred of knowledge, etc. etc., with which we are all so familiar. But it may be permitted to make such inquiries in the words of the *Athenæum*, a journal most devoted to the interests of science, and not usually charged with an undue bias for the conclusion of divines. We reprint the passage from that journal, precisely as it stands, simply italicising a few of the sentences which are most pertinent to our present theme.

"With Mr. Darwin's volume in our hands, we have more than once seriously mused upon the author's ulterior aim. What, we have said to ourselves, could be his high and dominant purpose in devoting so many years to such a volume as this, and in preparing a more elaborate sequel to this forerunner? What is

his ultimate philosophy—for a man so meditative and so cultivated cannot be without one—and what would he wish his readers to hold as the lofty issue of his theoretic teachings? What does he really mean, for instance, by this Natural Selection, to which so much is attributed? If it operates as a presiding principle through innumerable ages,—if it selects, assort, distinguishes and preserves,—if it gathers up manifold small increments, and rejects parts obsolete and unsuitable,—if it aggrandizes small increments into great and long-enduring results,—if it exercises a power that never fails,—that is never hindered and never weakened,—if it foresees its end through millions of years, and through all these years is ever controlling imperfection and contributing to perfection,—and we think we find all these potencies variously, though vaguely, ascribed by Mr. Darwin to his supposed principle,—if, we say, *Natural Selection is and does all this,—then it is either God, or it is a pestilent abstraction. If it be God, why not say so in the plain language of many men? If it be not God, what is that you are attempting to set up upon altars where men usually worship him?* What is this wonderful power, to which you would give what most men regard as the inalienable prerogatives of Deity? *Do not reply that, though it exists, we can know nothing of it. Do not carry us back to Athens, where men ignorantly worshipped an unknown God.* What is its significance? Is it human, or divine, or organic, a substance, an essence, or a shadow?

"In an age when all science and all philosophy are labouring to attain clearness and precision, it is certainly as desirable to have it here as elsewhere. Suppose us to be converts to your theory, and to accept all you propound, pray tell us, in perspicuous language, what we have gained. Apparently, you would have us believe that a wonderful and prescient principle is swaying the sceptre of the natural kingdoms, sustaining, conducting and improving all that lives towards a grand natural millenium. You do not proclaim this to be the Infinite Intelligence, for you make it inherent in organized matter; yet, that it may accomplish what you declare to be its achievements, the Infinite Intelligence, at some vastly remote period of time, must have ordained that portions of his own intelligence should go forth at every instant of following time to things external, or to millions of beings whom you assume to be endowed with such powers of discrimination as to be continually electing and combining the elements of progressive improvement, and as continually excluding all that is unfavourable and deteriorative. There is a mighty march along ten thousand lines of life to natural optimism; but who heads it, who commands, who contrives and controls and carries out this astonishing advance? Natural selection—do you again reply? Then, again, most certainly this same Natural Selection is Deity, or fate, or nothing—unless you would suppose a duality of powers.

"*But if Deity, then the Creator.* The Creator? What need of him in this philosophy, which reduces creation to a minimum of effect, and a vanishing point in infinite antiquity? A few primordial forms, unlike anything we have beheld, were, you admit, created, or, possibly, only one. Then man was not specially created, whatever the Biblical myth may affirm. As to admiring the works of the Creator—where are they? These varied and wonderful organizations all around us are but transmutations or developments,—at least, none of them are special creations. *As to worshipping our Creator, how can we do so?* If your doctrines be true, then the only man who appears to have worshipped aright was Job, when he exclaimed, 'I have said to corruption, Thou art my father: to the worm, Thou art my mother and my sister.' Perhaps we may add the Egyptians, who, as they worshipped an ape, were wiser and more religious than men have hitherto conceived. That was not idolatry, but reverence for ancestry. Is this the key to the Egyptian sacredness of certain animals? Were those knowing priests transmutationalists? At any rate our most appropriate temple or heralds' college would be the Zoological Gardens. Let every man who passes the Chimpanzee or catches sight of a Gorilla salute his great-great-grandfather. The number of removes and the exact degree of consanguinity may be uncertain, but we are all lineal descendants. The likeness is not very flattering; but then we have improved, and are splendid exam-

ples of the blessed effects of Natural Selection. There may be a slight tendency to reversion, perhaps, but on the whole the improvement is manifest, and we ought to be extremely grateful :—

'Tis sweet to see the 'human face divine,'
And sweet to feel the monkey's is not mine !

"If Mr. Darwin, or his friends on his behalf, repudiate such inferences as these, then let them shew that they do not follow from his theory when fully carried out. *It is vain to say he does not meddle with theology, when he comes behind it, and deals out to it his deadliest blow.* If the general faith be, in his opinion, groundless, let him belabour it as he will—and the more openly the more honestly."—*Athenæum*, No. 1723, November 3rd, 1860 (p. 586).

Mr. Darwin, and Mr. Darwin's scientific friends, may probably decline to make any reply to such demands, let them come from what quarter they may. "We are," they may declare, "under no special bond to teach theology, or to say in what way these scientific theories can be made to harmonize with its conclusions." Into the validity of this plea, we shall not pause to enquire, because it does not immediately appertain to our present subject. We are quite willing to believe what Mr. Darwin's friends say of him, that he is a sincere Christian, however *intellectually* inconsistent with Christianity, or even with pure theism, we conceive his principles to be. A happy inconsistency is no rare sight, and this may be a case in point.—*The Christian Remembrancer*, April, 1861.

Cuneiform Literature.—It is well known that, in most of the countries lying between the Caspian, the Persian Gulf, and the Mediterranean, monuments of vast antiquity and of very various description are found inscribed with characters which, from their likeness to barbs or wedges, have been styled the Cuneiform or arrow-headed writing. In the huge wreck of Nineveh, under the shadows of Mount Elwend, at Susa and Persepolis, on the crags of Ván, amidst the dreary solitudes of Babylon, in a thousand other localities of the region we have named, the traveller encounters these strange memorials of a life and civilization that were thriving when the world was young. Sometimes they are deeply cut, as at Behistun in Western Persia, on the smoothed face of a precipice; sometimes they cover the sculptured marbles of royal palaces, as at Nimrúd and Khorá-bád; sometimes they appear on pillars, obelisks, tablets, bricks, vases, cylinders, gems. As might be expected, they differ greatly in size. In some cases the component wedges are several inches long, and of proportionate breadth, tall, stout, masculine characters, which he who runs may read: in others they have an almost microscopic minuteness, as if a lady hand had traced them with the point of a very fine needle. The style, too, in which they are executed is as various as their magnitude. Now they exhibit a sharpness, a delicacy, and a finish, such as Greece herself, in the palmiest days of her glyptic cunning, might be proud to own; now they are as rough and ungainly as the letters which crawl about a Saxon styca. At the same time diversities of age, place, occasion, and fancy, have caused the Cuneiform characters to take shapes as unlike one another as the coarse and irregular black letter of two or three centuries ago is unlike the elegant Roman of a Pickering or the Clarendon. On painted bricks belonging to one of the Nimrúd palaces, for example, Mr. Layard found the universal wedge under the disguise of a hammer-head; and "in inscriptions on Babylonian bricks the wedges are also frequently replaced by mere lines."

The differences observable in the arrow-headed writing, however, are not simply circumstantial. While it is more than possible that, under all its modifications, it may have sprung from an original type, having Assyria as its birth-place and father, it is written in several distinct alphabets, in each of which the elementary wedge is treated and disposed after a fashion which marks it off very definitely from its fellows. Three great divisions of the Cuneiform, answering, as it would seem, to as many great primeval types of human speech, and, happily for literature and history, not uncommonly written side by side in the trifling monuments of the Achaemenian monarchs, are distinguished by our scholars.

The first of these has been variously styled the Assyrian, the Babylonian, or the Assyro-Babylonian. This type of the Cuneiform, the most ancient, various, wide-spread, and long-lived of its race, divides itself into two main branches, the Assyrian and the Babylonian; and each of these again admits of fewer or more subordinate divisions. The Assyrian, beginning perhaps with the three-and-twentieth century before Christ, is found in its simplest and earliest form in one of the palaces at Nimrúd, and in some of the rock inscriptions of Armenia. Later in date than the Nimrúd character referred to, but yet of high antiquity, and belonging to the same class of the Cuneiform, are the inscriptions on the celebrated black obelisk from Nimrúd, and on the marbles from Khorsábad and Koyunjik, the sculptures of which have now for some years past excited so much interest in the visitors to the National Museums of France and England. Besides these more conspicuous monuments we have bricks, tiles, tablets, cylinders, and other ancient relics, shewing the same type of arrow-headed writing; and "it is on the tablets and cylinders of baked clay," as Layard mentions, "that the Assyrian character becomes most complex, partly through the substitution of forms not used on the monuments," partly through multiplication of the wedges and other modifications of the primitive alphabet. With the Assyrian Cuneiform, likewise, we may provisionally rank certain forms of character found in Susiana and Elymais; though the affinities of these are at present undetermined, and no key has yet opened the languages they represent. Allied to the Assyrian, but in what precise line or degree of kinship we do not as yet know, is the other great member of this first division of the Cuneiform, the Babylonian. It is met with in two leading varieties:—the type which it exhibits on bricks, tablets, cylinders, etc., which is evidently the older of the two; and that under which it presents itself in the famous inscription of Darius Hystaspes at Behistun, with the other trilingual monuments of the kings of the line of Achæmenes. The more ancient type is found on bricks belonging to the foundations of the old Chaldæan, Babylonian, and Mesopotamian cities, as well as on cylinders and other objects which occur among their ruins. Only recently the cylinders of Múgeyer on the Lower Euphrates, written over with this character, have told us, that it was there Abraham lived before he dwelt in Haran. The vast site of Babylon is covered with bricks and fragments of pottery, stamped with this same type of the arrow-heads. Indeed, its grim but venerable face shews wherever you turn in this now desolate fatherland of human history. Nearly related to it, yet distinguished by very obvious features, is the Babylonian Cuneiform of the trilingual inscriptions; a kind which, singularly enough, while it resembles no one specimen of the older Babylonian as yet discovered, is itself written with an almost absolute uniformity at Behistun, at Ván, at Persepolis, and wherever else it is met with. Both these types of the Cuneiform are remarkable for their intricacy. The Achæmenian is the simpler of the two, though sufficiently alarming to keep all fancy-scholars at a distance. As for the writing of the cylinders, it might have been framed for the purpose of proving to the uttermost the philological learning and acuteness of after generations. The language which the Assyro-Babylonian Cuneiform embodies has been satisfactorily determined to be fundamentally and mainly of the same class, of which the Egyptian on the one hand, and the Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramæan on the other, are well-known members. According to Sir Henry Rawlinson, its connexion 'is almost as close with the African as with the Asiatic branch of the so-called Semitic family.' Now its forms are Coptic; now they are Hebrew; now they stand midway between them, like both, but identical with neither. That it is Semitic, however, in all its varieties and dialects, is unquestionable. The character of its elementary sounds, the laws which regulate the constitution of its syllables, the tri-consonantal form of its verbal roots, the relations which the noun and the verb hold to one another, the absence of neuter gender, the use of pronominal suffixes both of the genitive and accusative, the conjugational peculiarities of the verb, its numeral system, its vocabulary, the whole texture and mechanism of its syntax, all connect it with this most venerable type of human speech. For abundant proof and illustration of its Semitic affinities we must refer our readers to the writings of Sir H. Rawlinson, and to what we can hardly consider less

than one of the wonders of the age, the brief but scholarly and deeply interesting *Grammaire Assyrienne* of M. Oppert of Paris. It must not be forgotten, however, that the study of the long-lost language of Nineveh and Babylon is still in its infancy; and much remains to be done before we can render with ease and confidence the complex characters in which it has come down to us. The marvel is that we know as much of it as we do. Only imagine yourself sitting down to make out an absolutely unknown tongue, a tongue which no mortal has spoken for ages, and that written in characters the powers and functions of which are equally unknown to you, such, indeed as, in all probability, are more unlike any with which you are acquainted than the Chinese symbols or the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The prospect would not be inspiring. But suppose we had advanced a step or two, and had so far mastered our difficulty as to have got an inkling both of the genius of the language and of the manner in which it was represented in writing. No doubt this would be something; though most people would think it cold comfort to find that by dint of Coptic, Arabic, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Ethiopic, Berber, and a few other languages, well compared and applied, we might recover the old Semitic idiom on which we had lighted. But a still more portentous barrier is in front of us. What can we make of the alphabet, which is, properly speaking, no alphabet, but a huge and clumsy aggregation of monograms, ideographs, polyphones, syllable-characters, and literal phonetics? Just try to conceive what it must be to read a writing, one character of which may be a sort of cypher representing the name of a god; the next a symbol, like one of Quarles's Emblems, or the pictures which stand for words in a child's story-book; then comes a third, representing perhaps a syllable, perhaps a letter, you can hardly tell which; after this a fourth, which means sometimes *ab*, sometimes *ba*, or, if it be a simple consonant, gives you your choice of a guttural, a dental, or a sibilant, as circumstances may require. It is not too much to say that this is an underdrawn view of the enormous difficulties which attend the study of this leading branch of the Cuneiform. Despite these difficulties, however, Sir H. Rawlinson was able so long ago as 1850 to inform us that 'all the most important terms in the language' had been determined; and his own researches and those of others who have laboured with him in the same field of philological inquiry, have added much in the interval to the knowledge we then had of it.

"Next to the Assyro-Babylonian, the so-called Median, or Scythic, forms the second great division of the arrow-headed writing. With the single exception of an inscription at Tarki, north of the Caucasus,—so, at least, Sir H. Rawlinson wrote some years since,—this type of the Cuneiform exists only on the rock monuments and other remains of the Achæmenians. It is found at Behistun, at Persepolis, at Hamadân, at Ván, wherever Cyrus and his successors have left their trilingual inscriptions; and it uniformly holds a place in them midway, 'either in actual position, or in relative convenience, between the original and vernacular Persian records on the one side,' hereafter to be noticed, 'and the Semitic transcripts on the other.' It was a natural inference from the fact last named, that the language which this character expressed belonged to a people 'inferior to the native and dominant Persian, but superior to the conquered Babylonian;' and, considering the relation in which the Medes are known to have stood to the ruling race, it was no great stretch of philological faith to believe that the character in question represented the speech of this mysterious nation. Hence the name Median, as applied to the writing. And if later investigations do not substantiate the correctness of the appellation, their results are at present too few and vague to furnish us with a satisfactory substitute for it. In all probability the Scythic population of the Persian Empire was addressed by this class of the inscriptions; but we need more light before we can pronounce with confidence either upon the character of the language in which they are written, or upon the ethnology and ethnography of those who spoke it. Less progress has been made in the decyphering of this branch of the Cuneiform than with the Assyrian and Babylonian; yet something has been done, and there is promise of better harvests by and by. The alphabet is less elaborate than the Babylonian, but it is built on the same model. The letters change places with one another

like the coloured beads in a kaleidoscope. Vowels, except when initial, inhere in the consonants. Like the Chinese, the Median Cuneiform frowns upon the letter *r*, and, as often as possible, uses *l* as its substitute. This latter liquid, and *n*, too, are very much at home in each other's chairs. The language itself is a puzzle. Syntactically, and to some extent in its vocabulary likewise, it is Aryan. Many Persian words, Sir H. Rawlinson, states, particularly titles, have been introduced into it, 'in their full integrity both of sense and sound.' Yet it is Semitic also. The pronouns, and some of its verbal roots, are evidently of this type. At the same time, 'the employment of postpositions and of pronominal possessive suffixes,' the manner in which gerundal forms are sometimes used, and the similarity, both in aspect and value, between certain particles occurring in the inscriptions, and those which obtain in the modern Tartar, suggest very strongly the idea, that the language is, to a great extent, Scythic. Whether the Scythic element be the woof and warp of the language, and the Aryan and other parts of it mere colouring and embroidery, or whether the reverse of this is the fact, may yet be doubtful. Sir H. Rawlinson, with the admirable caution which characterizes his researches and findings, leaves the question open. Possibly when London condescends to receive an ambassador from Peking, the savans of his suite may amuse themselves, between their kite-flying and their chop-sticks, in endeavouring to determine how far Darius Hystaspis had any sound knowledge of Mongol or Manjou.

Last, not least, among the various kinds of the Cuneiform, is the simple, stately, and elegant character, by means of which the Achæmenian Kings inform the world of their exploits in their own native language, and the reading and interpretation of which, so happily effected by Sir H. Rawlinson, have helped more than anything else to clear our way to the Assyrian and other less intelligible forms of the arrow-headed writing. The remains of the Persian Cuneiform are few in number; so few, indeed, that they have been published, with translations and elaborate notes, in a single octavo volume by Sir H. Rawlinson. Yet they are all of high philological interest, and some of them, at least, possess an historical value which future scholars will be likely to rate even more highly than ourselves. The eldest of them belong to Cyrus the Great, the probable inventor of the character. They are found at Murghâb, the ancient Pasargadæ, where the conqueror of Babylon was buried, and consist of the words, "I am Cyrus, the King, the Achæmenian," which are repeated several times among the ruins. Darius Hystaspes has not only given us the far-famed inscription of Behistun, of which below, but has left his mark likewise at Persepolis, and at Elwend, near Hamadân; still more impressively at Nakhsh-i-rustam his burial-place; and elsewhere in two or three less important monuments. Xerxes, "the supporter of this great world," glorifies himself at Hamadân and Ván, as well as at Persepolis,—he does not mention Salamis and Platææ,—and seems, with vastly less reason, to have been fonder of appearing in print than even his magnificent father before him. There is a legend of Xerxes, too, on the Caylus vase, with a translation in hieroglyphics. Artaxerxes Longimanus and Artaxerxes Mnemon either had no taste for Cuneiform, or time has deprived us of the proofs of it. No record of their reigns has been discovered; and it is doubtful whether we have any memorial of Darius Nothus. There are barbarous and clumsily executed, though important, inscriptions of the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus, at Persepolis; and a line of Cuneiform, belonging in all likelihood to this monarch, occurs on a porphyry vase in the treasury of St. Mark's, at Venice. By far the longest and most valuable specimen of the Persian Cuneiform that has come down to us, however, is the splendid inscription on the scarped rock of Behistun, where Darius Hystaspes has published to posterity, in several hundred lines of writing, the principal deeds of his stirring reign. This is the inscription, the copying, deciphering, and expounding of which have secured for Sir H. Rawlinson an imperishable name in the annals of literature, and have opened the door to a knowledge of the old historical nations of the world, such as our fathers never dreamt of. Grotefend, indeed, has the merit of having taken the first step or two towards determining the alphabet of the Persian Cuneiform; and the labours of Rask, Burnouf, and Lassen, particularly those of the last-named

eminent orientalist, made important additions to the discoveries of their predecessor. It was reserved, however, for the acuteness, learning, and patience of Sir H. Rawlinson, and that in almost entire independence of the labours of previous or contemporary investigators, to construct a complete and satisfactory alphabet of the language, and to furnish connected, intelligible, and trustworthy renderings of the Behistun and other inscriptions of the same linguistic class. This he has done with so much success, that both the grammar and vocabulary of the language are, to a great degree, recovered to us, and we are now, for the most part, scarcely less sure of the meaning of a sentence in Persian Cuneiform, than of a passage of the Vêda, the Zend-Avesta, or even the Korân. The language is unquestionably Aryan. It is one of the elder brothers of the house to which the Sanskrit, Greek, Gaelic, Russian, and English belong. It cannot be mistaken. It left its home, no doubt, before profane history was born, and it has picked up some Scythic manners in its wanderings, but it has the build and features of the great Indo-European family. We know it from its likeness to its fellows. But for the Sanskrit, indeed, which it resembles so closely in its structure, and the Zend, with which it has so many orthographical peculiarities in common, in all probability it would still lie in mystery behind its bristling defences. It is written in an alphabet of about forty characters, the powers of which are, to a great extent, identical with those of the Dévanâgarî and the language of the Zend-Avesta. There are but three vowel letters, as in Arabic. The short *a*, as in Sanskrit and Ethiopic, where no other vowel follows, inheres in the preceding consonant. The Indian series of sonant aspirates, *gh*, *jh*, etc., is altogether wanting. Nasals occupy a prominent place among the elementary sounds. The letter *l* is excluded from the list of semi-vowels. What is still more striking, an orthographical law prevails in the language, by which certain consonants are only employed in juxtaposition with certain vowels—a peculiarity which points to Tartar influence, and is unshared by any other Aryan tongue. At the same time, the Tartar-like practice of the Zend, which inserts an *i* or *u* before a consonant, apparently for the purpose of establishing a harmony of vowel expression, is wanting in the Cuneiform Persian. Neither does it use the *guna* and *vridhhi* of the Sanskrit, nor admit of the perplexing euphonic changes arising out of the collocation and composition of words, which mark the language of the Vêda, and, in a lower degree, the Greek and Latin likewise. Altogether, this fossil Persian, alike in its elements, its forms, and its syntax, exhibits a simplicity, crudeness, and unequal development, which, while they carry us back to a high antiquity for its origin, tell likewise of trouble and tossing, that befell it in the morning of its days.—*The London Review*, April, 1861.

Politics and Faith.—If we turn to the Hebrew nation, the relation between their politics and their faith is still more striking. They were as far as possible from possessing any gift of political genius; some might say they were stamped with that inherent deficiency in political capacity which seems to mark almost all oriental nations; yet to them God was, we may almost say, *politically* revealed. His government manifested itself to them chiefly in its constant conflicts with their political sins, and the discipline which corrected or counteracted their political deficiencies. With a passionate sensibility to the ties of family and clan which from first to last was always endangering, and often actually shattered, the frame-work of the national unity,—with something of the general incapacity of all Arab chiefs to rise above the vindictive impulses of the moment into the judicial calmness requisite for any true development of national life,—the best rulers of Israel were yet keenly sensible that the political breadth and tranquillity of purpose which they could not find in themselves, was yet accessible to them in communion with that invisible king, who should “reign in righteousness” and “rule in judgment,” who should be as “a hiding-place from the wind, a covert from the tempest, as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.” Their political history was in their eyes the history of God’s revelation to them of his own will,—beginning with the selection of their first great ancestor, directing his wanderings, trying and confirm-

ing his faith, and moulding his posterity, by the ties of a common bondage and a common liberation, into a single and, if it might be, united nation. When the disunion takes place under Rehoboam, it is but the political expression and manifestation of the deeper disunion which Solomon's idolatry, and the unrighteous tyranny which was bound up with that idolatry, had already sown in the hearts of a previous generation, bearing fruit slowly under his son. Every political event that is disastrous to the nation is shewn to be the natural fruit of some spiritual unfaithfulness in the people or their rulers—the natural fruit and the divine remedy—at once the practical exposition of God's "controversy" with his people and of his purpose to cure them. Every statesman and prophet, from Moses to John the Baptist, made himself felt by the nation chiefly in counteracting the tendencies to political decomposition or social corruption which threatened the national life. It is in the arena of politics that every moral and theological shortcoming reaches maturity, and meets its final penalty;—idolatrous tendencies issuing in corrupting alliances with Syria or Egypt, as well as in fresh disunion at home; and such alliances with powers steeped in moral iniquity, resulting in their turn in all the wretchedness of family conspiracies and civil war. Even with those later prophets who, like Ezekiel, insisted with most earnestness on the law of individual responsibility, who taught that though the children might suffer for the sins of the fathers, they were not in any sense accountable for them before God, and that by the righteousness of the fathers the children could not be justified,—even these never lose sight of the political bearing of their teaching; and if they bring home more clearly a sense of individual responsibility, it is less for the sake of individuals than because the body of the nation—the "house of Israel"—is itself suffering from the fictitious corporate responsibility thus assumed.

Nor was this political aspect of the Jewish theology limited to the period of the national independence; it springs up again as fresh as ever with the first renovating influence of the Christian faith. No sooner had the Hebrew Christian been persuaded that a new spiritual life had been kindled in him, than he yearned to have the political history of the past and the present interpreted for him by the light of the new faith. The book which at once indicates, and supplies the answer to, this desire to find the relation in which heathen and Jewish history, past and present, stood to Christ, is the Apocalypse. In that strange and, at first sight, enigmatic vision, we have, in fact, presented to us—as Mr. Maurice has recently shewn in one of his finest volumes,—a continuous story of the political providence of God up to the beginning of the final struggle between the power of Rome and of the Church of Christ. To us, indeed, the true vision of the development of God's providence which it contains seems to be tinged throughout with Hebrew forms of thought, which occasionally become Hebrew prejudice and exclusiveness,—and when in the millennial chapter there is an attempt to solve the problem of the future, the prophetic inspiration seems to fade away. But taken as a whole it does shed a true light upon God's political method of education for the human race, and affords a very striking exemplification of the old prophetic power of seeing in the history of nations the unfolding purposes of a divine will.

To the author of this book none of the early types of oriental civilization are profane, for all are links in the divine chain of God's political purposes. He sees that the earlier forms of civilization are mainly animal, and do not give any ascendancy to the highest gifts of man. But he recognizes a heavenly original even for these purely animal and intellectual instruments of the world's culture: he finds a place in heaven for the lion form of Assyrian conquest; for the oxen-shape of Egyptian industry; for the intellectual influence of Greece that had the "face of a man," though still shewing the body of an animal; and for that ambitious Roman civilization which was like its own emblem, "a flying eagle." To all these successive instruments of God's providence the prophet assigns a place in heaven, and by the voice of each he is taught to understand that even these half-animal ages of the world were necessary in their order, and had an ultimately beneficent influence over human history. The oriental civilizations pass before him; they are followed by the intellectual and commercial ascendancy of Greece; and these again are all swallowed up in that solvent tide of Roman conquest,

which he describes as like the career of a pale horse: "and he that sat thereon was Death, and hell followed with him." When these "four seals" of God's political providence have been broken, the prophet sees the best fruit of the ages—men not as heathen civilization formed them, but such as faith in God had made them,—crying out to God to judge the earth, to put an end to the grievous tyranny of an unspiritual kingdom, and to establish his own in its place. Then the false deities of the heathen world begin to fall from heaven like shooting stars; but before the final battle with the Roman power can begin, the most monstrous of all false altars must first be shivered to atoms—that of Jerusalem itself. There follows the sevenfold blast of divine judgment, before which Jerusalem falls, as Jericho fell of old before the trumpets of Joshua; and now, for the first time, can the angels of the new faith, set free from the manacles of a corrupted Judaism, fight hand to hand with the brute force of the degraded Roman power, and rid the world of the dangerous fascinations of Roman luxury and sensuality.

Now, after allowing for any Hebrew colouring that there may be in the magnificent and yet spiritual vision of God's political providence on which we have thus meagrely touched, how startling is the contrast between the relation of God with political events, as it is here set forth, and that conceived by the modern statesman! Is it not the modern creed,—Lord Palmerston's for instance,—that a man who gravely supposes that God does reveal his *present* purposes to man, either in political events or on any other side of human life, must have an unsound and hazy intellect, quite unfit to write modern history, nay, even unfit to see it with impartial eye? What is Lord Palmerston's real test of a "fanatic?" Is it limited to admiration of Jesuits and a hatred of Puritans? Would he not include any one in that term who strongly believed that the hand of God could be clearly discerned sending forth the messengers who sway hither and thither the battle between Protestant and Catholic, between Italian and Austrian, between the Free States and the Slave States of America? If Sir Cornewall Lewis were to comment on the history of the period in which Jerusalem fell, and Rome surrendered to the Christian faith, should we not expect to find some expression of irritation at the luminous confusion of colours in the glass through which Hebrew and Christian historians contemplated such matters? Is not he the true ideal of an historian, in the eyes of most modern statesmen, who ignores any higher or more constant purpose in history than that of the shifting human actors who weave it? Is not any belief in, or pretended insight into, any political purpose of God's, regarded as a refracting medium which is certain to break the white light of historic truth?—*National Review*, April, 1861.

Samaritan Antiquities.—At a meeting of the Syro-Egyptian Society, the Rev. Mr. Mills read an account of a recent visit made by him to Mounts Gerizim and Ebal, near Nablus, the ancient Shechem in Samaria. After some account of the antiquity and importance of the neighbourhood in the earliest history of Palestine, and briefly discussing the probable derivation of their names, the author entered upon a physical description of the neighbourhood. Having visited the place in different seasons of the year, and having remained there for months, he was enabled to correct some statements made by travellers. In the comparison made between the two mountains, Ebal, upon the whole, was considered the most fertile. The Rev. Mr. Mills then proceeded to give an account of the ruins of both eminences. On Gerizim the excavation was attempted at the place where Samaritan tradition places the stones upon which Joshua wrote the law, but without any traces of inscriptions being found. The author then entered upon a more minute account of Mount Ebal, because it had not as yet been examined by any other traveller. The only building now standing is Imad ed Din, which covers the remains of a Muhammadan saint. Circular walls of loose stones, supposed to be the remains of ancient villages, were met with on various parts of the hill, as also traces of an ancient road. There were also the remains of an ancient square enclosure, conjectured to be the enclosure of an altar. There were two ancient cisterns close by, and a piece of masonry, consisting of a flight of steps, to some subterranean place. Close by was an ancient

tomb, and there were a great number of sepulchral grottoes along the base of the mountain, the ground plan of one of which was exhibited. On the eastern side of the mountain there was a cave hewn out of the rock, about forty-five yards long, with a considerable stream of spring water issuing out, and at the extremity were three several chambers with pointed arches. The Rev. Mr. Mills tried the experiment with another gentleman of speaking and singing on the opposite lower spurs of the two mountains from whence the curses and blessings were supposed to have been given, and ascertained that the sounds could be distinctly heard.

The Septuagint.—At a meeting of the Syro-Egyptian Society, Mr. Sharpe, in a paper on "The Alexandrian Version of the Bible and the Bias of the Translators," pointed out some of the peculiarities in the Alexandrian translation of the Old Testament, such as its increasing the age of the world by an Egyptian cycle of 1460 years; its shortening the residence of the Israelites in Egypt, or the time between Jacob and Moses; its omitting the threat against the Egyptian Jews that they shall have no rain; its removing from the Egyptian city, in which the Jewish altar stood, the reproach cast on it by the Hebrews, and calling it the City of Righteousness instead of the City of Destruction. To these changes the translators were led by scientific and political reasons. Their religious and philosophical bias is shewn in other passages, such as their adding a seventh to the number of spiritual gifts, in order to change them into seven apiritual beings; and then changing the poetic figure, "He maketh the winds his messenger, and the lightnings his servants," into the mystical assertion, "he maketh his angels into spirits, and his servants into a flame of fire." Mr. Sharpe argued, that this departure of the Greek from our Hebrew Bible was not the result of carelessness, but a deliberate attempt to make it conform to the more modern opinions of the Alexandrians in science and philosophy.

The Rev. G. Williams made a communication upon the "waters of Jerusalem." The chief object of this communication was to shew that there existed a subterranean, or rather sub-politan, system of water supply below the holy city, derived from a spring blocked up and lost within historical times. These waters still supply certain tanks and reservoirs, and have lately been recogized as flowing in one place. Their identity is further determined by a marked peculiarity of flavour, which is the same as that of the waters of the Pool of Siloam, and which are hence deemed to be the outlet of the said rivulet.

Pseudo-Biblical Antiquities.—Some time since two remarkable stones with Hebrew inscriptions were dug up near Newark, Ohio, and excited no small interest. By many they were received as genuine ancient remains, but others pronounced them spurious. The arguments which have been used have been such as these: "That there are, in the first, imperfections in the forms of some of the Hebrew letters, and one grammatical error; that the letters are those of the modern Hebrew alphabet; and that, though three of the couples of words of which it consists occur repeatedly in the Old Testament, the fourth is not there." The second inscription was discovered not far from the first, and by the same person. An advocate of its genuineness says that it is an abridgment of the Ten Commandments; that it is not inscribed with the common Hebrew character, and while generally related to it, the *Ain* is the same as occurs on the coins of the Maccabees. This stone was found inclosed in a spheroidal stone box, hollowed out so as exactly to receive it, and the writer we quote states that it would have cost two hundred dollars to execute it. Dr. Merrick, in a paper read before the American Oriental Society, describes the stone as a "truncated pyramid four or five inches long, and marked on its four sides with Hebrew characters;" and after appealing to the photographed copies which he exhibited, the writer pronounces that "it carries its condemnation on its face as a bungling imitation of the *printed* Chaldee letters in our later edition of the Hebrew Bible." The *Independent* says: "In the published proceedings of the Society Dr. Merrick's paper is accompanied by the following note, which shows how the stone was regarded. 'The copies sent by Mr. Merrick were passed around

among the members present, and no person was found disposed to differ from the opinions expressed by that gentleman, while some surprise was manifested that so transparent a fraud or piece of pleasantry should have made so much stir and deceived so many people.' We understand that Jewish scholars in this city, of high authority, concur in the views expressed at the meeting of the Oriental Society." Here, we presume, the interest raised by these novel and much-talked-of discoveries will properly cease.—*Clerical Journal*.

Abyssinian Sacred Literature.—A Jewish tribe the Falashas, being settled in Abyssinia, a reference, to the sacred literature of the country may not be uninteresting. The literature of the Abyssinians comprises from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty books, of which many are only translations of the Greek fathers. These books are divided into four sections or "gabaioch." The first consists of the Old Testament, and the second of the New; the third, of the books of the Liks, or perfect masters, (Chrysostom, Fethanegest, Abushaker, etc.); and the fourth comprises the writings of the monks and saints. The Abyssinians possess the Old and New Testaments in the old Æthiopic, and in the Amharic, or popular idiom, as well; the former version being ascribed to Frumentius, who was ordained Bishop of Æthiopia by St. Athanasius, in 331, and is said to have first preached the Gospel in the city of Axum. The Abyssinians place the Apocrypha on the same footing with the canonical books, and deem the traditions of the church of equal authority with that of the apostles and prophets. The reading of the Old and New Testaments is not forbidden to the laity, only most of the priests desire that the Scriptures should be read in Æthiopic, which they consider the primeval language—not in Amharic, which they regard merely as a Targum, or translation—just as if the favoured text were not also a translation from the Greek, with which they are not acquainted. One scholar in Shoa maintained that the Jews had falsified the Hebrew Scriptures which had remained uncorrupted only till the time of Abraham. The well-known French traveller, M. d'Abbadie, who was a long time in Abyssinia, and paid much attention to the Falashas, has published a catalogue of the manuscripts which he obtained in that country. Among these, as we learn from the "Maskir," is a Bible with the Apocrypha and the history of the Falashas. The publication of the last would indeed, be very interesting, as we know so little of this remarkable Jewish colony.—*Jewish Chronicle*.

Essays and Reviews.—This volume has given occasion for the publication of an immense number of sermons and pamphlets. We can only give the titles; and the following is a list of the principal of them up to this time.

1. A Letter on the 'Essays and Reviews,' by Dr. Pusey. Reprinted from *The Guardian*. (J. H. and Jas. Parker.)
2. On Certain Characteristics of Holy Scripture. By John G. Cazenove, M.A., Vice-Provost of the College, Cumbrae. (Mozley.)
3. Specific Evidence of Unsoundness in the 'Essays and Reviews.' By R. W. Jelf, D.D., Principal of King's College, London. (J. H. and Jas. Parker.)
4. Scriptural Interpretation. The Essay of Professor Jowett briefly considered, in a Letter to the Rev. Professor Stanley, D.D. By Robert C. Jenkins, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge; Rector and Vicar of Lymington. (Parkers.)
5. A word on Inspiration. A Second Letter addressed to Professor Stanley. By the same Author. (J. H. and Jas. Parker.)
6. Worn-out Neology; or, Brief Strictures on the Oxford 'Essays and Reviews.' By the Author of the Hartley Wintney Tracts. (Wertheim.)
7. Rationalism and Deistic Infidelity: Three Letters to the Editor of *The Record* Newspaper. By the Rev. A. M'Caul, D.D. (Wertheim.)
8. Remarks on 'Essays and Reviews,' 1860. By the Rev. Edward Girdlestone, M.A., Canon of Bristol. (Wertheim.)
9. Negative Theology: an Argument for Liturgical Revision. By Charles Girdlestone, M.A. (Longmans.)
10. The Foundations of the Temple; Miracles the Proper Credentials of a

Revelation : being a Reply to one of the 'Essays and Reviews.' By the Rev. J. Chapman, B.D., Secretary to the Church Missionary Society.

11. A Few Words of Apology for the late Professor Baden Powell's Essay on the Study of the Evidences of Christianity contained in the volume entitled 'Essays and Reviews.' By a Lay Graduate. (Parkers.)

12. Statements of Christian Doctrine and Practice, Extracted from the Published Writings of the Rev. Benjamin Jowett, M.A., Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford. (Parkers.)

13. 'Essays and Reviews' Anticipated. Extracts from a work published in the year 1825, and attributed to the Lord Bishop of St. David's. (Mainwaring.)

14. Defence of the 'Essays and Reviews.' By George J. Wild, LL.D., Vicar of Dodderhill. (Hardwicke.)

15. 'Essays and Reviews.' A Protest addressed to the Bishop of Salisbury. By Robert Bruce Kennard, M.A., Rector of Marnhull, Dorset. (Hardwicke.)

16. The Gospel of Christ: its Position in relation to the Intelligence of the Age, with Special Reference to the Teachings of the 'Essays and Reviews.' By the Rev. G. H. Robinson, Canon of York.

17. The Faith of Eighteen Centuries *versus* the Modern Fancies of the Present Day. By a Liverpool Clergyman. (Liverpool: Walmsley.)

18. Challenge to Dr. Temple on the subject of his Essay. By a Clergyman. (Huntingdon: Edis.)

19. The Antidote; or, An Examination of Mr. Pattison's Essay on the Tendencies of Religious Thought. By the Rev. T. H. Candy, M.A. (Bell and Daldy.)

20. No Antecedent Impossibility in Miracles. Some Remarks on the Essay of the late Rev. Baden Powell, On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity, in a Letter by a Country Clergyman. (J. H. and J. Parker.)

21. Brief Remarks on the Rev. Dr. Temple's Essay on the Education of the World. By the Rev. W. H. Parker. New Edition. (Wertheim.)

22. The Mosaic Cosmogony not Adverse to Modern Science, being an Examination of the Essay of C. W. Goodwin, M.A., with some Remarks on the Essay of Professor Powell, as published in 'Essays and Reviews.' By J. R. Young, formerly Professor of Mathematics in Belfast College. (London: W. H. Allen. Brighton: H. and C. Treacher.)

23. Scepticism and Revelation. By Henry Harris, B.D., Rector of Winterbourne-Bassett, Wilts; and late Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford. (J. H. and Jas. Parker.)

24. A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Christ, Oxford. By the Rev. Osborne Gordon, B.D. (Parkers.)

25. The North American Review. No. CX. January, 1861. (Sampson Low & Co.)

26. Evidence of Christianity derived from its Nature and Reception. By John Bird Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury. A New Edition, revised with reference to recent objections. (Hatchard and Co.)

27. An Address on the Chief Points of Controversy between Orthodoxy and Rationalism, delivered to the Fellows of Sion College, London, March 25, 1861. By the Rev. B. M. Cowie, B.D. (Bell and Daldy.)

28. Notes on the First Essay in the Series called 'Essays and Reviews.' By E. H. Hansell, B.D., Prelector of Theology, Magdalen College, Oxford. (Rivingtons.)

29. The End of the Law: Two Sermons, to which is added a Letter, with numerous notes, to the Rev. W. J. C. Lindsay; being a preliminary Examination of the 'Essays and Reviews.' By the Rev. M. Margoliouth, LL.D., Author of the Gospel and its Mission. (Rivingtons.)

30. Bible Inspiration Vindicated: an Essay on 'Essays and Reviews.' By John C. Miller, D.D., Rector of St. Martin's, Birmingham. (J. H. and Jas. Parker.)

31. The Bible and its Interpreters: the Substance of Three Sermons. By James Booth, LL.D., etc., etc., Vicar of Stone, Buckinghamshire. (Bell and Daldy.)

32. Subscription to Articles, is it a Truth or a Mockery? Considered in Reference to 'Essays and Reviews.' By a Graduate of Oxford. (London, Marlborough & Co.)

33. The Suppression of Doubt is not faith. A Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, on his Two Sermons entitled The Revelation of God the Probation of Man. By a Layman. (Oxford: Wheeler.)

34. Concerning Doubt. A Letter to a Layman, by a Clergyman. (J. H. and Jas. Parker.)

35. Danger to the Bible from Licentious Criticism. Letters to Sons in the Universities. By Presbyter Septuagenarius. Letter I. (Bell and Daldy.)

36. Anti-Essays. The 'Essays and Reviews' of 1860 Fallacious and Futile, at Variance with each other, and Mutually Destructive. By the Rev. C. H. Davis, M.A., Chaplain of the Stroud Union. Nos. I., II., III., IV. (Simpkin and Co.)

37. An Answer to the 'Essays and Reviews.' By T. Collins Simon. (J. H. and Jas. Parker. 53 pp.)

38. The 'Essays and Reviews' Examined: a Series of Articles contributed to the *Morning Post*. With Preface, Introduction and Appendix. By James Buchanan, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic Theology, New College, Edinburgh. (London: Nisbet. 267 pp.)

39. The Reviewers Reviewed, and the Essayists Criticized: an Analysis and Confutation of each of the Seven 'Essays and Reviews.' Reprinted from the *Literary Churchman*. (J. H. and Jas. Parker. 88 pp.)

40. The Foundations of the Temple. The Inspiration of Scripture. Being a Reply to 'Essays and Reviews.' By the Rev. J. Chapman, B.D. (Seeley and Jackson. 70 pp.)

41. An Examination of Dr. Temple's Essay on the Education of the World. By C. Gooch, M.A., Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. (London: Thompson. 15 pp.)

42. An Examination of the late Professor Baden Powell's Essay on the Study of the Evidences of Christianity. By C. Gooch, M.A.

43. An Examination of Dr. R. Williams' Review on Bunsen's Biblical Researches. By C. Gooch, M.A.

44. 'Essays and Reviews.' Thoughts on Miracles. Suggested by the late Rev. Baden Powell's Essay on the Study of the Evidences of Christianity. By A. V., M.A. (Wertheim. 32 pp.)

45. The Question of Inspiration Plainly Stated, in Reference to Certain Views put forth by the Authors of the book termed 'Essays and Reviews.' By the Rev. Henry Miller, M.A., Vicar of Ashbury. (J. H. and Jas. Parker. 26 pp.)

46. Catholicity and Reason; a few Considerations on 'Essays and Reviews.' (Mozley. 48 pp.)

47. Of Miracles. An Argument in reply to the third of the 'Essays and Reviews.' Being a Lecture delivered in Trinity Chapel, Conduit-street, Hanover Square. By the Rev. Edw. H. Carr, M.A., Minister of Christ Chapel, Maida-hill. (Hatchard. 46 pp.)

48. Seven Speakers, but One Voice; or, Notices of all the 'Essays and Reviews,' extracted for distribution from the Second Edition of the Rev. Charles Hebert's work on Neology. (Nisbet.)

49. Reply to Dr. Wild and the *Edinburgh*: a Defence of the Bishops and Memorialists, in a Letter to the Rev. G. J. Wild, LL.D., containing a reply to his Brief Defence of the 'Essays and Reviews,' and an Answer to Certain Statements in the *Edinburgh Review*. By Francis Bodfield Hooper, Rector of Upton Warren. (Rivington. 16 pp.)

British and Foreign Bible Society.—From the last report of the above society it appeared that the operations of the society had been promoted in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia, by about 10,000 kindred institutions, and of these more than 4,000 had been formed in Great Britain and Ireland. The society had promoted the distribution, printing, or translation of the sacred

volume, in whole or in part, directly or indirectly, in 160 languages or dialects. The number of versions of the Holy Scriptures, in whole or in part, hitherto completed, was 190, of which 140 were translations never before printed. The society has already issued above 39,000,000 copies of the Scriptures, or portions of them, besides assisting foreign Bible societies very largely in their separate circulation; so that, from the year 1804 to the present time, more than 67,000,000 copies of the Word of God, or portions of it, have been distributed by Bible societies alone in different parts of the world. At present the societies in connexion with the parent institution are: In Great Britain, 3,728; Colonies and other dependencies, 933; Ireland, 471; foreign societies with branches, about 4,000—making a total of 9,132. The receipts for the past year amounted to £167,941 14s. 7d., and the expenditure to £165,462 12s. 2d. The expenditure from the commencement was £5,149,738 7s. 10d.

Jerusalem—Discovery of a Spring.—We read the following in the *Israelit*:—The rubbish having been cleared away from the foundation of the Arcade de Plate, on the temple mount, by the French consulate, who had purchased the site, a large and beautiful reservoir, filled with sweet water, was discovered. The joy of the inhabitants of Jerusalem may be imagined. But what was their exultation when it was found that it was not a cistern, but a spring of living water, replenishing the basin as often as water was drawn. It is conjectured by some that this is the spring which King Hezekiah had stopped at the approach of Sennacherib (2 Chr. xxxii. 30; Mishna Pesachim, sect. iv. 9), the loss of which Jerusalem the waterless has deplored the last 2,500 years.

Ancient Pentateuch.—The *Athenæum* publishes a letter from Mr. Finn, Her Majesty's Consul at Jerusalem, in which an interesting account is given of the labours of Dr. Levison. This gentleman has obtained and copied in *fac-simile* a very remarkable copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch. After the account of this the writer adds:—"But not the least important part of this subject to be mentioned is his more recent purchase of a MS. vellum Pentateuch of remarkable antiquity. He believes it to have been written during the time of the First Temple in Jerusalem, and his gratitude for the dispensation of Providence which brought this within his reach partakes of a strong religious character. The reasons for assigning so remote a date to this precious book are: 1. The extreme reserve with which the priestly family in Nablus have guarded it even from the knowledge of their own sect, and the assertion of the priest from whom it was obtained. 2. The fact of its not being divided into chapters or sections of any kind, except as books, such as Genesis, Exodus, etc. 3. The names of the several priests found in marginal scraps about the volume recording occurrences connected with its preservation—the names coinciding with the priestly genealogy in his possession. The express statement in a marginal observation that the volume had escaped the peril of fire during the time of Zerubbabel in Jerusalem."

Pot-herbs of Scripture.—The bitter-herbs (*Merorim*) which are eaten as a salad, are mentioned in Exodus (xii. 8); they were eaten with the Paschal lamb. Of these the Talmud mentions many kinds, among others the lettuce and endive. The Hebrews relished the leek, the garlic, and the onion, and they lamented when they could no longer find them in the desert, after their departure from Egypt (Num. xi. 5). The Egyptians abstained from tasting such plants as they worshipped, and they thus probably left a great quantity at the disposal of the Hebrews, who subsequently, it may be thought, would not neglect the culture of them in their gardens in Palestine. Indeed, there is often a question raised about these plants in the Mishnah, on the subject of tithes and the Sabbatical year. Cucumbers and water-lemons also appear among the Egyptian herbs, for which the Hebrews so much longed; and these we find in Palestine, both in the past and at the present time. The prophet Isaiah compares the forsaken mountain of Zion to the lodge of the watchman in "a field of cucumbers." Volney found water-melons at Jaffa, which he much preferred to those of Broulos, on the coast of Egypt. Isaiah (xxviii. 25—27) speaks of

"fennel" and "cummin." Jesus Christ mentions "mint" and "anise" as herbs for which the Pharisees paid no tithe, and which, it thus appears, must have been cultivated. In the gospel of St. Luke, Jesus speaks of "rue," which the Mishnah places in the number of the pot-herbs for which no tithes were paid. Mustard, it would appear, was cultivated in gardens; it also, however, grew wild. With the rabbis, "a grain of mustard" became a proverb, and was employed to designate anything extremely minute. This explains the words of the gospel (Luke xvii. 6), "If you had as much faith as a grain of mustard-seed."—*Mank's Palestine.*

St. Paul.—The debt which Christianity owes to the Apostle Paul can hardly be over-estimated. It was through his labours and journeys that it became an independent religion, and a religion for all the world. He made the name of Christ familiar to the great cities of the Roman empire. He released the faith from the swaddling-bands of Hebrew nationality and Hebrew ecclesiasticism. He gave the broadest interpretation to Jewish history, brought out into full relief the most catholic sentiments of the prophets, by force of the allegorical method of exegesis turned against the bigotted Israelites their own sacred Scriptures, and succeeded in making the Mosaic dispensation of law subordinate to the Christian dispensation of grace. Under his treatment Christianity became a spiritual faith, its Christ the spiritual man, its truth a spiritual revelation addressed to the spiritual nature of man, grounded in spiritual needs and ratified by spiritual experience. On these terms only could it attain to the rank of a world religion. But in thus introducing to the Gentile nations the faith to which he had been himself so astonishingly converted, it is clear that he turned its course aside somewhat from that line of tradition which it had followed so resolutely for so many centuries, and in which it was kept by him whom Paul revered as Messiah. The prayer of Jesus ever was, "Thy kingdom come on earth." Even when he speaks of the kingdom as a reign of God to be established not immediately, but in the remoteness of some indefinite future, as he does in the parables of the gradually working leaven and the slowly growing mustard-seed, it is still the same kingdom of justice and love among men. Years may elapse before it shall have completed its conquest of the human conscience, made a subject of every human heart, a community of every nation, and a brotherhood of all the nations on earth; but it has actually come when a single spirit in a single weak body of flesh has received it. For then God has one, at least, who is all his own, over whom he reigns, and from whom he receives obedience; and this one is a living seed of the new humanity. The kingdom of heaven is *within* men, only, however, that it may be *without* them in the Lord's good time. But Paul introduced a new idea. He changed the locality of the kingdom. Like his Master, the Apostle to the Gentiles laid the foundations of the new creation in the human heart. The conditions of entrance into the blessed communion and of membership there were moral; they were truth and purity and faith and love. No one could have insisted on interior excellence above all things more energetically than he; no one strove harder to repress the characteristic vices of heathenism, or was more deeply pathetic when he urged the binding obligations of charity. However he may exalt faith as a condition of sharing the Messiah's glory, no faith avails aught with him but the faith which works by love. If we go to Paul with the question, "What is the kingdom of heaven?" he will answer us in almost the identical words of Jesus. But if we ask him, "Where is the kingdom of heaven?" he will tell us, in the regions of light above the firmament, in the heavenly places where Christ sits at the right hand of his Father. "The dead in Christ shall rise first," he says, "then we which are alive shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air; and so we shall ever be with the Lord." "Our conversation is in heaven; from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorified body, according to the working whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself."

But upon this interpretation of the Christian's hope, the old hope, the

hope of Moses and the prophets, the hope of the Christ, the hope that a holy people should possess a holy land, becomes obsolete, and must necessarily be abandoned. The kingdom cannot be here and there at the same time. We cannot in the same breath pray, "May thy kingdom come on earth," and "May we leave the earth and be taken up into thy kingdom." Having gathered in these vast resources of spiritual power, we must either expend them in works of duty and beneficence among our fellow-men, or we must use them as means of securing rank in the world to come. Paul chose the latter alternative. He withdrew the attention of his disciples from their temporal condition. When he preached meekness, temperance, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, peace, he preached them as essential graces of the Christian mind, without which there could be no resemblance to the great Exemplar, no sympathy with his spirit, no share in his resurrection, and no fellowship with his joy. He did not preach them as spiritual powers to be used for the inauguration of a new moral order, the reformation of existing social relations, and the education of mankind under the tutelage of lofty truths respecting God, man, life, and human destiny.—*The Christian Examiner*, May, 1861.

The Bodleian.—A want much felt by Jewish literati has just been supplied. The catalogue of the Hebrew works in the Bodleian library, Oxford, executed by Dr. Steinschneider, of Berlin, has just been published. From the notice given in the *Maskiv*, we see that the catalogue was commenced in 1852.

NEW WORKS PUBLISHED DURING THE LAST QUARTER.

In addition to those noticed in the body of the Journal.

E N G L I S H.

- Alexander (Joseph Addison, D.D., Princeton, U.S.)—The Gospel of Jesus Christ: a Series of Discourses. London: Nelson. 12mo, pp. 578.
- Audsley (W. and G.)—Guide to the Art of Illuminating and Missal Painting. London: Rowney and Co. 12mo, pp. 72.
- Benham (Daniel).—Notes on the Chronological Succession of the High Priesthood of the Hebrew Nation. London: H. G. Bohn. 8vo, pp. 70.
- Buchanan (James, D.D.)—The "Essays and Reviews" examined. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter. 18mo, pp. 268.
- Conant (T. J., D.D.)—The Gospel by Matthew. The Common English Version and the Received Greek Text: with a Revised Version, and Critical and Philological Notes, prepared for the American Bible Union. London: Trübner and Co. 4to, pp. 310.
- Davidson (Rev. A. B., M.A.)—Outlines of Hebrew Accentuation, Prose and Poetical. London: Williams and Norgate. 12mo, pp. 138.
- Flower (Rev. W. B., B.A.)—Sermons on the Seasons of the Church. Translated from S. Bernard. London: Masters. 8vo, pp. 252.
- Garbett (Rev. Edward, M.A.)—The Bible and its Critics: being an Enquiry into the Objective Reality of Revealed Truths. Being the Boyle Lecture for 1861. London: Seeley and Griffiths. 8vo, pp. xvi, 400.
- Gell (Rev. Philip, M.A.)—Expiation. A Critical Enquiry into certain Statements of Scripture relating to the Doctrines of Expiation by a Covering Mediator. London: Wertheim and Co. 8vo, pp. 30.
- Goodwin (Thomas, D.D.)—Works of. Vol. I., containing an Exposition of the First Chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians. Edinburgh: Nichol. 8vo, pp. 600.

- Hall (Rev. H. B., B.C.L.)—*Biblical Literature; a Companion to the Authorized Version of the New Testament; being Emendatory Notes, together with Explanatory Observations and an Introduction.* London: Bell and Daldy. 18mo, pp. 232.
- Hooper (Francis Bodfield).—*The Prophecies of Daniel Collated and Expounded.* London: Rivington. 8vo, pp. 18.
- Kelly (William).—*Lectures on the Book of Revelation.* London: Williams and Norgate. 8vo, pp. 430.
- Leask (Rev. W., D.D.)—*Happy Years at hand; Outlines of the Coming Theocracy.* London: Ward and Co. 12mo, pp. 222.
- Logan (William).—*Words of Comfort for Parents bereaved of Little Children.* London: Nisbet. 18mo, pp. 400.
- Lysons (Rev. S., M.A.)—*Claudia and Pudens; or, The Early Christians in Gloucester.* London: Hamilton. 12mo, pp. 272.
- Monck (William H.)—*Hymns, Ancient and Modern, for use in the Services of the Church, with accompanying Tunes.* London: Novello. Small 4to, pp. 550.
- McIlvaine (Charles P., Bishop of Ohio).—*The New Temple; or, The Holy Catholic Church, in its Nature, Structure, and Unity.* London: Seeley. 12mo, pp. 158.
- Oxford (Bishop of).—*The Revelation of God and the Probation of Man.* Oxford and London: Parkers. 8vo, pp. 40.
- Savile (Rev. Bouchier Wrey, M.A.)—*The Introduction of Christianity into Britain. An Argument on the Evidence in favour of St. Paul having visited the extreme boundary of the West.* London: Longmans. 18mo, pp. 182.
- Seebohm (Frederic).—*The Facts of the Four Gospels: an Essay.* London: Longmans. 8vo, pp. 104.
- Shutte (Rev. R. N.)—*A Memoir of the Rev. Henry Newland, Vicar of St. Marychurch, Devon.* London: Masters. 18mo, pp. 368.
- Smith (George, D.D., Bishop of Victoria).—*Ten Weeks in Japan.* London: Longmans. 8vo, pp. 450.
- Stanley (Arthur P., D.D.)—*Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church; with an Introduction on the Study of Ecclesiastical History.* London: Murray. 1861. 8vo, pp. 594.
- Sumner (John Bird, Archbishop of Canterbury).—*Evidence of Christianity derived from its Nature and Reception. A New Edition, Revised with reference to Recent Objections.* London: Hatchards. 12mo, pp. 344.
- Turner (Rev. George).—*Nineteen Years in Polynesia. Missionary Life. Travels and Researches in the Isles of the Pacific.* London: Snow. 8vo, pp. 560.
- Williams (Professor Monier, M.A.)—*The Study of Sanskrit in relation to Missionary Work in India.* London: Williams and Norgate. 8vo, pp. 61.
- Wordsworth (Chr., D.D.)—*The Inspiration of the Bible. Five Lectures.* London: Rivington. 12mo, pp. 124.

END OF VOLUME XIII.





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